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THE  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.  
VOLUME II.







THE  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE GERMAN OF JOHN WINCKELMANN,

BY

G. HENRY LODGE, M.D.

FOUR VOLUMES IN TWO.

Vols. III., IV.

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In Memoriam.



TO MY CLASSMATE AND FRIEND,

THOMAS SHERWIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON.



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THE  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

VOLUME III.

VOL. II.

1



# HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

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## BOOK VI.

### DRAPERY.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### MATERIALS, KINDS, AND SHAPE OF GARMENTS.

1. HAVING now concluded our examination of the drawing of the naked body, as exemplified in Greek art, I pass on to that division of my subject which treats of the drawing of draped figures. An investigation of this department of the art is the more necessary in a history designed to communicate instruction, since previous treatises upon the drapery of the ancients have been more learned than instructive and definite ; an artist, after having perused them, would be more ignorant than before. Such works are compiled by individuals whose information is gathered solely from books, and not drawn from an observant study of the works of art. I must however acknowledge that it is difficult to determine every point with exactness ; it is not therefore my design to present to the reader a minute investigation into the dress of the ancients. I believe that I have said what is most needful, but still there are many deficiencies, and much information which the artist might desire to possess has not been brought forward, especially as any description of the several parts of the dress would be imperfect without an accompanying drawing. But it would be impossible for any one man to engrave the whole.

2. The greater number of male figures in Greek art are nude, even according to the testimony of the ancients. Pliny also says: *Græca res est nihil velare; at contra Romana ac militaris, thoraces addere*; — “It is a Greek custom to veil nothing; but, on the other hand, it is a Roman and a military practice to add a cuirass”; this we see even now exemplified in the statues of the Greek heroes. A treatise on the drapery of Greek art must therefore be confined more especially to the dress of the female sex, with which I shall accordingly commence. All remarks on the Greek male dress specially will be introduced hereafter in connection with the Roman male garb, just as the dress of women among the Romans will be considered at the same time with that of the Greek women.

3. I shall, in the first place, speak of the material of female dress; secondly, of its different pieces, and kinds, and of its form; and thirdly, of the ornaments and elegance not only of the dress itself, but also of other portions of woman's attire.

4. The dress of men as well as women consists of an upper and an under garment. The latter, at least in summer, was of linen. As linen was a fabric in common use, Perrault has no reason for saying that Augustus, with all his splendor, did not possess a shirt. The dress of women was partly of linen or some other light material, and, especially among the Romans at a later period, of silk, and partly also of cloth. Even garments worked in gold were known. In works of sculpture as well as painting, linen can be distinguished by its transparency, and flat, small folds. This kind of drapery has been given to figures, not so much because artists imitated the moist linen with which they draped their model, as because the most ancient inhabitants of Athens, as Thucydides and other Greeks also inform us, were accustomed to wear linen. According to Herodotus, this remark should be understood as applying solely to the under dress of women. Linen however was not worn by the Athenian women long prior to the times of these two historians. Thucydides, in his description of the plague at Athens, mentions shirts of very fine linen. If any one should take that fabric, which on female figures appears to be linen, for some other light material, still it does not affect my position. Linen must notwithstanding have been a common article of dress among the Greeks, because in the country about Elis the finest and most beautiful flax was cultivated and manufactured. Now as the Samnites wore linen

when on their campaigns, and the Iberians in the army of Annibal had purple-colored linen vests, we can with the more confidence believe that linen was not so rare in Rome as some writers have concluded from a passage in Pliny which they did not rightly understand. It may be inferred that the under dress of women usually consisted of linen, from a mention made by Pliny of the Roman family Serana, the women of which did not wear linen, and in that particular differed from other Roman ladies, by whom it was consequently worn. Arbuthnot is wrong in concluding from this statement, that linen stuffs were not in use among the Romans.

5. The principal light material was cotton, which was cultivated and manufactured in the island of Cos. It was worn not only by the Greek, but also by the Roman women. Men who wore dresses of cotton were stigmatized for their effeminacy. This material was occasionally figured with stripes, as it is seen on Chærea, who is dressed as a eunuch, in the Vatican copy of Terence; frequently it was embroidered with all sorts of flowers. Light stuffs for women were also woven from the wool which grows on certain muscle-shells, of which, even at the present day, especially at Taranto, very fine gloves and stockings for winter are manufactured. There were stuffs so transparent in texture that they were termed "mists," and Euripides describes the mantle which Iphigenia had thrown over her face as so thin that she could see through it.

6. Silken garments can, it is supposed, be recognized in ancient paintings by the varying color on the same bit of dress; hence it is called a changeable color, *colore cangiante*. This effect is strikingly obvious in the "Aldobrandini Marriage," as it is termed, and in the copies of other pictures, — which have been found in Rome and have faded out, — in the Vatican library, and in the museum of the cardinal Alexander Albani. But it occurs more frequently in many paintings from Herculaneum, — which has been noticed in the catalogue and description of them in several places. This changeable color is occasioned by the polished surface of the silk of which the garment is made, and the bright reflection from it. It is an effect which is produced neither by woollen nor cotton cloth, by reason of their woolly thread and roughish surface. This is the meaning of Philostratus in the passage where he says, in reference to the mantle of Amphion, that the color of it was not always the

same, but changed according to the point from which it was seen. We do not however learn from written authority that the Greek women wore silken garments in the best days of Greece, but we see it in the works of their artists, among which the four pictures last discovered at Herculaneum, to be described hereafter, may possibly have been painted before the time of the Emperors. One would say that the model from which these artists painted had been draped with a silken dress. Silk, as an article of dress, was unknown in Rome until the time of the Emperors. But, as luxury and the fondness for show increased, silken fabrics were brought from India, and worn even by men, until prohibited by a sumptuary ordinance in the reign of Tiberius. A peculiar changeable color is to be seen on many garments in ancient paintings, namely, red and violet or azure together, or red in depressions and green on elevations, or violet in depressions, and yellow on elevations. This likewise indicates silken fabrics, though of a particular kind. The threads of the woof and warp must each have had its own proper color; and the one or the other would be illuminated, in drapery disposed in folds, according to the differing direction of the folds. A purple color commonly denoted woollen cloth. But it was probably given also to silk. There were two kinds of purple, namely, violet or the blue of the sky or of violets, *ἰανθίμος* (1), and the Tyrian. The former color the Greeks expressed by a word the proper signification of which is *sea-color*; of this kind was the purple of Taranto. The latter was the more valuable, and was similar to our lake (2). It appears that silken fabrics were woven, colored with both these sorts of purple.

7. Woollen garments on figures are plainly distinguishable from linen and other light fabrics. A certain French artist (3) who observed none but very fine and transparent stuffs in marble was thinking only of the Farnese Flora, and of figures clothed in a similar manner. It may on the contrary be maintained that, on female figures at least, we have as many specimens of garments which represent woollen cloth as of those representing finer fabrics. Woollen cloth is recognized by its large folds; also by the large creases made in the garment by folding it (4). I shall speak of these creases hereafter.

8. To the different materials of which female dress was made, I add those fabrics which were wrought of gold. They do not

properly belong here, for there is no figure painted in this manner; but the mention of them completes the list of materials used. The rich fabrics of the ancients were not, like ours, made of brass or silver finely drawn and gilded, and spun upon silken threads, but it was massive wrought gold, as Pliny shows in speaking of a cloak of this kind, worn by the younger Agrippina, wife of Claudius, when she was present at an exhibition of a naval battle: *Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis proelii spectaculum, indutam paludamento auro textili, sine alia materia*, — “We saw Agrippina, wife of the Emperor Claudius, at an exhibition of a naval battle, dressed in a cloak of wrought gold, without any other material.” This same writer also mentions that even Tarquinius Priscus had worn a golden tunic, *tunicam auream*. Garments of this kind, made from pure gold, have been found in Rome, during my residence there, contained in two sepulchral urns (5). They were instantly melted by the persons to whom they belonged. The priests of the Clement College, in whose vineyard the last urn of green basalt was found, acknowledged that they had obtained four pounds of gold from their garment. It is probable however that they did not tell the truth in regard to its weight. We can form some idea of this fabric from specimens of gold galloon in the Herculaneum museum, which also is woven out of the pure metal.

9. I have also a few remarks to offer upon the color of the dress, especially as no mention of it is made in works which treat of the vestments of the ancients. To begin with the figures of divinities: Jupiter is covered to the lower part of the belly with a white mantle, in the picture which represents him as about to kiss Ganymedes. An ancient writer of a later date gives him a red dress. Neptune, of course, would be clothed in sea-green, as the Nereids were usually painted. Even the animals which were sacrificed to the divinities of the sea were decked with sea-green ribbons. For the same reason, the poets represent the Rivers with hair of this color. The Nymphs also, because their name is derived from water, *Νύμφη, λύμφα*, were generally attired in green, in ancient paintings. Wherever Apollo has a mantle, it is blue or violet. Bacchus, who might with propriety wear a purple-red dress, is notwithstanding dressed in white. Cybele, as the goddess of the earth and the mother of all creatures, is clothed in green by Martianus Capella. Juno, in reference to

the sky, of which she is emblematic, may be dressed in azure ; but the writer just quoted mentions her as wearing a white veil. Ceres should have a yellow dress, because this is the color of the ripened grain (6), in allusion to which the epithet *ξανθή*, "yellow," is also applied to her by Homer. In the Vatican library there is a drawing, executed in colors, of an old painting — engraved in my *Ancient Monuments* — which presents Pallas in a mantle, not azure-colored, as it usually is in other figures of her, but fire-red, probably as significant of her warlike disposition ; for this was the color worn by the Spartans when engaged in war. In a Herculaneum picture, Venus has a loose dress of a golden-yellow color, which shades into dark green, — probably in reference to the epithet Golden, by which she is sometimes characterized. A Naiad, in the above-mentioned Vatican drawing, has on a fine under garment of a steel color ; thus Virgil clothes the Tiber, —

— *eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu Carbasus*, —

but his upper dress is green, such as the poets have given to other Rivers. Both colors are symbolic of water ; but green refers particularly to shores covered by verdure.

10. It will even not be entirely useless, as respects artists, to make some mention of the garments worn by heroes and kings. Nestor threw a red robe about himself. The porphyry from which the robe and the entire dress of three captive kings, in the Medici villa, and of two others, in the Borghese villa (7), is wrought, appears to denote their royal dignity and a purple attire. In an ancient painting Achilles had a sea-green tunic, in allusion to Thetis, his mother, which Balthasar Peruzzi has also noticed on a figure of him on the ceiling of a hall in the Farnesina. Sextus Pompey adopted a tunic of a similar color after the naval victory obtained by him over Augustus, — imagining himself, as Dion Cassius says, to be a son of Neptune. Augustus presented a sea-green banner, as a reward, to Marcus Agrippa, after the naval battle with Pompey. The priests of all nations were dressed in white (8).

11. In ancient times, the Roman as well as the Greek women wore black when in mourning. This was already an established custom in Homer's time ; Thetis assumes the blackest cloth in which to lament the death of Patroclus. Under the Roman emperors however the usage changed, and women mourned in

white. Though Plutarch notices this custom in general terms, and without specifying any particular period, still it is to be understood solely of that time. Herodian mentioned white garments as being used in mourning, in his account of the obsequies of the Emperor Septimius Severus. He says that women, attired in white, even sat near the waxen image which represented his body, and lamented him, whilst on the left side was the whole Roman senate, in black. The Roman men invariably wore black when in mourning, as we know with respect to the Emperor Adrian, who wore black for nine days when mourning the death of Plotina, the widow of Trajan.

12. The second point with respect to female dress relates to its different pieces and kinds, and to the form of them. The pieces of which it is composed are three in number, the under garment, the tunic, and the mantle, and their form is the simplest that can be imagined. In the earliest ages, the style of female dress was the same with all Greeks, namely, the Doric. At a later period, the Ionians departed from the general mode. Artists however seem to have adhered, in the figures of gods and heroes, principally to the most ancient style of dress.

13. The under garments filled the place of the modern chemise.<sup>1</sup> It is to be seen on figures partly undressed, or sleeping, as on the Farnese Flora (9), on the statues of the Amazons in the Campidoglio and the Mattei villa, on the Cleopatra, falsely so called, in the Medici villa, and on a beautiful Hermaphrodite in the Farnese palace. The youngest daughter also of Niobe, who seeks protection in the lap of her mother, has only an under garment. It was termed by the Greeks *χιτών*. Those who were dressed solely in an under garment, in which the women slept, were termed *μονόπεπλοι*, "single-robed," and *μονοχίτωνες*, "single-shifted." This article of dress was, as it appears from the figures just mentioned, of linen or some very light fabric, and without sleeves. It was fastened together on the shoulders by means of a button, and entirely covered the breast when not loosed on either shoulder. The Spartan virgins wore a light garment of this kind without any girdle. Occasionally, an edging of some finer stuff appears to have been sewed on, and gathered in around the neck of it. As Lycophron describes such a frill on the shirt in which Clytemnestra entangled Agamemnon,

<sup>1</sup> This word is used here in its proper sense, as meaning the body-garment either of men or women. — Tr.

there is more probability that it was also an ornamental trimming on the under garment of women.

14. It seems to have been usual for maidens to fasten a band tightly over the under garment, below the breast, for the purpose of making and keeping the waist slender, and at the same time of rendering its beauty of shape more conspicuous. This kind of bodice was called by the Greeks *δηθόδεσμος*; and by the Romans, *Castula*. We also find that the Greek women, to conceal defects of shape, made compression of the body by thin strips of linden-wood. The custom of lacing must also have existed among the Etruscans, as it is shown by a Scylla on an antique paste; her waist tapers like a bodice towards the hips. The under garment of persons otherwise entirely naked is confined by a girdle, which was not customarily worn, as it appears, in full dress.

15. The tunic of women was usually nothing else than two long pieces of cloth, merely sewed together lengthwise, without being cut into any particular shape, and fastened together on the shoulders by one or more buttons, corresponding to the description, given by Josephus, of the tunic usually worn. At times, pointed hooks were used instead of buttons; they were worn of a larger size by the women of Argos and Ægina than by those of Athens. This is the square tunic, as it was named. It cannot possibly be cut round, as Salmasius believes; he attributes the form of the mantle to the tunic, and that of the tunic to the mantle. It is the most usual dress of the figures of gods and heroes. This garment was put on by being passed over the head. The tunic of the Spartan virgins was open below on its sides; and the front and back parts floated loosely from each other, as may be seen on the figures of Dancers.

16. There is another kind of tunic, with narrow sewed sleeves reaching to the wrist; hence it was called *καρπωτοί* from *κάρπος*, "the wrist." The younger of the two most beautiful daughters of Niobe, and the putative Dido of the Herculaneum pictures, as well as the greater number of female figures on the most ancient reliefs, have such sleeves; besides these, others may be seen on painted vases. Oftentimes the sleeves cover only the upper arm, and are hence termed *παράπηχες*, "to the elbow." They have buttons from the shoulder downwards. The sleeves on the under garment of men were even shorter than this. When the sleeves are very wide, as on two beautiful statues of

Pallas, in the Albani villa, they belong not to the tunic, but to the under garment. This latter is not cut in any particular way for the purpose of forming them, but, by means of the girdle which confines it, is drawn out from the tunic, — which has fallen from the shoulder down upon the arm, — and presents the appearance of sleeves. When, in such a case, the square tunic is very wide, and the ends which come upon the shoulders are not sewed, but connected together by buttons, the buttons, having slipped down, are seen upon the arm. Tunics of this ample size were usually worn by women on festival days. But, throughout the whole range of antiquity, there is not a single instance of wide shirt-sleeves, rolled up on the arm, as in modern times, like those given by Bernini (10) to Saint Veronica, in Saint Peter's church, and by other modern sculptors to their female figures.

17. The tunic is never found trimmed with a fringe, either on its lower border or elsewhere. I mention this in explanation of what Callimachus terms λεγνωτόν on the tunic of Diana, and which was understood by ancient as well as modern commentators to mean tassels or fringes. Spanheim alone understands by the word stripes woven into the tunic lengthwise. Callimachus introduces the goddess making a request to Jupiter that she might be permitted, among other things, to wear her tunic tucked up to her knees, . . . καὶ ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα Ζώνυσθαι λεγνωτόν; but neither in ancient paintings nor on statues is her tunic seen ornamented with fringes, or stripes running from above downwards. On the hem of it, on the contrary, a broad inwoven border is usually denoted; it can be seen most distinctly on the statue of her, in the Herculeanum museum, described in the sixth book, chapter second, paragraph fourteenth.

18. Hence, I am of the opinion that the word λεγνωτόν refers to the trimmed or otherwise ornamented hem of the tunic. For tunics, as well as mantles, were generally ornamented with one or more bands running round their border, which might even be woven in, or embroidered. This is very clearly to be seen in old paintings; but it is likewise represented on marble. This ornament was termed by the Romans *Limbus*, and by the Greeks πέζας, κύκλας, and περιπόδιον; most usually it was of a purple color. The Etruscan and Roman men even, it is well known, had it on their dress; but the dress of women

on its lower part was ornamented with one or more stripes of different colors. The painted figures in the Pyramid of Cestius, at Rome, had one stripe. There are two yellow stripes on the tunic of the female harp-player (11) in the so-called "Aldobrandini Marriage." The tunic of Roma, in the Barberini palace, has three red stripes, with white flowers wrought on them; and there are four bands on a figure in one of those Herculaneum pictures which are drawn in one color on marble. Such stripes are also painted on a statue of Diana, of the most ancient style, in the Herculaneum museum, of which mention has already been made.

19. Not only virgins, but even married women, confined the tunic just below the bosom. This is the practice even now in some parts of Greece, and it was usual with the Jewish high-priests. A person thus girdled was said *to be tucked up high*, *βαθύζωνος*, which is an epithet frequently applied to Greek women by Homer (12) and other poets. This band, or girdle, termed by the Greeks *ταυία*, *στροφίον* (13), and also *μίτρα* (14), is visible on most figures (15). Three points with knots in them hang from both ends of it on the breast of a small Pallas of bronze, in the Albani villa, and also on the female figures of the most beautiful vase of the Hamilton collection. This band is tied below the breast, generally in a single, but sometimes in a double knot, though it is not visible on the two most beautiful daughters of Niobe. On the younger of the two, the girdle passes over both shoulders and the back, and around the body, as seen on the four Caryatides, of the size of life, which were found in April, 1761, near Mount Portio, not far from Frascati. When it was disposed in this manner, it had a particular name, at least at a later period, namely, *succinctorium* or *bracile*. We see by the figures of the Vatican Terence, that the tunic was confined in this way by two straps, which must have been fastened above on the shoulder, for when they are untied, as seen on some figures, they hang down on both sides; but, when tied, they sustained the girdle which encircled the body below the breast. We must suppose the girdle, *ταυία*, to have been of this length, since Longus (16) represents Chloe allowing hers to be used, for want of a rope, in drawing her lover Daphnis out of a wolf's den. The engraving makes it a head-band, but that is an impossibility. The girdle of some figures is as broad as a horse-girth, as, for





instance, that of the almost colossal Muse (17) in the Cancellaria, of the Aurora on the arch of Constantine, and of a Bacchante in the Madama villa, outside of Rome. The Muse of tragedy commonly has a broad girdle, which, on a large sepulchral urn, appears as if embroidered. Urania<sup>1</sup> also has occasionally such a broad girdle (18). There is a fragment of the poet Turpilius remaining, in which a young maiden says, *Me miseram, quod inter vias epistola excidit mihi inter tuniculam et strophium collocata*, "How unfortunate I am! the letter which I placed between my tunicle and girdle is lost." Some one (19) tries to make it out from this passage, that a particular form had, in the course of time, been given to the girdle. But this conclusion by no means follows; the distressed damsel is speaking of a letter which she had placed between the under garment and tunic, under her girdle.

20. The girdle of the Amazons alone is not placed directly below the bosom, but, as with men, it lies about the hips. It served not so much to confine or sustain their tunic as to gird them,—in allusion to their warlike disposition. To gird, in Homer, signifies to prepare for battle; hence this band on them is properly to be termed a girdle. In the Farnese palace there is an Amazon, under the size of life, falling wounded from her horse, with her girdle confined close below the breasts; this however is a solitary instance.

21. From what has just been stated, the meaning of Philostratus becomes clearer in that passage in which he says, that in a picture Comus is represented surrounded by women and men, the latter wearing women's shoes, and tucked up or girdled, contrary to usage, καὶ ζώνονται παρὰ τὸ οἰκείον; that is, the men wore their girdles, like women, below the breast. But flute-players, also, were accustomed to appear upon the stage in women's shoes; this fashion was introduced by Battalus of Ephesus.

22. Statues of Venus, fully attired, always represent her with two girdles. One of them lies below the belly, as it may be seen on a Venus with a portrait head, near the Mars in the Campidoglio, and on the beautiful draped Venus which formerly stood in the Spada palace, and is now in the possession of Lord Egremont, of England. This is the girdle which is peculiar to her, and which is termed by the poets "the cestus of Venus."

<sup>1</sup> Plate I.; Plate II.; Plate III. See Explanation of Plates.

This observation has never been made before. Juno begged the loan of this girdle when she wished to excite in Jupiter an ardent desire towards herself, and she placed it, as Homer says, in her lap (20), that is, about and below the belly, where it lies on the figures above mentioned. It was for the same reason, probably, that the Syrians gave this girdle to Juno. Gori believes that two of the three Graces on a sepulchral urn hold such a girdle in their hands, — a supposition that cannot be proved.

23. There are a few figures, covered merely by an under garment that is hanging unfastened from one shoulder, which have no girdle. On the Farnese Flora, wrongly so named, or rather one of the Hours, it has fallen down loosely about the belly. On the Antiope, mother of Amphion and Zethus, in the Farnese palace, and on a statue in the palace of the Medici villa, the girdle is lying about the hips<sup>1</sup> in a manner which corresponds to the description given by Longus of his nymphs. Some few Bacchanti in pictures, marble, and on gems, are without girdles, partly to signify their voluptuous softness, — as Bacchus has no girdle, — and partly because, in dancing and jumping, it is an unpleasant restraint upon the movements of the body. Hence even the mere position of some mutilated female figures without girdles point them out as Bacchanti; there is one of the kind in the villa Albani. The figures and statues of female Dancers commonly have no girdle, and their light dress is not confined either below the breast or over the hips, as I briefly noticed in my remarks upon Action. The same may be said of the greater number of the Bacchanti, who are represented either dancing or in violent movement. In ancient times, however, there was one statue of a female Dancer which had a girdle. Among the Herculaneum paintings are two young maidens without girdles. One of them has a dish of figs in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left. The other has a dish and a basket. These figures may represent the attendants, *Δειπνοφόροι*, “food-bringers,” upon those who ate in the temple of Pallas. No meaning has hitherto been attached to them by those who have undertaken to explain the picture; and, if they do not denote what I state, they have no signification whatever. Moreover, women in great affliction are represented without girdles, especially when grieving for the loss of parents or relatives. Seneca introduces the Trojan

<sup>1</sup> Plate III.





women mourning with loosened garments, *veste remissa*, over the dead body of Hector; and there is a rilievo in the Borghese villa, which represents Andromache, accompanied by other women, receiving the corpse of her husband at the gate of Troy; their garments are ungirdled and trailing. This was also a customary observance among the Romans in similar circumstances; and even the Roman knights ungirdled their garments when they accompanied the body of Augustus to the monument in which it was deposited.

24. The third article of female dress is the cloak. It was termed by the Greeks πέπλος, a word which, though at first applied exclusively to the mantle of Pallas, was afterwards used in speaking of the mantle of other divinities and of men. It was not square, as Salmasius has supposed, but perfectly circular, just as the cloak of modern days is cut. This must also have been the shape of the cloak of men. Though on this point I differ from those who have written upon the dress of the ancients, still their opinion has been derived mostly from books and ordinary engravings, whereas I can appeal to ocular proofs and the observation and reflections of many years. It is impossible for me to engage in the explanation of the ancient authors, or in attempts to reconcile or refute their commentators; I am content to take their remarks as applying to that form of the mantle which I have adopted. Most of the passages in the ancients speak generally of mantles with four corners (21); but there is no difficulty here, if we understand by the word "corners," not a garment cut into four right angles, but one having four points, which, when the cloak was either folded up or worn, arranged themselves so as to correspond to the same number of small tassels, sewed on.<sup>1</sup>

25. Two tassels only are visible on most cloaks, worn by either sex, whether on statues, or figures engraved on gems; the others are concealed by the manner in which the cloak is cast on. Three are frequently seen, as on an Isis, executed in the Etruscan style, on an Esculapius, both of natural size, and on a Mercury, on one of the two beautiful candlesticks of marble, all in the Barberini palace (22). All four tassels are visible on the same number of ends of the cloak of one of two similar Etruscan figures, of the size of life, in the same palace; on a statue with the head of Augustus, in the Conti palace;

<sup>1</sup> Plate IV., Letter B.

and on the tragic muse, Melpomene, on the cited sepulchral urn in the Mattei villa. These tassels are evidently not attached to any corners; indeed, the cloak can have no corners, because, if it were cut square, the folds, which fall in waves on all sides, could not have been produced by the cast of the cloak. The very same folds are effected by the adjustment of the cloak of Etruscan figures, so that it must consequently have had the same form.

26. Any one can convince himself of this by fastening a cloak together with several stitches, and then casting it about the body like a circular cloak, after the manner of the ancients. Even the shape of the modern chasuble, which is cut roundish before and behind, shows that formerly it was a complete circle and a cloak, which is actually the case among the Greeks at the present day. This vestment was put on by being passed over the head, and for greater convenience in administering the sacrament of the mass, the lower part of it was raised upwards upon the arms, so that the parts before and behind hung down in a curve. As, in the progress of time, the material of which the chasuble was made became richer, so the garment received, partly for convenience and partly for economy, that form which it assumed when it was raised up, and rested on the arms; that is to say, its present form.

27. Among female mantles that of Isis deserves especial notice. It generally is trimmed with a fringe, and always brought over both shoulders down in front, and tied in a knot by two ends, below the breast. In the villa Albani is a figure with such a garment; it belongs to the second style of Egyptian art, and has been already mentioned in the Book which treats on the subject. From the remark just made, the figure in question is to be regarded as an Isis. A mantle knotted in a similar manner<sup>1</sup> was given to all later figures of this goddess which were executed by Greek artists after her worship had been introduced into Rome, from the largest statue of her, in the palace Barberini, down to the smallest. It is not easy therefore to err in applying the name of Isis to a figure whose cloak is fastened in the manner stated, even if all other characteristics should be mutilated or broken off. By this means I recognized the small mutilated Isis, in the Villa Ludovisi, mentioned in the second chapter of the second Book, who is step-

<sup>1</sup> Plate V.





ping with the right foot into a small ship. For the same reason must the upper part of a mutilated colossal figure, which stands by the palace of the Venetian Republic at Rome, be viewed as an Isis. It is called by the people Madame Lucretia.

28. A female figure of almost colossal size, in the Paganica mansion, is extraordinarily attired (23). The top of her head is covered with the skin of a lion's jaws, as Hercules is; the rest of the hide is confined close to the body by means of a broad girdle. It supplies the place of a vest, and hangs down so low as to cover one half of the thighs. This kind of short upper garment is to be found on no other known statue. From mention made of a statue which stood at Argos, and at whose feet a lion's skin was thrown, this figure might be looked upon as a Juno. It is probably the Juno called *Ῥειώνη*, — a word hitherto unexplained. If we derive this appellation from *Ῥίον* (24), "a skin," that is, the Juno covered with a skin, or with a skin waistcoat, then she should be called *Ῥεινώνη* or *Ῥινώνη*. There is but a single figure of Juno Sospita, "she that saves or delivers," to be found in marble, and that is on a round work in the villa Pamfil, although her image is not rare on Roman coins. It is as usual covered by a doe-skin.

29. The round cloak of the ancients was disposed and thrown about the person, *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*, in various ways. The most usual was to cast a third or fourth of it over the shoulder, which might serve to cover the head. Thus, in Appian, Scipio Nasica cast the hem, *κράσπεδον*, of his cloak over his head. Occasionally, the cloak was used in a doubled form; this manner of wearing it is alluded to by the ancient writers, and is also exemplified by statues. In this case it must have been larger than usual. The cloak of the two beautiful statues of Pallas, in the villa Albani, among other instances, is doubled, but it is not cast; it is drawn under the left arm in front and behind, upwards beneath the ægis on the breast; and it is fastened together and suspended on the right shoulder.

30. We may probably understand by the *doubled* garment of the Cynics a cloak worn doubled. It is not however doubled on the statue of a philosopher of this sect of the size of life, in the villa Albani (25). As the Cynics wore no under garment, they had more need than others to wear their cloaks doubled. This explanation is more intelligible than anything adduced by Salmasius and others (26). They wish the word "doubled" to

signify the manner of casting the mantle. But it cannot be so understood ; for, on the statue above mentioned, it is disposed as on most figures with mantles.

31. The most usual manner of wearing the cloak is to draw it under the right arm, and cast it over the left shoulder. Occasionally however it is not cast, but hangs suspended from the shoulders by two buttons, as on the extremely beautiful and sole statue of Leucothea, in the villa Albani, and on two other statues with baskets on their heads, or Caryatides, in the villa Negroni ; all three are of the size of life. We must suppose that at least one third of these cloaks is drawn under the arm, or cast over the shoulder, which is plainly seen to be the case on a female figure, above the size of life, in the court of the Farnese palace, on which the portion drawn beneath the arm and cast over the shoulder is included and confined by the girdle. The train of a cloak, thus suspended from the shoulders, is gathered up and placed beneath the girdle of a Muse above the size of life, in the court of the Cancellaria, and on Antiope in the group of the Farnese Bull so called. Occasionally also the cloak was tied in a knot below the breast, as it is on some Egyptian figures, and on Isis generally, which has already been noticed in the third chapter of the third Book. Instead of being tied, the two ends were sometimes fastened together below the breast by a hook, *περονίς*, so that probably one of them was drawn down upon the chest over the shoulder, and the other brought from under the arm. It is somewhat singular that the fragment of a female statue (27) in the villa of Count Fede, on the spot where Adrian's villa once stood, near Tivoli, has a vestment resembling a net hanging over her cloak, which is knotted on her breast like that of Isis. This net is probably the over garment called *ἄγρηνον*, which was a vestment worn by those who were celebrating the orgies of Bacchus, and was also given to figures of Tiresias and other soothsayers.

32. The Greek women had also a small cloak, which they used as a substitute for the larger one. It consisted of two parts, which were sewed together below the shoulders, and fastened above on the shoulders by buttons, so that openings were left for the arms. This cloak was called by the Romans *Ricinum*. Sometimes it reaches scarcely to the hips ; often, indeed, it is not longer than a modern mantilla. In a few Herculaneum paintings, it is actually made as the women of our day wear it ;





that is, it is a light little cloak, which also comes down over the arms, and was probably cut circularly, so as to require it to be put on over the head. Hence this is probably the article of female dress which was termed ἔγκυκλον or κυκλᾶς, that is, a circular garment, from κύκλος, a circle, and also ἀναβόλαιον and ἀμπεχόνιον. We notice as a singularity a longer cloak, likewise formed of two pieces, a front and a back piece, on the Flora in the Campidoglio. Both sides are sewed together from below up to the shoulders, and buttoned above on the shoulders, leaving openings through which the arms may be passed. The left arm is actually passed through one of them; the right arm has the mantle thrown over it, but the arm-hole is visible.

33. Different figures and statues, with their upper garments or cloak drawn up upon their heads, have been commonly taken for Vestals, notwithstanding such a fashion was common to all women. All however have agreed in calling a head in the Farnesina, the chin of which is veiled, a Vestal (28). They did not reflect that the most distinctive characteristic of a priestess of this order is wanting, namely, the *Infula*, a broad band around the head, from which it fell down upon the shoulders. In this way are represented two heads which Fabretti adduces; one is on a round brass plate, the other is engraved on an onyx. On the former is the name of the person, with the superscription, BELICIAE MODESTE; on the inside, near the bust, are the two letters V. V., which the writer just quoted interprets to mean *Virgo Vestalis*, "vestal virgin." On the latter, below the figure, are the letters NERVIRV, which he thus restores, NERATIA, VIRGO VESTALIS. A Vestal would also be recognized by a peculiar cloth or veil, of an oblong shape, upon the head, termed *Suffibulum*. Such an *Infula* hangs down, doubled, upon the breast of a figure, under the size of life, in the Barberini palace, to which a head of Isis has been given by its modern restorer.

34. It is necessary however to remark that the cloaks, as well of female as of male figures, are not always thrown about the person in the usual manner of wearing the garment which is plainly to be seen, but arranged in a style which the artist found convenient or serviceable. This is so true, that the *paludamentum*, χαλαμός, — which is a short cloak, — of a seated imperial statue, with the head of Claudius, in the Albani villa, trails behind. The artist however found it well to throw a

portion of it over one thigh, for the purpose of displaying a beautiful arrangement of folds, and of not leaving both legs uncovered at once, — which would have produced a monotonous effect.

35. The dress of the ancients was folded and pressed, particularly after having been washed. The white garments of which the oldest style of female dress was composed must have required washing oftener than it is found necessary at the present day. We know that they were pressed, because mention is made of clothes-presses, and moreover we see it in the rings, partly raised and partly sunken, which traverse them, and which represent the creases occasioned by the folding of the cloth. These creases have been frequently denoted by the ancient sculptors, and I am of opinion, that what the Romans called *rumples*, *Rugas*, were such creases, and not flattened folds, as Salmasius supposes, who could of course give no explanation of what he had not seen.





## CHAPTER II.

### THE COVERING AND DRESS OF INDIVIDUAL PARTS OF THE BODY.

1. Having made those remarks which I considered necessary on female dress, and which had reference especially to garments for the body, I shall proceed to notice the manner of covering and attiring particular parts of the body. In the first place, it is to be remarked that women generally went with their heads uncovered, except, as I have before stated, with their cloak; this they partly drew up upon the head, and with it concealed in part even the face. Juno is represented in this manner:—

*Illa sedet dejecta in lumina palla.*

She sits with mantle o'er her eyes drawn down.

2. But there are also found veils, or small pieces of linen intended expressly for the purpose of covering the face. Of this kind appears to have been the vestment termed *Θέριστρον*, *Flammeum*, and *Rica* (1). The Latin names were applied especially to the veil of virgins. But the word most commonly used by the poets is *καλύπτρη* (2), and as the material of which they were made was very thin and transparent (3), they were compared to spiders' webs. We find in authors occasional notices of veils of this kind, not connected with the general dress, and specially intended to cover the head. Thus Apollonius speaks of the white veil which Medea hung upon her head: *Ἀμβροσίῳ δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατι βάλλε καλύπτρην Ἀργυφέν,*—“she threw the white veil over her sweet head”; mention is also made of one in a Greek epigram. I do not know however whether Helen, covered with white linen, *ἀργεννῇσι καλυψαμένη δθόνῃσιν*, or with a thin white texture, *ἐανῶ ἀργῇτι*, was veiled with the veils above mentioned. For it is plainly obvious from Pollux (4), that even the Greeks of a later period did not un-

derstand the precise signification of the words Ἑάρως and Πέπλος, which are found in Homer and other ancient poets. The sole example of the veil of which we speak, to be found on ancient monuments at Rome, is on a beautiful Mosaic, which was discovered near Atina, in the kingdom of Naples, and now adorns the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. It represents the exposure of Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy, to a sea-monster, and her rescue by Hercules, who gives her in marriage to his friend Telamon. She wears a white veil, which is no part of her outer dress, thrown about her head; and I conclude, from a passage of Cratinus, quoted by Athenæus, that it could not have been unusual for women to wear a linen covering on the head. This vestment, which was customary among the Asiatic women, seems, from its resemblance to a towel in size, shape, and color, to have been termed χερόμακτρον, "a towel," as this same writer, Athenæus, shows by quotations from Sappho and Herodotus. Two female figures in Herculaneum paintings have a peculiar covering on their heads, from which it hangs down behind.

3. There is a kind of cap peculiar to aged women, of which one can obtain some idea from the statue, in the Capitoline museum, which goes by the unwarranted name of Præfica. I believe, on the contrary, that it is a Hecuba, with head upturned as when she saw her grandson, Astyanax, dashed from the walls of Troy. The ground of my opinion is, on the one hand, that, on all the monuments illustrative of ancient fabulous history, including the figures of nurses, such as those of Phædra, Alcestis, the daughters of Niobe, etc., Hecuba is the only aged woman represented, and, on the other, because she is always distinguished by a similar coif. A head-dress of this kind is however worn by the figure of a youthful Bacchante<sup>1</sup> on a large round basin of marble, which will appear in the third volume of the *Ancient Monuments*. A similar one is also seen on two young and beautiful tragic Masks, one in the Albani palace,<sup>2</sup> and the other in the Lancellotti palace, and also on the nymph Cœnone, the first love of Paris, represented in a rilievo in the Ludovisi villa.

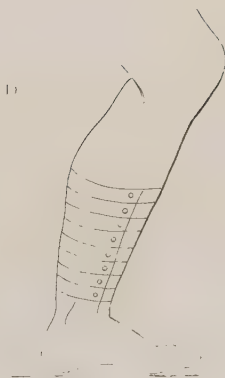
4. But when on a journey or exposed to the sun, women wore a Thessalian hat, which resembles the straw hat, with a very low crown, worn by the Tuscan women of the present day.

<sup>1</sup> Plate VI., Letter A.

<sup>2</sup> Plate VI., Letter B.



11



11



The hat of the ancients was generally of a white color, which is apparent on various painted vases.<sup>1</sup> (5) With such a hat Sophocles describes Ismene, the youngest daughter of Œdipus, who had followed her father from Thebes to Athens. A mounted Amazon, contending with two warriors, painted on an earthen vessel in the collection of ancient vases belonging to Signor Mengs, has a hat of this kind, but it has fallen backwards upon her shoulders. Such a hat is also worn by the figure symbolical of the city Hyrcania, on the pavement at Pozzuoli, of which an explanation is given in the "Essay on Allegory"; also by a figure, sitting on a rock, executed in high relief, in the villa Negroni, and an erect figure among the "Labors of Hercules," which are represented on a large marble basin, fifteen palms in diameter (ft. 11 Eng.), in the Albani villa. The figure, from its attire, appears to be Pallas, as she always aided this hero. As it wears a hat, it may be Pallas engaged in the chase, Pallas the *Huntress*, — because she also amused herself with hunting, as Callimachus and Aristides observe, — for she stands near Hercules at the moment when he overtakes the stag of Mount Taygetus. Again, the hat was a vestment peculiar to the priestesses of Ceres. That which appears to us to be a basket on the heads of the Caryatides may probably have been an article of dress in some parts of Greece. Even now, the women of Egypt wear something similar to it on their heads.

5. The dress for women's feet consisted in part of entire shoes, and in part of sandals. The former are seen on many figures in Herculaneum paintings (6), in which they are sometimes of a yellow color, such as those worn by the Venus in a painting on the walls of the baths of Titus, and by the Persians; also on female statues in marble, as on the Niobe,<sup>2</sup> but these last do not taper towards the toes, and terminate in a rounded point, like the other instances adduced, but are rather broad at the toes. The sandals were bound under the foot; they are generally of the thickness of a finger, and are composed of more than one layer. Occasionally five laminæ are sewed together, which is indicated by five incised lines on the sandal of a beautiful Pallas in the Albani villa; the sole in this instance is two fingers thick. Sandals with four layers were called *Quadrisesoles*. Cork appears to have been used in

<sup>1</sup> Plate VII., Letter A.

<sup>2</sup> Plate VI., Letter C.

making the sole, because it is light and absorbs no moisture. It has also been applied to the same purpose in modern days, and hence it has received in Germany the name of Slipperwood. In Italy, even at the present day, some nuns wear sandals of cork. They were covered above and below with leather, which projected beyond the cork so as to form a rim, which is shown on a small Pallas, of bronze, also in the Albani villa. Of this kind are the sandals of a Pallas, above the size of life, in the villa Ludovisi, of which Antiochus of Athens was the artist; they are three fingers thick, and are ornamented by three rows of stitching entirely around. Shoes the soles of which were formed of a single thickness of leather, and which were laced on the upper part of the foot, — of the kind usually worn by the peasantry between Rome and Naples, and such as we see on two statues of captive Thracian kings, of black marble, in the Capitol, — were termed *ἀπλᾶς*, “single,” and *μονόπελμα ὑποδήματα*, “single-soled shoes.”

6. The ancients, both men and women, also wore sandals made of cord, and woven like a net; such are those on the figures of the divinities on an altar in the Albani villa. This kind of shoe appears to have been called *Ῥαΐδια*, a word which Pollux explains by *πολύελικτον ὑπόδημα*, “a sandal woven with many plaits.” Another kind of rope-sandal has been found in Herculaneum; in this the cord is coiled in longish circles. The piece which covers the heel of the foot was also made of cord, and attached to the sandal. Several of such sandals, even for persons of tender age, have been found in Herculaneum. The buskin was a sandal of varying thickness, but generally of the thickness of a hand’s-breadth, which is commonly given to the Tragic Muse in rilievo. The peculiar form of it is exhibited on a hitherto unrecognized statue of her, of the size of life, in the Borghese villa (7); in this instance it is five twelfths of a Roman palm ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. Eng.) high. Those passages of the ancients which seem to set all probability at defiance in reference to the extraordinary stature of persons on the stage (8) are to be understood in conformity to this piece of truthful evidence. The buskin of hunters and warriors<sup>1</sup> is to be distinguished from the buskin appropriated to tragedy. It is a kind of half-boot, and was called by this name, reaching half-way up the leg, and was used by hunters formerly, as it is

<sup>1</sup> Plate VI., Letter D.

at the present day in Italy. Diana and Bacchus were accustomed to wear it occasionally. This buskin is confounded by most writers with the other. The mode of fastening the sandals to the feet is well known. On the Etruscan Diana, at Portici, which has been frequently quoted, the straps are red, as they also are on a few other figures in the ancient paintings at that place. I will notice here only the cross-strap at the middle of the sandal, beneath which the foot might be passed, and which then lay on the middle of it. This strap is rarely found on figures of female divinities ; and, even in those instances in which it is visible, it lies beneath the foot, in fact beneath the flexure of the toes, and only the eye of it on both sides is displayed, lest it might conceal some portion of the elegant shape of the foot. But it is singular that Pliny, speaking of the sandals of the seated statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, remarks that they did not have the strap in question. I cannot, on this occasion, forbear remarking that neither shoes nor sandals with heels are found, except the shoes of a female figure in a Herculeum painting (9). The shoes themselves are red ; the soles and heels are yellow. Shoe-heels were termed *καττύματα*, and they were formed of several small pieces of leather fastened together.

7. Having thus noticed the different pieces composing the dress of women, and their shape, I proceed to make some further remarks on the trimming and elegance of them, and on other ornamental parts of female attire. This is comprehended in the second division of our present review of the drawing of clothed figures. In speaking of the dress, I make a distinction between its trimmings and its elegance. The latter word I apply to the attire in reference to its kind and fashion, and to the disposition of the upper garments or other light fabrics, and to their folds. The former, which might also be called the decorations, are either inwoven, embroidered, or attached.

8. The borders of tunics, as well as of mantles, were generally ornamented with stripes of purple or other colors sewed on ; and the most usual decoration of the hem of female dress is thus denoted, in the easiest and shortest way. The designs are however sometimes more elegant and elaborate, as may be seen on a few vessels of burnt clay, which have been painted with especial industry. The most favorite design for this purpose appears to have been the so-called Mæander (10), to which allusion is

also made by a Greek scholia. Not only the dress of the women, but also of the men, on the beautiful vase in the Hamilton collection, of which mention has been made several times, is ornamented with a border of this description. On this vase a half-naked king is seen, seated and holding a sceptre ; around his mantle runs the Mæander. This Mæander also appears on the dress of an Etruscan figure in bronze. On the vase above mentioned, we see a band running not only over the breast, but also down in front and at the sides, in addition to the one on the lower hem. This band, which is ornamented with embellishments, is composed partly of small squares like those of a draught-board, and partly of volutes like the curls of vine-tendrils. On a vase belonging to the English Consul at Naples, which represents Theseus and Ariadne, a dark stripe studded with a sort of buttonhole runs down the breast of the latter. Moreover, small stars were at times interwoven all over the dress of women. In this manner was also the dress of the hero Sosipolis decorated ; even Demetrius Poliorcetes wore a tunic of this kind.

9. The trimming of a dress is to be regarded as bearing the same relation to its elegance that the beautiful does to the pleasing. For elegance, which among the ancients belongs especially to the dress of women, is not a property of the dress itself, but is imparted to it by the wearer in the arrangement of its folds. It might even be termed the Grace of dress. It can however be said with propriety only of the upper garment or mantle, because this is arranged according to one's liking, whereas the under garments are thrown into folds and confined by the mantle and girdle. Elegance can therefore more correctly be attributed to the dress of the ancients than of the moderns, which, as worn by both sexes, clings closely to the body, and is therefore incapable of any freedom of arrangement. From the arrangement of the folds therefore, which differs in the most ancient from that of the subsequent periods of art, and the elegance of the dress combined, we can derive at once some knowledge, not only of the style, but also of the period. The folds on figures of the oldest style are for the most part straight, or in curves slightly sunken. A writer, very inexperienced in these things, pronounces this a universal characteristic of ancient folds ; he was not aware that the folds on the figures which he cites are in the under dress, and must fall perpendicu-

larly. In the most enlightened times of the art, the artist strove to introduce into the folds of the upper garment or mantle the utmost variety of arrangement,—the same variety indeed which existed in the real dress, which was probably arranged in the earliest ages precisely in this manner, though there did not exist at that time skill enough to master the infinite diversity of folds into which the drapery fell. Now, as the Etruscan upper garments are arranged for the most part in small folds, lying almost parallel to each other, as we have before said, and as the similarity which existed between the most ancient Greek style and the Etruscan extended also to the drapery of their figures, we can, even without any proof drawn from extant monuments, infer that the Greek garments of the older style were also similar to those of the Etruscans. This is precisely the style in which a Diana on an engraved gem, bearing the name HEI°Y, is dressed. The manner in which the name is written places this Heius in the more remote ages of antiquity. Even on figures executed in the best times of the art we find the mantle arranged in flat folds; this is evident from a Pallas, on coins of Alexander the Great. Such folds alone therefore are no characteristic of the most ancient style, which they are generally assumed to be. In the highest and most beautiful style the folds were more sunken in curves, and, from a desire of attaining variety, the continuity of the folds was broken, in the same manner as the branches of a tree break the continuance of their parent stem, and the course of them all was slightly waving. The diversity and elegance displayed in the drapery of figures, from paintings on vases, considered as drawings, up to works in the hardest stone, porphyry, are the greatest that can be imagined, and cannot be viewed without astonishment. In large garments, artists observed it as a rule, to keep the folds united in masses; the mantle of Niobe, the most beautiful upper garment in all antiquity, is an example of this large manner. A modern artist, in his *Reflections upon Sculpture*, did not think of the dress of the mother, when he asserted that there is a monotony in the drapery of Niobe, and that the folds are not arranged understandingly (11). He could not possibly have examined the figure of Niobe herself, for her mantle may be ranked among the most elegant in the whole range of ancient works. But whenever an artist wished to display the beauty of the naked body, he always

made the elegance of the drapery a secondary consideration, which we see exemplified in the daughters of Niobe. Their garments cling quite closely to the skin, and form folds only in hollows; they are, on the contrary, very light and scanty on prominences, merely enough to indicate that they are covered by drapery. We observe in nature that no folds form on any part of the body which is raised, and from which a loose drapery falls down on all sides, but that they form in depressions, into which the drapery sinks. The very intricate breaks in folds, after which most modern sculptors and painters particularly have striven, were not regarded by the ancients as a beauty. But in mantles which have been cast off, as that of Laocoön is, and in another, thrown upon a pedestal, which is distinguished by the name of EPATON, the artist, in the Albani villa, we see how elegantly the folds are broken.

10. The ornaments of which it now remains to speak, namely, those of the head, arms, and legs, belong exclusively to the attire of women. There is scarcely anything to be said of the mode in which the hair of the older Greek figures is dressed, for it is rarely curled, as on Roman heads, and on Greek female heads its arrangement is always even more simple than on male heads. The hair of figures of the highest style is always combed quite flat upon the head, on which are traced fine furrows running in a serpentine direction; that of maidens is either gathered in a mass on the crown of the head, where it is fastened, or else twisted round so as to form a knot, and confined on the back of the head (12) by means of a bodkin, though the bodkin itself is not visible. The hair of the first and principal female character in Greek tragedies was always dressed with a simplicity similar to this. A single Roman figure is to be found, in Montfaucon, on whose head the bodkin is visible; it is not the bodkin (13) employed to place the hair in regular ringlets, *acus discriminialis*, as the learned writer supposes. The knot, formed by the hair of women, lies directly against the back part of the head.

11. Occasionally, the hair of women is dressed as we see it on Etruscan figures of both sexes. It is tied at a distance from the back of the head, and hangs down, beyond the band which confines it, divided into large tresses lying close to each other. On the Pallas in the Albani villa, which has been many times quoted, also on a smaller Pallas which has been carried to Eng-

land, and most usually on figures of this goddess, the hair is thus arranged ; so likewise on the Caryatides in the Negroni villa, on the Etruscan Diana at Portici, and on many other figures. This statement is a refutation of Gori's opinion, that hair thus confined is a characteristic of Etruscan workmanship. Tresses twined about the head, such as Michael Angelo has given to two female figures on the monument of Julius III., are not to be found on a single ancient statue. A head-dress of false hair is seen on the heads of Roman matrons ; that of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, in the Campidoglio, is of black marble, and so made that the piece can be removed.

12. A hyacinthine color was frequently given to the hair (14). On many statues it is dyed of a red tinge, which may be seen on the Diana, cited above, in the Herculaneum museum at Portici, and on a small Venus, three palms high ( $25\frac{1}{2}$  in. Eng.), in the same museum, who with both hands is wringing her wet hair, and also on a draped female statue with an ideal head, in the courtyard of the same museum. The hair of the Venus de' Medici was formerly gilded ; as also that of the head of an Apollo in the Capitoline museum. This fact is however most obvious on a beautiful Pallas of marble, of the size of life, among the Herculaneum statues at Portici ; the leaves of gold were so thick that they could be peeled off ; little pieces which fell off as they were loosened were picked up five years since.

13. Occasionally, women caused their hair to be cut off, which is exemplified in the mother of Theseus, and in an old woman in a picture by Polygnotus, at Delphi. When done by widows, as Clytemnestra and Hecuba, it was probably intended to express the constancy of their sorrow. Children also cut off their hair on the death of their father, as we know of Electra and Orestes, and as we see in two statues in the Ludovisi villa, of which I will hereafter speak. Jealous husbands likewise cut off their wives' hair, partly as a punishment for having cast looks of tenderness upon other men, and partly to compel them by this means to sit at home. On coins and in pictures, heads not only of women, but also of goddesses, are found covered with a net, like that worn even now by the women of Italy when in the house. This kind of head-dress was termed κεκρυφᾶλος ; and I have spoken of it elsewhere. There is a statue of Venus which deserves notice as being somewhat singular ;

the hair appears to be confined under a net, like that worn by other female heads on coins and in pictures.

14. Some statues, as the Venus of Praxiteles, had pendants in their ears; and the holes in the ears of the daughters of Niobe, of the Medicean Venus, the Leucothea, and a beautiful ideal head of green basalt, — the last two in the villa Albani, — denote that they too wore ear-ornaments. Ear-rings are denoted on a Pallas in the best Greek style, in a rilievo belonging to the sculptor Joseph Nollekens, of Rome. There are however only two statues in marble known of which the ear-ornaments, which are round, have been formed from the marble itself, nearly in the same manner as those on Egyptian figures. One of them is one of the two Caryatides in the Negroni villa; the other is a Pallas, which was in the hermitage of the Cardinal Passionei in the Camaldoli, beyond Frascati, and which was carried to England some time ago. The latter is about half the size of life; the drapery and execution are after the Etruscan style. At the country-seat of Count Fede, in Adrian's villa, are two busts of baked clay, with similar ear-ornaments. Apuleius speaks of the ear-rings of young persons of the male sex; and they are seen in the ears of an Achilles on a vase of terra cotta in the Vatican library. Plato mentions in his will golden ear-rings. Xenophon however reproaches one Apollonides because his ears were bored.

15. In this notice of holes bored through the tip of the ears, and of ear-pendants, I have adduced in illustration only the heads of goddesses and ideal beautiful women. But, lest it might seem that I agree with the learned Buonarrotti, — who asserts that ear-rings were given to the images of goddesses alone, or that perforations in which to hang them are to be found solely on the heads of goddesses, — I mention, from among a number of female heads of particular individuals, Antonia, wife of Drusus, a bust of an aged unknown matron in the Capitoline museum, and also a Matidia in the Ludovisi villa, which likewise have their ears bored.

16. Besides the ornaments in the ears, Roman ladies of rank wore, just above the forehead, something similar to the aigrette of ladies of modern days, which is composed of jewels. Among other examples, it is seen on a portrait-head of a Venus, in the garden of the Farnese palace, which represents Marciana (15), Trajan's niece. In the Pamfili villa is a bust of the same per-

son ; on the forehead, close to the hair, is a crescent with the horns turned upwards. This circumstance may assist in explaining Statius in that passage which describes Alemena, mother of Hercules, as having her hair ornamented with three moons, —

“ . . . . tergmina crinem circumdata luna ” ;  
*Theb. B. 6, v. 289.*  
 . . . . her head encircled by a triple moon, —

probably in allusion to the thrice-lengthened night in which Hercules was begot. Those who seek for a mystic meaning in everything might perhaps explain the half-moon in this case as a type of the vicissitudes of human affairs, — a meaning which Plutarch finds in the half-moon worn by noble Romans on their shoes. However, this same ornament hangs on the breasts of some horses on ancient works, and even the horse of Parthenopæus, in Statius, wears a crescent on his neck. The figures of divinities have occasionally a double band or diadem, like the oft-quoted Leucothea in the Albani villa, who has a round cord placed about her hair ; it is not tied, but one end turns several times under the other. The other band, the proper diadem, is broad, and lies on the forehead just above the origin of the hair. At times, the head-bands were ornamented with jewels (16).

17. Arm-bands were placed about the arms as an ornament. Commonly they are shaped like a serpent. Some are round, and close by means of two snakes' heads ; this was precisely the form given also to the belt of warriors : —

“ Balteus et gemini committunt ora dracones ” ;  
 Two grasping dragons' heads the belt confined.

Several such armlets of gold and bronze are to be found in the Herculaneum museum, and in the museum of the Roman College. This ornament was placed sometimes about the upper arm, as on the two sleeping Nymphs in the Vatican and the Medici villa, which have for this reason been assumed to be figures of Cleopatra, and described as such. This is the proper armlet. Sometimes it encircled the wrist, which it does four times on one of the Caryatides in the Negroni villa. This armlet was called *περικάρπια*, from *καρπός*, “ the wrist,” also *ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις*, “ snake-like wrist-band,” to distinguish it from the other which was placed about the arm, and was termed *περι-*

βραχιόνιοι ὄφεις, "snake-like arm-band." Occasionally, instead of arm-bands of this kind, actual snakes encircle the arms of the Bacchanti. Armlets resembling a twisted ribbon are also found; an example of the kind may be seen on a figure in the Albani villa; they were called στρεπτοί. But it is deserving of especial notice, that the Roman consuls, when entering Rome in triumph, were also accustomed to wear armlets. They are not worn however by either Titus or Marcus Aurelius, who are represented on their triumphal chariots, either because the custom had passed away under the emperors, or because such an ornament on a public monument was not considered appropriate to the dignity of the person and the place<sup>1</sup> (17).

18. Even the legs had their ornament. It consists of a band or hoop, which lies above the ankle, and was peculiar to figures of the Bacchanti. On its surface are grooves, the number of which varies. These Periscelides, as they were termed, or rings about the legs, are worn by the female figures on the gem which represents Theseus holding in his arms the dead body of Laia. Sometimes they are found with five grooves, as for instance about the right legs of two figures of Victoria on a vase of baked clay in the museum of Signor Mengs. The women of Eastern lands, even at the present day, wear hoops of this kind about their legs.

19. The small bell which hangs about the neck and on the breast of the Comic Muse, in a few rilievi in the Mattei palace and the museum of the Roman College, is an extraordinary appendage. It might be intended as an allusion perhaps to the bells which, especially in Italy, are hung about the necks of cattle, to denote the Muse of the fields, or the poetic Muse of herdsmen, because comedy had its origin among herdsmen. A remark may be made in this place on the use of bells by the Bacchanti, because three and even four rows of them are seen hung on the breasts of draped male Bacchanals, figured on two sepulchral urns; one of them is in the garden of the Farnesina palace. Precisely such bells, with cymbals and a thyrsus, are represented on four similar works in relief in the Negroni villa.

. <sup>1</sup> Plate VII., Letter B; Plate VIII., Letter A.





## CHAPTER III.

### THE DRESS OF MALE FIGURES.

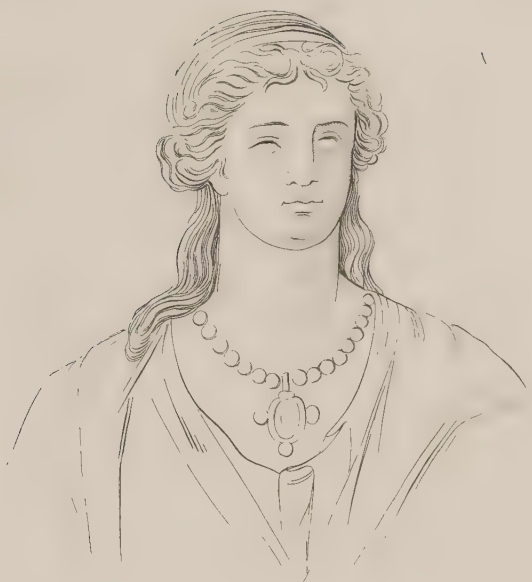
1. From the garments worn by women we pass on, in the second place, to those in use among men, with some remarks on which we shall conclude our observations on dress. The smaller number of male figures and statues than of female to which these remarks apply is owing to the circumstance that they are in general represented heroically, and therefore are nude, rather than to the usage of social life. As the dress of the Roman men was not very different from that of the Greeks, I will notice in it, in connection with the latter, whatever may seem to me to be of advantage. The chapter will therefore contain brief remarks upon the form of the garments worn by the Roman men, — for art is occupied principally with their form, and so much can be understood without figures. Under the head of dress I include arms and armor, without however entering into any investigation in regard to them. I shall, in the first place, speak of the body-garments, and next of the dress of the extremities, — head, hands, and feet.

2. It may be stated, in general, of the dress of men, that, whenever the breast of standing or sitting figures, with a mantle thrown about them, is bare, that is, whenever such figures are without under garments, philosophers, and not senators, are represented ; the latter are always fully dressed.

3. Though the shirt appears to be the most necessary of all the body-garments, yet it was regarded by some people of the oldest times as an effeminate article of dress. The earliest Romans covered their naked bodies merely with a toga, and in this manner the statues of Romulus and Camillus, on the Capitol, were represented. Even at a later period, those who strove in the Campus Martius to win the favor of the people, and thus advance themselves to offices of honor, wore no shirt, in order to display the wounds received upon the breast, as tokens of

their courage. But the shirt afterward became a common garment, not only to the Greeks, with the exception of the Cynic philosopher, but also to all the Romans. It is related of Augustus, that, during winter, he had worn as many as four shirts at one time. On statues, busts, and reliefs, the shirt is visible only at the neck and on the breast, because the figures are represented with a mantle or toga; one very rarely sees figures merely in a shirt, as they are found in the illustrations of the Vatican Terence and Virgil. Soldiers were punished for slight offences by being compelled to perform some manual labor merely in an under garment. As they were then not girded and armed, they are said, in Plutarch, to be ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀζώστοις, "in ungirded tunics."

4. The shirt is properly a tunic with sleeves. It was put on over the head, and, when not tucked up, hung as low as the calf of the leg. Its shape may be seen most distinctly on the figure, above mentioned, of a priest of Cybele, in the museum of Mr. Brown, of London. It consists of two oblong pieces of cloth, which are sewed up on both sides, so that even the seam has been clearly indicated. An opening is left through which to pass the arm, and the portion which falls down from the shoulders to the middle of the upper-arm makes, as it were, a short sleeve. There was however, besides this, a kind of under garment in use which had sleeves, though they reached only to the middle of the upper-arm, as one may see by the beautiful senatorial statue in the Negroni villa (1). Hence such garments were termed κολόβια, "short-sleeves" (2). Short sleeves of this very kind are also worn by a female figure in a Herculeum painting, and by other figures of the same sex. A certain author maintains that the Roman women, and not the men, wore chemises with sleeves. I should like to see the proof of it. He probably meant to say under garments. I cannot remember to have observed on any male Greek or Roman figures, with the exception of theatrical figures, under garments with tight sleeves reaching, like those of women, to the wrist. According to Lipsius, only *Cinædi* and *Pueri meritorii* wore the garb of men with the above-mentioned long and close sleeves. He could not, in all probability, have known that theatrical figures, representing comic or tragic personages, were also dressed in this manner, — which is shown, among other instances, by two small comic statues in the Mattei villa, and by



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another, similar to them, in the Albani villa, and likewise by a tragedian in a Herculaneum painting. But the fact can be seen still more plainly in several figures on a rilievo in the Pamfili villa, which was published in the *Ancient Monuments*. Servants did not wear a mantle, and their shirts were tucked up and confined above the knee. Servants in a comedy wear a short upper vest with half-sleeves over a garment with long close sleeves. I have stated that long close sleeves are not to be found on a single Greek or Roman male figure, with the exception of theatrical figures. But they are peculiar to all Phrygian figures, of which we see an illustration in the beautiful statues of Paris in the Altemps (3) and Lancellotti (4) palaces, and also in other figures of him in reliefs and engraved gems. There are two of the former which represent the elopement of Helen, — one in the Spada palace, the other in the Ludovisi villa. Hence Cybele, as a Phrygian goddess, is always represented with such sleeves, — which is strikingly obvious on a figure of her, in the Campidoglio, wrought in relief. For a similar reason, and to denote that Isis is a foreign and strange goddess, she is the only one of all the goddesses, with the exception of Cybele, who has long close sleeves. Those figures also which are intended to personify barbarian nations have their arms covered, after the manner of the Phrygians, with tight sleeves; and when Suetonius speaks of a German toga, he means to convey the idea of a tunic with sleeves. It is certain that the shirts of the Romans, in the earlier periods of their history, had no sleeves. On a fluted marble vase in the Farnese palace, which exhibits a few dancing female Bacchanals, and Silenus, gloriously executed, the shirt of a bearded Indian Bacchus can be seen, and it deserves especial notice, because it is laced on the breast, — being the only instance of the kind.

5. The breeches in which not only the figures of individuals of foreign birth, but also comic characters, were usually attired, are to be looked upon as under garments. They were generally used upon the stage for the sake of decency. On the comic figures in marble above mentioned, the breeches and stockings are in one piece, as they usually were among the barbarous nations. This induces me to believe that those servants in comedy who were from countries which the Greeks and Romans termed barbarous are represented as clothed in the fashion of

those countries. One sees moreover breeches reaching below the knees, which is shown by Fabretti, especially on the figure of Trajan; and Herodian mentions that Caracalla had drawn his breeches down from his thighs to his knees, in preparing to satisfy an exigency of nature, when he was assassinated by Martialis. Breeches were in use among the Greeks and Romans, as we see by Herculaneum and other paintings, — thus affording a refutation of the assertions of some learned men to the contrary. The breeches of the supposed Coriolanus in the painting in the baths of Titus reach to the ankles, and fit the leg like stockings; their color is blue. Female dancers among the Greeks, as with us, wore tight pantaloons. But they were not in common use among the ancients, nor were they, in any form, a usual and constant article of dress. They are to be considered not as a domestic, but as a travelling or military garment. I will take the occasion to remark that they are not happily used on an heroic figure in armor which is merely symbolical, as, for instance, in one of the four modern rilievi in the gallery of the royal castle at Turin. In this case it is intended to symbolize a hero, not to represent a warrior prepared to mount on horseback. Neither can the breeches of a soldier on the well-known rilievo of Saint Agnes, by Algardi, in the church of Saint Agnes, at Rome, be justified. Like those just mentioned they are too wide, and descend to the middle of the calf of the leg. Instead of breeches, bands were in use among the Romans, which they wound about their thighs. I have observed this kind only in a single instance, the statue of a charioteer (5), that is, of a person who had won the prize in the chariot-races of the Circus, at Rome; it stands in the Negroni villa. It is impossible to say whether the former or the latter was the kind usually worn by Augustus in winter, and which Suetonius terms *Feminalia*. These bands descend only to the middle of the thigh, and are there fastened by strings. But even these were considered as an effeminacy, and Cicero censures Pompey for wearing them. They had not got to be customary among the common people even in Trajan's time (6). On the triumphal arch of Constantine, the covering of the thighs reaches to just below the knees of the figures of the emperor. The breeches and stockings of the natives of barbarous countries are made in one piece, and fastened below the ankle by means of the straps of the sandal. But the stockings

were afterwards made separate from the breeches ; hence the origin of the German word for "stockings," which signifies something lopped off, as Eckhart shows in the *Ebnerisch Casket*. Michael Angelo has therefore committed an error in the ancient garb worn by his Moses, inasmuch as the stockings pass under the breeches, which are tied below the knees.

6. Over the under garment the Greeks threw a cloak, and the Romans their toga. There were two kinds of cloak, — a shorter one, sometimes termed *χλαμύς*, and sometimes *χλαῖνα* by the Greeks, and *paludamentum* by the Romans ; and a longer one, which is the cloak of common use.

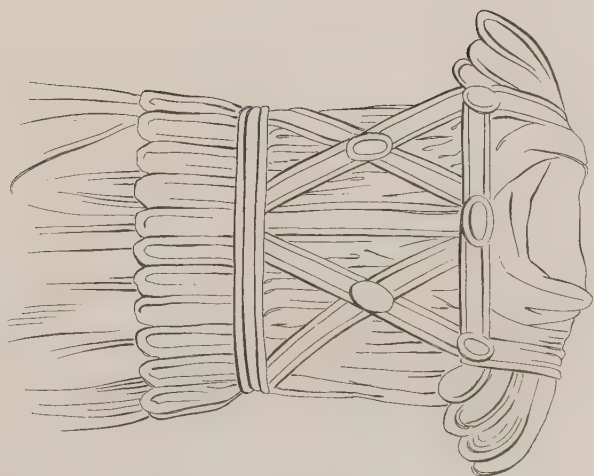
7. According to Strabo, the chlamys, or shorter mantle, was rather oval than round, and was in general the dress of those who were engaged in military service. It covered the left shoulder, and was clasped on the right. It was made short to allow greater facility of movement. That its shape was oval or round is plainly to be seen on more than one statue, but most plainly on a statue, about the size of life, in the papal garden on the Quirinal hill. Hence this mantle is given to heroic figures, and is especially appropriated to Castor and Pollux, though they wear it drawn over both shoulders and confined on the chest. In a passage in Suidas, quoted from Ælian, this manner of wearing the chlamys is stated to be a characteristic mark by which the Dioscouri are distinguished, *χλαμύδας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων εφημμένην ἑκατέραν*, as I have explained in my *Ancient Monuments*. Hence Plato's remark to Aristippus, "You can wear the chlamys, or go in rags," signifies his equanimity in prosperity and adversity. At Athens, the chlamys was also the garb of young persons, but of those who, from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of their age, were obliged to stand guard in the city and thus prepare themselves for the duties of war. The color of their mantles was originally black, but, in the time of Adrian, the rich orator, Herod Atticus, supplied them with white ones. In the illustrations of the old Vatican Terence, this mantle is worn by almost all young men of free birth, as a garment of general use. When worn by warriors it was usually made shaggy on the inside and trimmed with a fringe, *κροσσῶτοί*, for the purpose of warmth.

8. Another short mantle, termed *chlæna*, is to be distinguished from the chlamys. It was not clasped on one shoulder, but was placed about both shoulders, and, when taken off,

carried upon them in the same manner as the inhabitants of warm countries are accustomed to carry their jackets, after having taken them off. This kind of short mantle is given by Aristophanes to Orestes, who carries it upon his left shoulder, as I have already observed, gathered together like a cloth; and in this manner, and in this garb of persons of humble standing, as figurative of his sad and degraded condition,<sup>1</sup> the young hero appears before the tribunal of the Areopagus, on a silver vase belonging to the Cardinal Neri Casini. Plautus terms this fashion of wearing the *chlæna*, *conficere in collum pallium*, "to throw the cloak upon the neck," *collecto pallio*, "with cloak gathered up."

9. When on service in the field, the Greeks did not wear a cloak, nor the Romans a toga, but a lighter over garment, which the former termed *chlamys*, and the latter *Tibenum* or *Paludamentum*. This garment was likewise round, and must have differed only in size from the cloak and toga. The assertions which have been made in regard to a different form of it are refuted by visible proofs. For all statues wearing a coat of mail, and even some others, — as a nude Augustus in the Albani villa, Marcus Aurelius on horseback, and two captive kings of black marble, in the Campidoglio, also the busts of the Cæsars, — have this garment, which one clearly sees must have been not square, but round; even the folds alone prove this to be its shape; for if it were not, it would have been impossible to have arranged them in their present manner. This mantle was fastened, generally on the right shoulder, by a large button, and hung down over the left shoulder, which it covered, so that the right arm remained free. Occasionally the button rests upon the left shoulder, as in the busts of Drusus, Claudius, Galba, Trajan, an Adrian, and a Marcus Aurelius, in the Campidoglio. The *paludamentum* was to the Romans what the *chlamys* was to the Greeks. It was not a coat of mail, as some have supposed, but a garment of a purple color, *ἱππὰς στολή*, *vestitus equestris*, "a riding-dress," the shape of which was rather oval than round, and smaller than the cloak ordinarily worn by the Greeks. I am astonished that a member of the French Academy could have a doubt whether the *paludamentum* was a hauberk or a cloak. It was worn by the Emperors and by the Cæsars in virtue of the honor conferred on them by this title of "Emperor," though neither Tiberius nor Claudius was willing to assume it; their

<sup>1</sup> Plate IX., Letter A.





successors however were less scrupulous on this point. It is well known that until the time of Gallienus, the Cæsars wore not the paludamentum, but the toga, in Rome. The cause becomes obvious from the remonstrance made to Vitellius by his friends when he wished, with this garment on his shoulders, to make a triumphal entrance into Rome; such a procession, they said, would make it seem as if he were going to treat the capital of the Roman empire like a city taken by assault. On this representation he assumed the consular toga. The same respect was observed by Septimius Severus before his splendid entry into Rome. Having arrived at the gates of the city on horseback, attired like an emperor, he dismounted, assumed the toga, and walked the remainder of the distance.

10. The longer cloak of the Greeks is familiar to us from many figures. Sometimes it was lined, as was the one worn by Nestor (7) on account of his age, — the lining of which is designated by the word διπλῆ, — and also that of the Cynics, *duplex pallium*, in consequence of their not wearing any under garments. Sometimes it was not lined; Homer terms such ἀπλοίδας χλαῖνας. The form of this cloak was round; but that of the Gauls and Asiatics was square.

11. I find it necessary to make mention, on this occasion, of an error into which some translators of ancient authors have fallen, in supposing that the text of the original had reference to a cloak. My attention was drawn to this point from observing that Casaubon (8) has taken the word ἱμάτιον to mean a cloak in that passage of Polybius in which it is said that Aratus agreed that one of those who were willing to betray into his hands the city Cynetha should show himself ἐν ἱματίῳ upon a hill in front of the city, whenever they were ready to carry the plot into execution. The learned commentator has rendered the word by *palliatu*s, “in his cloak,” when, as I think, he ought to have said, *tunicatus*, “in his shirt.” For it was probably more unusual to leave the city without than with a tunic, and it was requisite that the signal should be something unusual. The word ἱμάτιον must always be understood as synonymous with the tunic of the Romans; and, for the purpose of expressing in Greek Pliny’s remark on the statues of Romulus and Camillus, “that they were *sine tunica*, ‘without tunics,’” it would be unnecessary to translate the word *tunica* by ἱματίῳ. The word χιτῶν moreover in some authors has been wrongly

understood. It not only signifies the under garment, — as in that passage of Diodorus in which he states that Dionysius, king of Syracuse, constantly wore an iron hauberk over his tunic, ἡναγκάζετο φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν χιτῶνα σιδηροῦν θώρακα, — but at times, and invariably in Homer (9), it also means a shirt of mail, which is proved by one of the epithets, χαλκοχίτωνες, “brazen-shirted,” applied to the Greeks, and which signifies the same as χαλκοθώρακες. This remark applies especially to the passage in which Diodorus speaking of Gelo, king of Syracuse, states that, after his famous victory over the Carthaginians, he presented himself before the people to give an account of his exploits, not only entirely unarmed, but even ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ, “without coat of mail and in his shirt.” Translators have not understood the author’s meaning. A warrior is also termed μονοχίτων, “single-shirted,” who throws away his arms and cloak, and flees from the field merely in his under garments.

12. So much has been written concerning the Roman over garment or toga, that the very copiousness of the investigations leaves the reader in greater ignorance than at first. As yet no one has shown the true form of it, which it is indeed difficult to point out. The toga of the Romans, like the cloak of the Greeks, and the modern cloak, was of a circular shape. Let the reader recall my previous remarks on the cloak of the Greek women. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the toga had the form of a half-circle, ἡμικύκλον; it is my impression however that he does not mean to say that it is cut in the form of a half-circle, but that it has this form when adjusted about the wearer. For as the Greek mantle was gathered together, many times doubled, so also was the circular toga arranged in the same way, — an explanation that removes a difficulty which has perplexed commentators on the dress of the ancients. The learned have not been able to find any other difference between the toga and the cloak, especially the cloak of philosophers, than that the latter was worn next the skin, and not like the former over a shirt. Others have supposed the Greek cloak to be square, and that they saw the four corners of it in the engraving of the figure of Euripides; whilst another sees the same number of ends on the cloak of the figure near the grotto in the *Apotheosis of Homer*, in the Colonna palace. But both are wrong; the four ends or tags are not visible on either. The small figure, with the name of Euripides on its base, was supposed to have been lost, but it

was discovered not long ago in the wardrobe of the Farnese palace. As it was for some time in my possession, I am able to speak upon this point.

13. The toga, like the mantle, was thrown over the left shoulder, and the mass of folds thus formed was termed *Sinus*, "lap or bosom." It was not usually girdled, — a remark that others also make, though it may have been so under some circumstances, as the passages in Appian (10) to which reference is made would lead one to infer. It is sufficient for the purposes of artists — for whom especially I write — to know that its color was white; for, if they should have occasion to drape Roman figures, they could make use of the statues, and distinguish a senator by a broad purple border to his toga, called *Latus clavus*. This border cannot have been on the lower hem, as Nori and others suppose; it must have been placed along the front seams. On some statues and busts, on which the toga is gathered into folds, there are several broad stripes; of these the uppermost stripe seems to be the border of purple or *Latus clavus*. A toga arranged in this manner passes over the left shoulder, or even over the upper-arm of this side, diagonally across the breast, and under the right arm, as shown by a statue in the Pamfili villa and two busts in the Campidoglio; one of the busts has the head of Maximinus, and the other of the younger Philip. Similar busts are to be found in the Barberini palace and the Borghese villa. Rubens mistakes greatly when he maintains that a broad band of this kind is to be found only on figures executed during and posterior to the age of Constantine, and consequently that this garment is the one which then and afterwards was termed *Orarium*, and now is called *Stola*. I can assure the reader that busts much more ancient than those from the Capitoline museum, adduced by me, wear the toga gathered together in the broad folds noticed, which is very apparent, among other instances, on the bust mentioned as being in the Borghese villa.

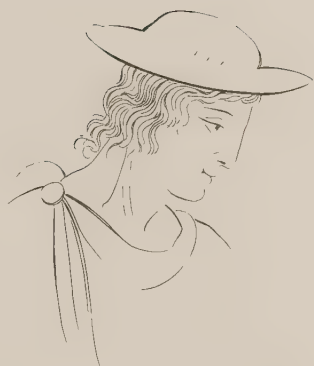
14. This is likewise a suitable occasion to notice that arrangement of the Roman toga which was called the *Cinctus Gabinus*, — a manner of wearing it adopted at sacred ceremonies, and especially at sacrifices. The toga was drawn up upon the head, but in such a manner that its left extremity, avoiding the right shoulder, fell down upon the left shoulder, and passed below and diagonally across the breast to the right side,

where it was twisted with the right extremity, into which it was stuck, yet in such a manner that the toga still descended to the feet. This is shown by the figure of Marcus Aurelius, in a rilievo on his triumphal arch, which represents him engaged in sacrifice, and on other similar works. Whenever the Cæsars are represented with a portion of the toga covering their heads, an allusion is made to their office of high-priest. Among the gods, Saturn is commonly represented with his head covered beyond the crown of it; and, so far as I know, there are only two exceptions to the exclusiveness of the remark. The first is a Jupiter, called the *Hunter*, on an altar in the Borghese villa; he is riding a Centaur, and his head is covered in the manner mentioned. Jupiter, under this aspect, is called in Arnobius *Riciniatus*, from the word *Ricinium*, which signifies that portion of the cloak with which the head was covered. Martianus also represents him in this manner. The second exception is a Pluto among the paintings on the Nasoni sepulchre.

15. The apron which was bound by the priests, *Victimarii*, around their hips, when slaying the sacrificial victims, was termed *Limus*; with this exception they were entirely naked. I should not have touched upon this point, — it being well understood from many rilievi, — if the French translator of Petronius had not mistaken such an apron, worn by the priestess Enothea, *incincta quadrato pallio*, for a ceremonial dress. As she girded this *pallium* about her, it appears to me that it could not have been a cloak, because that was never girded.

16. The ornaments and trimmings of the garments of men, as they are not visible on any monuments, have no place in this treatise; but a supposed *Clavus*, in a Herculaneum painting which represents the muse Thalia, is at least to be noticed. On the cloak, where it covers the thigh of this figure, an oblong square band of different colors is attached, and the authors of the *Description of the Herculaneum Paintings* seek to prove therein that this stripe is the *Clavus* of the Romans, — which was a purple border, either sewed upon the toga, or inwrought, and which by its greater or less breadth denoted the dignity and rank of the wearer. This concludes my remarks upon the dress of the body.

17. The covering and attire of the extremities, commencing with the head, will conclude all that I have to say upon the





dress of the ancients. A diadem was worn by the Greeks, but not by the Romans. It must have been made of bronze occasionally, as we may conclude from the one on the head of a supposed Ptolemy of bronze, in the Albani villa, about which longish incisions are cut, probably for the purpose of fastening this head-band by hooks (11). The beard was sometimes tied in a knot under the chin, as seen on a head in the Campidoglio and on another Herculeaneum head at Portici. The Spartans were not allowed to wear moustaches.

18. The hat came into use in the earliest ages, and was worn by the Athenians not only without the city, but also within it. In Ægina, it was usual to wear a hat even in the theatre, as early as the time of Draco the law-giver. At that time hats were made of felt, as we are informed especially of the hat or helmet of the Spartans, which, according to Thucydides, could not turn the point of an arrow. Not only men but even boys wore hats, and at the time when the Athenians had renounced the custom of wearing them in the city, it was not unusual in Rome to cover the head, at least in the house, as Suetonius informs us with regard to Augustus, who always wore his hat when in the house or exposed to the sun. Travelers, and those who, when in the open fields, had to protect themselves from the sun or rain, covered their heads with a hat, which was shaped like ours, though commonly the brim was not turned up, and the crown was low, as I observed in my previous remarks on the hat of women. It was provided with strings, which could be tied under the chin, as we see by the figure of Theseus on a vessel of baked clay in the Vatican library; when the head was bared, the hat was thrown backwards on the shoulders, where it hung suspended by its strings; the strings, however, are never visible.<sup>1</sup> Meleager is represented on several engraved gems with his hat thrown backwards; and on two similar reliefs, in the Borghese and Albani villas, which show Amphion and Zethus, with their mother Antiope, the hat of Zethus is hanging on his shoulder, — in allusion to the herdsman's life which he had embraced. This work has been explained by me in another place, and for the first time. The hat was a common vestment of the peasantry and herdsmen; hence it was called the Arcadian hat. In some figures of Apollo, on coins, it is significant of his occupation as

<sup>1</sup> Plate X., Letters A, B, C.



21. The dress of the feet is so various with regard to shoes and sandals, and their form, and the different modes of fastening and lacing them, that a volume of tolerable size would be the result of an attempt to notice them all.

22. As regards the sandals, I shall, in the first place, content myself with noticing a ridiculous opinion which some one has expressed in regard to a cross on the strap between the great and next toes of an antique dismembered foot in the museum of the Vatican library, at that part of it where a clasp, shaped like a leaf of trefoil or a heart, was commonly placed. This clasp unites two straps which, coming from both sides of the foot, meet at its top the strap that comes from the space between the first and second toes. It has been inferred from this cross, that the foot formed part of a statue of one of the martyrs, — for it was found in the Catacombs, — and a big inscription to this purport has been attached to it. But it evidently belonged to the statue of a young female, and is so beautiful, that, at the time when statues were made in honor of the martyrs, no amount of gold could have produced its like. Every one moreover knows how many pieces of ancient art, nowise connected with the Christian religion, have been found in the Catacombs. After a lapse of some time, a beautiful male foot of a statue which must have been far above the size of life was discovered, having a similar cross-clasp in the same place. This foot is in the museum of the sculptor Bartholemeo Cavaceppi. This same strap (13), which passes between the great and second toes, is, on a beautiful statue of Bacchus, ornamented with a winged angel's head.

23. The various kinds of shoes worn by the ancients have been discussed at length by others. According to Appian, the shoes of the Romans were different from those of the Greeks; but we cannot specify the difference. Distinguished Romans wore shoes of red leather, which was brought from Parthia, and was perhaps the Spanish leather of the present day. Such shoes were termed *Mullei*; and they were occasionally embroidered with gold or silver, as we see on some dressed feet. But shoes were usually made of black leather, and reached to the middle of the leg; they are to be considered as a sort of half-boot, which they are on the figures of Castor and Pollux. In an illustration of the very ancient manuscript of Cosmas, in the Vatican library, Moses is seen drawing off, before the

burning bush, such half-boots as those of Pollux and Amycus. On the statue of Jason, at Versailles, erroneously named Quintus Cincinnatus, one sees the kind of shoes which may be given to heroic figures.<sup>1</sup> They are sandals, having a raised edge around them of a finger's breadth in width, and quarter-pieces behind; they were laced with straps passing over the upper part of the foot where it lies bare, and continued above the ankle, and there tied. The remark made by Pliny about monkeys, *Laqueisque calceari imitatione venantium tradunt*, is probably an allusion to the shoes made from cords, specimens of which may be seen in the Herculaneum museum, and of which I have already made mention. It has been generally understood as applying to the snares in which these animals are captured, whereas, on the contrary, the writer means to say that monkeys make cord-shoes for themselves, like huntsmen. Noble Athenians generally wore a half-moon of silver on their shoes, though in some few instances it was of ivory, and, as it appears, on one side below the ankle. Noble Romans wore a whole moon, but as yet this mark has not been discovered on a single Roman statue. I have nothing further to remark, except that the statue of Adrian, in the Albani villa, is represented with a coat of mail and barefooted. The statue has been noticed by me elsewhere, and the fact mentioned that this emperor would frequently walk, barefoot, twenty miles in his armor. But the statue can now no longer be recognized; for the head of it was deemed necessary to another statue, and therefore was exchanged for a head of Septimius Severus; consequently, the significancy of the bare feet is totally lost.

24. The hands of a few figures on sepulchral urns are covered with gloves. This fact is deserving of mention because it contradicts Casaubon's assertion, that gloves were not in use either among the Greeks or Romans. They were, on the contrary, known even in the age of Homer, who describes Laertes, the father of Ulysses, as wearing them.

25. As a supplementary remark, I will observe that handkerchiefs were not used, at least by the Greeks; for we learn that persons of rank dried their tears with their cloaks, as did Agathocles, brother of a queen of Egypt, before an assemblage of the people at Alexandria. Napkins likewise were not introduced among the Romans until a later period, and then each guest brought his own with him.

<sup>1</sup> Plate VIII., Letter B.

26. To the list of articles which constituted the clothing of the body belongs also the armor with which it was covered, namely, the cuirass, the helmet, and the greaves. The statues of Romans were, as Cicero observes, generally represented in armor for the purpose of denoting the military reputation on which they prided themselves; and one is prepared to imagine a statue of Marius, Sylla, and other such warriors, thus arrayed.

27. The ancient cuirass was formed of two pieces, which covered the breast and the back. It was made sometimes of linen, and sometimes of brass. Linen hauberks were worn by the Phœnicians and Assyrians in the army of Xerxes, also by the Carthaginians, — from whom were taken the three which Gelo sent to Elis, — and by the Spaniards. They were worn by most Roman generals and emperors, as by Galba, of whom it is particularly mentioned; and those which we see on their statues appear to represent hauberks of linen, for the outlines of muscles are often marked out on them, which could be more easily done with linen pressed upon a form, than with bronze. The linen was first prepared with a mixture of strong wine or vinegar and salt, and then folded eight or ten times. But other hauberks are also found, which evidently represent brass; and a few are perfectly similar to the mail-coats of our cuirassiers, — among which are those of a beautiful bust of Titus, and of two recumbent Captives, in the Albani villa. All these have joints on each side.<sup>1</sup>

28. I will merely observe on this point, in addition to what has been said by others, that helmets were not always made of brass. Some must have been formed of leather or other flexible material; for the helmet beneath the foot of the statue of a hero, in the Farnese palace, is crushed together, which could not have happened if it had been made of brass.

29. Leg-armor is frequently found on reliefs and engraved gems; but there is only a single statue which has it, and that is in the Borghese villa. Greaves were also in use among the Etruscans and Sardinians; but instead of covering the fore part of the leg, where they were generally worn, they protected the calf of the leg, leaving the front undefended. Mention has already been made of a specimen of this kind on a very ancient Sardinian figure in bronze of a soldier.

<sup>1</sup> Plate IX., Letter B.

30. Statues of the Cæsars are represented with a sword under the arm, even when they are entirely nude; in this state it is intended to figure the emperors, as it were, in a deified form. But, except in war, the Roman emperors did not wear a sword, more than any other individual, and indignant murmurs were excited against Galba when he wore a sword in Rome. The usual length of a sword, which hung below the left shoulder, was not much more than three palms (26 in. Eng.), as one very evidently sees by a sword suspended on a fragment of a statue of beautiful execution, wearing a paludamentum, or military cloak, in the Mattei villa; the sheath is two palms and three digits (19½ in. Eng.). The lower end of the sheaths of most ancient swords is a semicircular flat knob, called *μύκης*, "the mushroom," from its form. The knob of the handle is also generally shaped in the same way, though I have noticed a different form of it on two swords. One of them, held by Agamemnon, on the wrongly named sepulchral urn of Alexander Severus, in the Campidoglio, has a ram's head, and the other, on the cited rilievo of Telephus, in the Ruspoli palace, has an eagle's head, instead of the usual knob.

31. The shield of Pallas on a coin stamped in Lucania, and on another coin of the city of Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> would be deserving of special note, if it was actually quilted on the inside, as the drawings of these coins seem to show by lines intersecting each other on its inner side. I do not know whether the sculptor Adam of Paris — who repaired a statue of Pallas, among other mutilated remains belonging to the Cardinal Polignac, and gave to her such a shield, quilted after the manner of a cushion — had any knowledge of these coins. But I do know that the sculptors of the four above-mentioned large rilievi in a gallery of the royal castle at Turin gave her such a one from a mere caprice of their own, for no other reason than that it had a better appearance.

32. The Roman Fasces also may be considered as weapons, and it may be remarked that the axe in them must have been covered by a case, as are the battle-axes borne by the Prussian grenadiers, over the handle and blade of which a leather cover is drawn. We see examples of such axes in cases in several of the Fasces in the Campidoglio, and the Rospigliosi and Massimi palaces. The blades of these axes were in the course of time

<sup>1</sup> Plate XII., Letters A, B.

made of silver, and it therefore became still more an object to cover them. As other weapons were protected by a case, it is yet more probable that that which seems to me to be a cover over the axe of the Fasces may in fact be such; for the ancients covered not only their shields, but their helmets, with a leathern case, which was not removed except when they were marching to battle, or whilst under review. The helmet, protected by its cover, was carried at the girdle, as we see on the Trajan column. In this respect the ancient warriors also resembled our grenadiers, who when on a march carry their caps suspended, on account of their weight, and walk in their hats.

33. Refined taste and sensibility, as well in observing and teaching as in imitating, are, it is true, less required in the drawing of draped figures, than knowledge and accurate observation. But this department of art demands from the connoisseur not less investigation than from the artist himself. Drapery bears the same relation here to the naked body, as expression does to the thoughts, that is, as the clothing of the thoughts to the thoughts themselves: it is often less difficult to find the latter than the former. Now, as more dressed than nude figures were executed in the earliest periods of Greek art, — and this continued to be the case in regard to female figures even in its most brilliant epochs, — so that fifty draped figures may be counted for every nude one, it was of course the aim of the artist at all times to attain not less to elegance in drapery, than to beauty in the nude figure. He sought to diffuse grace, not merely over the features and actions, but also over the garments, — for the most ancient Graces were represented clothed; and though in our day the beautiful drawing of the nude body might be learned from four or five of the most beautiful statues, yet drapery must be studied on a hundred. One statue is rarely found to resemble another in its drapery, whilst on the contrary many naked statues are perfectly similar to each other, as are most statues of Venus. Several statues of Apollo likewise appear to be executed after the same model, as, for example, the three similar ones in the Medici villa, and another in the Campidoglio. This is the case also with the greater number of young satyrs (14). Justly therefore may the drawing of draped figures be deemed an essential part of art.

34. There are few modern artists whose drapery is free from errors, and in the previous century all, with the single excep-

tion of Poussin, were faulty. Even the cloak of Saint Bibiana, by Bernini, is confined over the tunics by a broad girdle. Now this is not only in opposition to all ancient dress, but also to the nature of a cloak, for it ceases, as it were, to be a cloak the moment it is girt. The artist who executed the drawings of the beautifully engraved plates to Chambray's *Parallel of Ancient and Modern Architecture* has actually dressed Callimachus, the inventor of the Corinthian capital, in a woman's garments. I am therefore astonished how Pascoli, in the Preface to his *Lives of the Painters*, could assert that the sculptors of antiquity did not possess a noble and pleasing taste in drapery, and that in this department of the art they had been excelled by the moderns. Now as he possessed little or absolutely no knowledge of art, — as it appears both from his book and the testimony of those personally acquainted with him, — he must have learnt from others by piecemeal and by repeated questioning all that he desired to note down; we may consequently infer that his erroneous judgment respecting the drapery of the ancients must have been a pretty general opinion among the artists of his day. What excellence therefore can be expected from those who act and work under the prejudicial influence of such an error, and are blind to the beauty which actually exists in antique figures of only middling merit? Though it cannot be asserted of many figures — what Corneille said of the Bajazet of Racine, "the Turkish dress covered a Frenchman's heart" — that the Greek dress covers a milliner's manikin, yet many defects of drawing of the nude body would be concealed by drapery skilfully arranged.

## BOOK VII.

### THE MECHANICAL PART OF GREEK ART.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### MATERIALS USED IN ART.

1. IN this portion of my subject I shall follow the natural order, which commences with knowledge and observation, and thence proceeds to work and execution. The previous chapters were devoted to drawing generally, and especially to the ideas of the beautiful, and they are consequently capable of application to painting as well as to sculpture; the present will include only execution, and the execution merely of works moulded, carved, or cast. This section is divided into three parts, of which the first treats generally of the art of the sculptor in working different materials; the second relates particularly to the execution of coins; and the third treats of engraved gems.

2. In my reflections on execution, it is my intention to follow exactly the same course which Sculpture itself did, for it appears to have proceeded from the softer to the more resisting materials, and from clay even to the hardest stone, as may be seen in the second chapter of the first Book, in which are noticed the different substances whereon the art progressively wrought, with this difference however, that here I shall touch upon the workmanship only in those departments of art of which specimens have been preserved, and I shall consequently omit all mention of works in wood, because there are no figures of the kind remaining.

3. I commence with clay, as the first material employed in art, and especially with models and workmanship in plaster.

Models in clay were formerly, as now, wrought with a modelling stick, as may be seen by the figure of the sculptor Alcamenes, on a small rilievo in the Albani villa. But the artist also used the aid of his fingers, and especially of his nails, in rendering certain delicate parts and elaborating them with more nicety of feeling. It is in reference to the nicety and delicacy of this pressure that the celebrated Polycletus was wont to say "that the workmanship was the most difficult when the clay was in or under the nails," "Ὅταν ἐν ὀνυχὶ ὁ πηλὸς γένηται, or οἷς ἂν εἰς ὀνυχα ὁ πηλὸς ἀφίκεται. This passage does not appear to me to have been understood hitherto, and, when Frank Junius translates it, *Cum ad unguem exigitur lutum*, "When the clay is dried by the nail," he does not make the saying of the ancient sculptor any the more intelligible. The word ὀνυχίζειν, ἐξονυχίζειν, appears to signify the last touches, above mentioned, which sculptors gave with their finger-nails to their models. The model of the sculptor was termed κίμβαρος. The phrase of Horace,

. . . . ad unguem  
Factus homo,

"A man made to the nail," and also what he says in another place, *Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem* (1), "Did not correct to the nail (critically) by ten revisions," refer to the same finishing pressure given to the model, and both passages appear to have been as little understood as the Greek phrase. Horace has always been understood to mean that fitting of the joints of stones or marble which is practised by stone-masons; this interpretation is adopted by Erasmus and Bentley, and, in the second passage indeed, the latter wishes to read *præsectum* instead of *perfectum*. If my explanation should come nearer to the true meaning, then the old reading remains unaltered, and the sense of the passage is far more noble and appropriate. As these forms of expression, in relation to the finger-nails, signify the last finish bestowed upon the model, so the use of the thumb on wax-figures has a meaning precisely similar.

Exigite, ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,  
Ut si quis cera vultum facit.

"Require him to form their tender manners as carefully  
As the artist with his thumb moulds a face in wax."

4. Modelling in clay however is not the execution itself, but only a step preparatory to it, the term "execution" being un-

derstood as applying to works in gypsum, ivory, stone, marble, bronze, and other hard materials. In regard to execution generally, we have no special knowledge of any peculiarity in the manner of working followed by Greek artists different from that of modern artists, and from our idea of it. It is certain however that they made models for their works. A celebrated writer believes that Diodorus, in his remark that the Egyptian artists wrought after an exact measure, but that the Greeks were guided by the accuracy of the eye, means to state the contrary, to intimate that the Greek artists did not work after models. But besides genuine antique models, in clay, of detached figures, which exist even now, and of which many have been noticed in the second chapter of the first Book, the contrary can be proved by an engraved gem in the late Stosch museum, on which Prometheus is measuring with a plumb-line the man whom he is occupied in forming. It is well known how highly were prized the models of the celebrated Arcesilaus, who flourished a few years before Diodorus, and how many models of burnt clay have been preserved and are even now discovered daily. The sculptor must work with the rule and dividers; the painter should have his measure in his eye.

5. Images of the divinities were anciently made, for the poor, of gypsum. The portraits of distinguished men which Varro sent from Rome into all lands were probably also made of gypsum. But none of these exist at the present day; there are only rilievi remaining, the most beautiful of which have been preserved on the painted ceilings of two rooms and a bath at Baiæ, not far from Naples. I make no mention here of the beautiful reliefs in the tombs at Pozzuoli, because they are executed in lime and puzzolana. The less the relief, the softer and more pleasing is its workmanship; but, in order to produce perspective effect by diminishing elevation of the figures, the contours of those parts which ought to appear raised are traced out by sinking their outlines below the plain surface. It appears strange to me, that the artist who executed the gypsum-works on a small chapel in the enclosure, περίβολος, of the temple of Isis, in the ancient city of Pompeii, in which the figures of Perseus and Andromeda occur, should have conceived the idea of entirely detaching from the background that hand of the hero which holds the head of Medusa. The hand could not have been supported in any other way than by an iron rod

passing around it, which is now exposed to view in consequence of the hand having gone to decay.

6. Work in ivory, as well as embossed work on silver and bronze, was termed *Toreutike*, a word which has been understood, by modern not less than by ancient commentators and philologists, to mean works turned in a lathe. But the words *toreutike*, *toreuma*, *toreutos*, and *toreutes*, which were applied to this kind of work and to those artists who practised it, are not to be derived from *tornos*, a lathe, — and not one of the passages adduced by Henry Stephens signifies anything turned, as this learned scholar also observes, — but their root is *toros*, “distinct, clear,” and it is said properly of the voice. These words appear to be adopted to signify a raised kind of work different from that on gems, which is called ἀνάγλυφον, as I shall notice hereafter; so that *toreuma* would properly signify a kind of work in which the figures projected boldly, that is, in conformity to the meaning of the word *toros*, figures which are plainly visible. In a similar manner, I explain the use of the word *toreias* by Dio Chrysostom, when speaking of embossed cups, which have ἑλικάς τινὰς καὶ τορείας, that is, which are adorned with embellishments of wreaths and other raised work, but which his translator has understood to mean turned work. But as this art, turnery, was employed principally in the manufacture of small articles and ornaments, Plutarch joins the word *toreuein* with the word λεπτοουργεῖν, that is, “to make delicate articles,” where he relates that Alexander, the third son of Perseus, the last king of Macedon, was celebrated in Rome for his skill in such works.

7. The most ancient artist of this kind, and especially on silver vessels, would be Alcon, of Mylæ in Sicily, if we may believe Ovid, who states him to have lived some generations before the Trojan war, in that passage where he particularizes among the presents made to Æneas by Anius, king of Delos, a cup by this artist, and the names of those who had previously possessed it. But the poet appears to have committed a manifest anachronism here, for Mylæ was not built till some centuries after the Trojan war, as the reader can learn by consulting the *History of Sicily* by Cluverius, by whom, as well as by the commentators of Ovid, this error on the part of the poet has been wholly overlooked.

8. A general historic account has been given, in the second

chapter of the first Book, of the different materials used in statuary by the Greeks and other nations ; here it is my intention to speak particularly of marble. Caryophilus has written a special treatise on the different kinds of marble mentioned by the ancient authors, and given at length all the passages on the subject which he was able to find, together with their translation. His work is particularly prized by those who look at nothing but the extensive reading which it displays ; but its author, with all his labor, does not inform us in what consists the superiority of the finest marble, and many remarkable passages in ancient writers have escaped his observation.

9. It is well known that antiquarians, when they wish to enhance the value of a statue or its material, say that it is Parian marble ; and it is rare for Ficoroni to notice a statue or column which he does not consider to be made of Parian marble. But this is, as it were, a shop phrase adopted by them, and used on all occasions, and, if the object happen by chance to be formed actually of this kind of marble, the correctness of its application is the result not of knowledge but of accident. I do not know whence Belon got his information that the Pyramid or Tomb of Cestius is of marble from Thasus.

10. The finest kinds of white Greek marble were the Parian, — which the Greeks also termed *λύγδινος*, from Mount Lygdos in the island of Paros, — and the Pentelic, of which Pliny makes no mention. The latter was quarried near Athens, and where one figure was made from the former, ten were made from the latter, as can be proved from the accounts given by Pausanias. But we do not know the precise difference between the two kinds (2).

11. White marble is of small or large grain, that is, composed of finer or coarser particles ; and the finer the grain, the better the marble. There are indeed marble statues which seem to be cast from a milky-white mass or clay, in which no appearance of granulation is visible ; this is undoubtedly the best quality (3). As the Parian marble was the rarest of all, it must have had this character. The Parian marble had also two other properties, which are not possessed by the finest Carrara marble ; the one is its softness, so that it can be wrought like wax, and is fit for the nicest work in the hair, feathers, and the like, whereas the Carrara is brittle, and chips off whenever an attempt is made to elaborate it too much ; the

other is its color, which approximates that of the flesh, whilst the Carrara is of a dazzling white. The bust of Antinous in rilievo, somewhat larger than natural, in the Albani villa, is of the finest marble. Isidorus mistakes therefore when he asserts that the Parian marble is quarried in blocks only of a size suited to form vases. Perrault, who considers the coarse-grained marble to be Parian, is equally in error; but this he could not know, never having left France. The large grains in this kind of marble sparkle like rock-salt, and a certain species of marble, called *Salinum*, appears to be the very same with it, and to have received its name from its resemblance to salt (4).

12. Our remarks in regard to the workmanship on stones apply principally to marble and the harder stones, as basalt and porphyry. Most marble statues are wrought from a single block; and Plato even proposes it as a law of his republic, that statues should be made from a single block (5). It is a remarkable, and not an unusual circumstance, that the heads of some of the best statues in marble were executed separately, and afterwards fitted to the bodies, and that this formed a part of the original plan. This is apparent from the heads of Niobe and her daughters, which are inserted into the shoulders, and there is no ground in this instance for suspecting either injury or repair. The heads of the frequently cited Pallas, in the Albani villa, and of another beautiful Pallas in the same place, are likewise inserted; also the heads of the four Caryatides found four years ago. The arms also were occasionally wrought separately and inserted, as they are in the two statues of Pallas, and in two of the Caryatides above mentioned.

13. It is evident from the almost colossal female figure of a River, in the Albani villa, formerly in the villa of the ducal house of Este, at Tivoli, that the ancient sculptors draughted their statues, as the moderns do theirs; for the lower portion of it is merely sketched out in the roughest manner. On the principal bones, covered by the drapery, raised points have been left; these are measures, which at a more advanced stage of the execution were cut away, as the case is at the present day.

14. Those members of a figure which were detached, or free at one extremity, were connected, as we see in some few works, by a prop (*Puntello*) with the figure itself, — corresponding to the practice of the present day; and this is observed even in

parts where it could appear neither necessary nor customary, on a Hercules which stands in the garden within the Borghese palace. In this statue, the extremity of the penis rests on a prop of this kind, which is a rod of marble of the size of a small quill, nicely finished off in its entire circumference, and still remaining between the penis and scrotum. This Hercules, in respect to its preservation, may be considered among the rarest figures in Rome; it is so far uninjured, that only the extremities of two toes are wanting, and even these would not have suffered if they had not projected beyond the sockle.

15. After a statue was completed, it was either perfectly smoothed (6), — which was effected, first with pumice-stone, and afterwards with plumbago and tripoli, — or again retouched with the chisel. The latter was done probably after the figure had passed through the first part of the process of smoothing, namely, with the pumice-stone (7). The artist proceeded thus, partly for the purpose of approaching nigher the truth in the appearance of the flesh and drapery, and partly because the light, when it falls upon parts which are perfectly finished, is reflected so brightly as frequently to render invisible, and hide from observation, the most untiring industry. There was reason also for apprehension, lest, in polishing and smoothing, those strokes which most display the artist's knowledge, and the finest touches should be destroyed, for work of this kind is not executed by the artist's own hand. Hence some ancient masters, those who had leisure and patience to go over their works anew, gently retouched them with the chisel, after having first smoothed them with pumice-stone, partly for the purpose of giving to them with their own hands the final finish, which must generally be said of the workman who smooths them, and partly for the purpose of thereby imparting softness to the surface of the naked body, and displaying the art in its fullest splendor. Most statues however, even those which are colossal, were perfectly smoothed, as proved by the remaining fragments in the Campidoglio of a colossal figure supposed to be an Apollo, namely, both feet, fragments of the arms, and a kneecap, — which must be those of the colossal Apollo brought by Lucullus to Rome from Apollonia. The feet are nine palms long (6 ft. 4 in.), the nails of the great toe seven digits and a half ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.), and the toe itself more than four palms (2 ft.  $9\frac{1}{3}$  in.) in circumference. In a similar manner are the flesh-

parts of two colossal heads polished, which represent Tritons, and the colossal heads of Titus and Trajan, in the Albani villa. The remark of the philosopher Lacydes, when he refused the invitation of King Attalus, saying kings, like statues, should be looked at only from a distance, cannot apply to all statues, nor can it either be wholly true of every king, for the great works, just cited, are finished in such a manner that they may be examined as closely as an engraved gem.

16. But there are some of the finest statues in marble to which the last finish has been given merely with the chisel, without any preparatory smoothing, as we see, for example, by the workmanship of the Laocoön, of the Borghese Athlete by Agasias, the Centaur in the Borghese villa, the Marsyas in the villa of the Medici, and of several other figures. The Laocoön is the finest of all the statues which have received their last finish from the chisel, and here, in particular, an observant eye can discover with what masterly address and skilful boldness the chisel has been managed, in order not to impair, by polishing, the effect of those traits which most evince the knowledge of the artist. Though the outer skin of this statue when compared with a smooth and polished surface appears somewhat rough, rough as a soft velvet contrasted with a lustrous satin, yet it is, as it were, like the skin of the ancient Greeks, which had neither been relaxed by the constant use of warm baths, — as was the case with the Romans after the introduction among them of effeminate habits, — nor rubbed smooth by a scraper, but on which lay a healthy moisture, resembling the first appearance of down upon the chin. The two great Lions in marble, which crouch at the entrance of the Arsenal at Venice, and which were carried thither from Athens, are likewise finished merely with the chisel, as the hair and mane of a lion require to be finished. This manner of finish however more properly belongs to works in marble of this kind and size. The degree of skill and dexterity requisite to finish with the chisel alone could not be acquired in any other way than by long practice, for which modern days do not afford sufficient opportunity.

17. Most statues in marble however were smoothed; and the process was almost the same as that of the present day. Of the stones which were used for this purpose, one kind came from the island of Naxos (8), and Pindar calls it the best. All

statues of the present day are smoothed with wax, as was the practice among the ancients ; but it is entirely rubbed off, and does not remain as a varnish, an over-skin on them. The passages quoted (9) have been wrongly understood by all to refer to the process of cleaning statues.

18. Black marble, of which one species was quarried at Lesbos, came into use later than white marble, though there is one instance of a statue having been made from it by an ancient artist of Ægina. The hardest and finest kind is commonly called Paragon, or Touchstone. Of entire Greek figures from this marble, there have been preserved an Apollo, in the Farnese gallery, the god Aventinus, so called, in the Capitoline museum, — both larger than life, — the two Centaurs already mentioned, less than life, which formerly belonged to the Cardinal Furietti, but are now incorporated in the said museum, and on the sockles of which the artists, Aristeas and Papias, of Aphrodisium, placed their names. Of the size of life are a young dancing Satyr, and an Athlete holding in his hand a small oil-flask. Both of them are in the Albani villa ; they were dug from the ruins of the ancient city of Antium by the Cardinal Alexander Albani, by whom the villa was built. These two statues, together with a Jupiter and an Æsculapius from the same kind of marble and of the same size, stood in a room not far from the theatre of that city (10). Besides these statues in the Greek style, there are others which were executed after the Egyptian manner, and which were discovered in Adrian's villa ; I have spoken of them in Book II., Chap. III., ¶ 8. The hardness of this kind of marble is not uniformly the same ; but the softest, which we call *Nero Antico*, "black antique," is the blackest. That which is still quarried is usually as brittle as glass. The marble of the Centaurs mentioned was, on account of its hardness, regarded by many as an Egyptian stone, but the slightest trial proved them to be wrong.

19. The Oriental alabaster is still harder than the common white marble, and as, like all the varieties of alabaster, it is formed in laminæ, and is not, like white marble, a uniform mass, the working of it is consequently more difficult, because the layers chip readily (11). Entire figures do not appear to have been made from any kind of alabaster, so far at least as we can judge from those which have remained to us ; but the

extremities, namely, the head, hands, and feet, were of another material, probably of bronze, and fastened to the body. The flesh of male bearded heads is polished, but the beard is left somewhat rough; there is however only a single specimen of this or any other kind remaining in Rome, and this is the anterior part, or face, of a head of Adrian, which is preserved in the Capitoline museum.

20. Of entire figures there are extant in Rome two Dianas less than life; the larger of them is in the Verospi mansion, the smaller in the Borghese villa. By entire figures I mean, as stated above, entire as to that part of the body which is draped; the heads, hands, and feet are modern, and of bronze. Both these statues are of the kind of alabaster which is characterized by the epithet *agatino*, on account of its resemblance in appearance and hardness to agate; and the drapery of both is executed with wonderful beauty (12). In the Albani villa is the upper half of a figure, which is also a Diana; the lower half is a restoration (13). But the largest statue of alabaster is a beautiful fragment, clothed in mail, which evinces great skill; it was removed with the Odescalchi museum to Saint Ildefonso in Spain. The head, arms, and legs are of gilded bronze, and the work of a modern artist; the head is intended to represent Julius Cæsar (14). I make no mention, on this occasion, of a seated Egyptian statue, larger than life, of whitish Theban alabaster, and which has been previously cited (Book II., Chap. IV., ¶ 11), though it is the largest of all, because I am speaking here of Greek works only.

21. The Hermes and busts belong to the class of figures. Four Hermæ, of the usual size, and made of flowered — *florito* — alabaster, with antique heads of yellow marble, adorn the Albani villa; they are the only specimens of the kind known to me. Of busts, or, to speak more correctly, the draped breasts of such images, there are five pieces to be seen in the Capitoline museum, — an Adrian, a Sabina, and Septimius Severus, in agate alabaster; one of Julius Cæsar, and another of the elder Faustina, of flowered alabaster; there is also another from an inferior kind of alabaster, on which has been placed a head of Pescennius Niger. In the Albani villa there are thirteen such busts: three of them are of the size of life; two of the three are made from an alabaster termed *cotognino*, because its color resembles that of a boiled quince, *cotogna*. The torso

above mentioned, at Saint Ildefonso, is of the same kind of marble. The third of the three, as well as the remaining ten, is less than life, and of agate alabaster. Another such bust, with a female head, is in the house of the Marquis Patrizi-Montorio.

22. The Greek sculptors sought to distinguish themselves by their works in both varieties of basalt, the iron-gray and the green-colored. But of full statues there is only a single one known, namely, an Apollo, larger than life, but of moderate skill, which has been represented in an old engraving as a hermaphrodite, and for this reason regarded as such by the estimable Count Caylus. This statue is of blackish basalt; but there is a trunk of a male figure of the size of life, in greenish basalt, in the villa of the Medici; this remnant testifies that it belonged to one of the most beautiful of ancient statues; it is impossible to look at it without feeling wonder and admiration, not only on account of the scientific knowledge which it displays, but also of its workmanship (15). The heads made from this stone which have come down to our time induce me to believe that only artists of superior skill ever undertook to execute them, for the style of them is the most beautiful, and the finish the most elaborate.

23. Besides the head of Scipio, of which I shall speak hereafter, there was in the Verospi palace the head of a young hero, which is now in the possession of the Chevalier Von Breteuil, Maltese ambassador at Rome, and in the Albani villa is an ideal female head, set upon an antique draped bust of porphyry; but the most beautiful of them all would be that of a youth, of the size of life, owned by the author, were it not that only the eyes, forehead, one ear, and the hair remain uninjured. The hair of this as well as of the Verospi head differs in its workmanship from that of male heads in marble in this respect, that it is not, like the latter, thrown into waving locks, nor worked by the borer so as to resemble short curls, but is represented as being closely cut and afterwards combed with a fine comb, precisely as it is found on male ideal heads in bronze, on which it seems as if each individual hair was portrayed. But the execution of the hair on heads in bronze copied from life differs from this; for Marcus Aurelius on horseback, and Septimius Severus on foot, — the latter in the Barberini palace, — have curly hair, like their portraits in marble. The hair of the Hercules in the Capitol is

thick and crisp, as it usually is on heads of this hero. The hair of the last-mentioned, mutilated head evinces extraordinary, I might almost say inimitable, skill and industry; the mane of the stump of a lion, of the hardest greenish basalt, in the Bori-oni vineyard, is wrought with nearly equal art. The extraordinary smoothness which was given, and which must necessarily be given to this kind of stone, together with the fineness of its grain, prevented any crust from adhering to it; and though marbles of the highest polish have suffered in this way, yet these heads are found in the earth still retaining all their original smoothness.

24. I have already, in the fourth chapter of the second Book, spoken of the workmanship on porphyry, and shown in what way and with what tools it was mastered. I also noticed at the same time the most beautiful porphyry figures by Greek artists which have been preserved to us. To this chapter I refer the reader, merely adding here a refutation of a common unfounded idea, and an account of the workmanship on porphyry vases.

25. Those ignorant, frivolous writers who believe that artists of the present day do not know how to work porphyry have been wrongly informed, and Vasari only exposes his childish credulity when he pretends that Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, invented a liquid by which it could be softened. The manner of working porphyry has never been a secret to modern artists, and some admirable works have been made from this stone in our day, among which may be mentioned the beautiful cover of the magnificently great antique urn in the splendid chapel of the Corsini family, in the church of Saint John of Lateran. This vase is known to have stood formerly beneath the porch of the Pantheon; there is therefore reason to believe that it may have been used in the baths of Marcus Agrippa, which were contiguous to this temple, and as vessels of this form served as tubs, and consequently had no covers, a cover was made for the vase, in order to adapt it as a sepulchral urn for Pope Clement the Twelfth (16). In the preceding century, when porphyry was more abundant in Rome, heads were carved from it; among them are those of the first twelve Roman emperors, in the Borghese palace.

26. But these writers do not seem to have observed certain works, the execution of which is most difficult, I might almost say inimitable. These are vessels which have a belly, and have been

hollowed out until their walls are not thicker than a small quill, and of which the brim, foot, and cover are ornamented with grooves and flutings, so that they bear every appearance of having been turned on a lathe. Modern artists are far inferior to the ancients in this respect; not that the former were wholly ignorant of the manner of working porphyry, but because the latter engaged in it with greater readiness, and with advantages not possessed by the moderns, and thus acquired a particular superiority in it. In the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani are the most beautiful vases of this kind in the world, two of which are more than two Roman palms (1.46 ft.) high, and for one of which Clement XI. paid three thousand dollars. These vases were found in ancient tombs, encased in Travertino, — a circumstance that explains the perfect state of preservation in which we see them.

27. Attempts have been made in modern days to turn small articles from this stone, but larger vessels, like those in the Verospi palace, of greenish porphyry, are either not hollowed out, or, if they are hollow, like those in the Barberini palace and the Borghese villa, they are simple cylinders, and have neither belly, nor grooves, nor flutings; the work is done by means of a copper tube, of a diameter as great as it is intended the bore of the vase shall be, which is turned with a string, without any other apparatus. But the successful result of an experiment instituted by the Cardinal Alexander Albani proved that the art of turning vessels of porphyry of an elliptical shape, after the manner of the ancients, is not a lost secret, for the workmanship of the vessel thus produced is not inferior in any respect to that of the ancients, for it was hollowed out to the thinness of a quill; but the excavation cost thrice as much as the external form of the vessel, which was on the lathe for thirteen months.

28. It may be remarked here, that neither the head, nor hands, nor feet of statues of porphyry are of the same stone; these extremities are of marble. In the gallery of the Chigi palace, now at Dresden, there was a head of Caligula, in porphyry, but it is modern, and a copy of the one in basalt, in the Capitol; in the Borghese villa is a head of Vespasian, which is also modern. There are indeed four figures, which stand together in couples, at the entrance of the palace of the Doge, at Venice, and are carved from one block, that are made entirely

from porphyry ; but it is a Greek work of the later or middle ages, and Hieronymus Magius could have had but little knowledge of sculpture to pretend that they are the figures of Harmonius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens (17).

29. Pliny informs us that the ancient artists also turned vases from other kinds of stones, and the account which he gives us of the hundred and fifty columns of the Labyrinth in the island of Lemnos, which were all turned, is a proof of the great experience of the ancients in this branch of mechanics, even in the earliest ages, when that building was erected. These columns were suspended in a peculiar kind of frame, which could be made to rotate, even by a boy (18).

30. Pictures are found wrought in relief on all the different substances above mentioned. I shall dwell upon them particularly, as I consider it necessary to vindicate the ancients from an imputation usually alleged against them, which is, that in their rilievi they did not observe perspective distances, and gave equal elevation to every figure in the same work. Pascoli, in the Preface to his *Lives of Painters*, has repeated the same charge. I cannot sufficiently wonder at the blindness of these fault-finders, when the contrary is so manifest that I might be blamed for my intention of producing proofs to convince the blind. I will not adduce here rilievi which are to be found in public places in Rome, open to every one's inspection, but will notice a few others, the figures of which have different degrees of perspective distance. Of this class is one of the most beautiful works in Rome in the Ruspoli palace ; it has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. The principal figure of this work, the young Telephus, is wrought in such high relief that there is the breadth of two fingers between his head and the tablet from which it is carved. Near and lower than Telephus stands a horse, which must necessarily be in less relief because it is more in the background ; and in front of the horse stands the aged armor-bearer of the young hero, who is yet more flat. Opposite to Telephus sits his mother, Auge, to whom he extends his hand ; she is more prominent than the armor-bearer and horse, but less so than her son, at least in respect to her head. Over her hang a sword and shield, which are the least prominent of all (19). In a relief which represents a Faun, almost of the size of life, playing with a dog, in the Albani villa, a similar perspective distance is observed ; also in a small sacri-

fice, with an oblation by Titus, on a work which may be found in my *Ancient Monuments*.

31. The repair of ancient works in marble and other hard stones constitutes properly a part of the workmanship, since there are many figures which were injured and restored in ancient times. The repairs and restoration are of two kinds: first, of injured or imperfect places in the marble; second, of parts mutilated. The first was effected by means of finely pulverized marble and a cement, with which a hole or excavation was filled, as I noticed, in one instance, on the cheek of a Sphinx, among the ornaments of a shattered altar, which was discovered in the autumn of 1767 at Capri, an island in the bay of Naples, and which is now in possession of Mr. Hamilton, English ambassador at the court of Naples.

32. Mutilated parts were restored anciently, it is well known, in the manner practised at present, — by inserting rods into holes bored in the part injured and the part to be added, by means of which the restored piece was attached (20). This rod was frequently of bronze, but occasionally of iron, as we may see, among other well-known statues, on the buttock of the Laocoön. Bronze was preferred, because its rust does not injure the marble, whereas iron not unfrequently produces stains, especially if any moisture penetrates to it; and these spots greatly enlarge by time, as it is apparent on the mutilated figures of an Apollo and a Diana, which were discovered at Baiæ, and of which I have already made mention. Half of the breast of the former statue, in particular, is stained yellow by the iron rod, now visible, by which the head was attached; this extremity, which was a restoration, is now lost. To prevent this injurious effect, even columns and pilasters of white marble were fastened to their bases by rods of bronze, which may be seen even now, among other instances, on the bases of the pilasters of the temple of Serapis, at Pozzuoli.

33. Here the reader may with propriety inquire at what period of antiquity so many works of art were mutilated and repaired. Though it must seem strange that it should have occurred at a time when the arts flourished, yet the fact is undeniable. Part of these injuries must have been done either in Greece, — in the war between the Achæans and the Ætoli-ans, in which both parties vented their rage upon works of art (21), as it will be related hereafter, — or during the trans-

portation of the works themselves to Rome, and another part in Rome. That some of this mutilation was effected in Greece is rendered highly probable by the statues discovered at Baiæ ; for this place, in which the Romans erected their most magnificent country-seats, never suffered any violence from hostile hands, from the time the arts were introduced among them until they became extinct. Now, as the splendor of the arts suddenly faded after the age of the Antonines, and no attention was paid subsequently even to the restoration of injured works, it is probable that those which are in the condition above stated, and those which may be discovered hereafter, must have been brought from Greece in the sad condition in which we see them, and afterwards repaired. This we are authorized in saying of a portion of such works in Rome ; but they also suffered afterwards, in the great conflagration that took place in the reign of Nero, and in the Vitellian disturbances, at which time we know that those who were in the Capitol defended themselves by throwing statues down upon the heads of their assailants (22).

34. It was my intention to speak, in this place, of those works only which were injured and restored in ancient times to their original condition, but not of those which have been dug up broken to fragments, like those which were destroyed when the Northern tribes overran and devastated not only Rome, but also Latium and other parts of Italy, to say nothing of Greece. It makes me sad when I reflect upon the consequences of this fury ; however, we are speaking here not of destruction, but of completion.

35. The mechanical part of engraved gems, or the manner of executing them, finds its appropriate place here ; for gem-engraving is a sort of sculpture, and it may justly be required of me not to omit this portion of the art. I might however refer the reader to Mariette's work on *Engraved Gems*, since the thoroughness of his investigation leaves little of interest to be added. For he has treated not only of all the kinds of gems on which the art is seen and has been exercised, but he has also endeavored, on the one hand, to explain the way and manner in which, as he imagines, the ancient artists engraved gems, and, on the other, he clearly presents the mode adopted by modern artists.

36. The gems best known and most numerous, the value of

which is still more enhanced by images executed by Greek art, are the carnelian, the chalcedony, hyacinth, agate, and agate-onyx. The two last were reserved for rilievi or cameos, and the former for deeply cut figures or intaglios. But who is ignorant of this? It is, on the other hand, not yet settled by what process the ancients engraved gems. We are informed by Pliny that they made use of small diamond-points set in steel handles, but he does not mention whether these points were used in working the stone after the manner in which carvers in wood use their tools, or whether they were fastened to a wheel, and thus used; the latter is the more usual process among modern artists. Both those who use, and those who do not use, a wheel, maintain respectively that they can detect in the engraved gems of ancient artists that particular mode of working which they themselves employ (23). Though it is not for me to decide the question, still my opinion is in favor of those who declare for the wheel, the use of which can apparently be discovered on those stones the work of which is only roughly sketched, not finished.

37. I am myself the possessor of such an engraving, in relief, on an agate-onyx, an inch and a half in diameter. It was found two years ago in the catacombs, in the same earth too which had been searched on the spot, but which, having been afterwards carried to the Capuchin nunnery, was there sifted anew, that any sacred relics contained in it might by no chance be lost; in doing this the nuns discovered the stone in question. It is not only valuable itself, for the exceeding beauty of its colors, but also for the incident represented by it, which, as far as I know, has not as yet been found on any ancient monument. It pictures that scene in which Peleus, the father of Achilles, having been left behind by Acastus when hunting in a wood, fell asleep, and in this condition was surprised by Centaurs who wished to kill him; one of them is represented here in the act of throwing a large stone upon him; Chiron however waked him and saved him, though on the gem this is done by Psyche, — thereby intimating that his life was saved. An engraving of this gem will be published in the third volume of my *Ancient Monuments*.

38. There is every probability that the ancient artists, when engaged on this kind of work, used magnifying-glasses, although we have no proof of it. This useful and necessary invention,

like many others, was afterwards lost, as was the case, among other instances, with the pendulum, which was used among the Arabians of the Middle Ages to measure time by the regularity of its movements. If it had not been for the discovery of the fact by the learned Edward Bernard, in the writings of this people, we should believe the invention to have been made by Galileo, to whom it is generally attributed (24).

39. To these observations upon the manner of engraving on gems I will adjoin a few special details : in the first place, that the ancients were accustomed to set gems with a piece of gold-leaf beneath them. Pliny states this as having been done to the chrysolite, which was not very translucent, in order to give it greater brilliancy ; but the same manner of setting was also employed with stones which needed no artificial lustre, as we may see in one of the most beautiful carnelians, the glow of which is equal to that of a ruby, on which is the head of Sextus Pompey, carved by Agathangelus, a Greek artist (25). This beautiful stone, which was set, with gold-leaf beneath it, in a ring, of which the gold weighed an ounce, was found in a tomb not far from the tomb of Cæcilia Metella ; after the death of the antiquarian Sabbatini, to whom it belonged, it was purchased by Count Luneville for two hundred dollars, and now belongs to his daughter, the Duchess of Calabritto, of Naples.

40. After this account of the manner of engraving gems practised by the ancients, I thought that the lovers of art would be pleased to know the names of some of the most beautiful examples, in order to use them, whenever impressions from them are to be procured, as a standard of comparison in determining the degree of beauty of other engraved stones which may fall under their observation. But I must confine myself here to those of which I have seen either the originals or correct casts. I shall speak first of intaglios, and afterwards of cameos, *εἰστοχῆ καὶ ἐξοχῆ*.

41. Among the heads on intaglios, of which I shall speak first, a head of Pallas, in the imperial museum at Vienna, deserves particular mention ; this stone bears the name of the artist Aspasius ; also the head of a young Hercules in the former Stosch museum ; and especially a head, which represents him at a similar age, cut upon a sapphire by Gnaius or Cneius, in the Strozzi museum at Rome, and which may be considered as the most beautiful of anything that can be conceived in this

art. The head of a Medusa in this same museum justly deserves mention here ; this is not the celebrated Chalcedony of Solon, which represents a certain beautiful woman, rather than ideal beauty, but a small head of her in carnelian (26). A similar distinction may also be claimed by a head, wrongly named Ptolemy Auletes, in the museum of the king of France, which, as I have shown (in the fifth chapter of the fifth book), is a Hercules in Lydia ; likewise the head of Pompey, engraved by Agathangelus on a carnelian, belonging to the Duchess Calabritto, of Naples. Of not less merit is the head of Julia, daughter of Titus, cut on a large beryl by Evodus, which may be found in the treasury of the abbey of Saint Denys, at Paris.

42. Of figures in intaglio, a Perseus by the hand of Dioscorides, in the royal Farnese museum at Naples, is particularly deserving of note ; but we are not to judge of it by the copperplate engraving, in which the hero has not a single characteristic of youth. Hercules and Iole, cut by Teucer, in the Grand-ducal gallery at Florence, has nearly equal merit ; as also an Atalanta of the Stosch museum, and a draped youth, carrying on his shoulder a Trochus or trundling-hoop of bronze, on a translucent white carnelian, in the possession of Mr. Byres, a Scotch student of architecture in Rome. This noble figure, which has the most beautiful ear that I recollect to have ever seen on stones of this kind, has been published by me ; but the copperplate does not give the beauty of the original (27).

43. Among gems cut in relief, which represent the heads of celebrated persons, the first place belongs to a bust of Augustus, on a flesh-colored chalcedony more than a Roman palm (8.80 Eng. in.) high. It was formerly in the museum of the Cardinal Carpegna, but now is in the Vatican library, with which that museum has been incorporated : Buonarroti gives an engraving and description of it. The same rank belongs also to a Caligula, which was purchased in Rome by General Wallmoden, English minister at Vienna.

44. Among the gems remarkable for their figures in relief are, besides the two Tritons belonging to Mr. Jennings, a Jupiter slaying the Titans, cut by Athenion, in the royal Farnese museum, at Naples ; and another, a Jupiter visiting Semele, in the museum of Prince Piombino, at Rome. But there are two gems which can dispute precedence with all works in this department of art. One is Perseus and Andromeda ; both are

represented sitting on a bed, and wrought in such high relief that nearly the entire contour of the figures, which are of the most beautiful white color, projects beyond the dark ground of the stone ; this gem is owned by Mr. Mengs (28). The other represents the judgment of Paris, and bears five figures ; it is in the above-mentioned Piombino museum. The drawing and workmanship are as perfect as they can be conceived. In this same museum is a seated Nymph, cut on an agate-onyx (29), about half a palm (4.40 Eng. in.) high ; it is perhaps the sole and most beautiful specimen of the kind in the world.

## CHAPTER II.

## WORK IN BRONZE.


1. IN regard to work in bronze I shall make some remarks, first, on the mode of preparing the bronze for casting ; second, upon the moulds in which it was cast ; third, upon the method of casting, and of uniting the different pieces after they were cast, and of flaws ; fourth, upon solders, and also upon inlaid work in bronze ; and finally upon what we term rust, that is, the greenish coating of antique bronze.

2. The bronze was, in the first place, mixed with tin, as the practice is even in these days, that it might melt the more readily, the melting being at times retarded, — which the Italian artists express by the term *incantare*, “to bewitch,” — when the tin is not in sufficient quantity. Benevenuto Cellini, a celebrated and experienced artist in this kind of work, relates that he had a statue to cast, and had ordered the furnace to be opened for the flow of the metal whilst he was at dinner ; the workmen informed him that the metal did not run freely ; upon which he immediately seized his tin dishes and plates, and threw them into the glowing metal, which instantly became more fluid. For this reason, and to make the casting of such works easier and more certain, statues were occasionally cast of copper, — as we know by the four horses at Venice of which I shall speak hereafter (1), — because of its readier fusibility. Copper also appears to have been preferred for statues which were to be gilded, because it would have been an inappropriate extravagance to overlay beautiful bronze with gold ; moreover, it is well known that copper is more easily gilded than bronze.

3. In consequence of this necessary admixture of tin, quite small holes, like pock-marks, have been discovered in those bronze pieces which have been at any time exposed to the action of fire. The tin, being the more fusible material, has melted away by the heat, and left the bronze behind, which, without it, is brittle, and rough like a piece of pumice-stone ;

such bronze is consequently of lighter weight than usual. This diminution in weight is obvious in those coins of the largest size, termed medallions, which have been exposed to fire, because we can weigh them in comparison with others, or from long practice can determine their usual weight by weighing them in the hand. When such coins, which have been deprived of their tin, — as it were, of their oily ingredient, — are exposed for some time to the air or moisture after having been dug up, they usually become covered with a green coat, by which the ancient bronze is corroded and worn away.

4. Secondly, of the moulds prepared by artists for figures in bronze; as I wish to make some remarks on them, I introduce here a fact which has been observed in respect to the four ancient horses over the entrance to Saint Mark's church, in Venice, namely, that each of these figures was cast in two distinct moulds, which joined together lengthwise of the horses; so that it was not necessary to break the mould after the cast was completed, as must be the case with other casts (2).

5. The third observation, on the manner of casting, and joining the different pieces of the cast, leads us back to the first essays of the earliest ages in this department of art. Many statues had been executed in bronze long before the time of Phidias; Phradmon, who lived prior to him, had already made twelve cows in bronze, which were carried away from Thessaly as booty, and erected at the entrance of one of the temples. We are informed by Pausanias, that in the earliest ages, before the flourishing days of art, figures in bronze were composed of separate pieces, fitted to each other, and fastened by nails, — as was a Jupiter at Sparta, the work of Learchus, of the school of Dipœnus and Scyllis. As this mode of casting statues was easier than the other, it continued to be practised even in later periods, of which six Herculaneum female figures, of and under the size of life, are a proof; for the heads, arms, and legs were cast separately, and even the trunk is not a single piece. These pieces are not united by solder, — no traces of it having been discovered when they were cleaned, — but are joined by tenons, dovetailed in, which from their shape  are called in Italy swallows' tails, *a coda di rondine*. The short mantle of these figures, which likewise consists of two pieces, a front and back, is joined on the shoulders, where it is represented as being buttoned.

6. In this way the ancient artists strove to guard against defects, not easily avoided in casting whole statues by a single operation; they did however occur sometimes, and were subsequently filled up. Defects of this kind are indicated even in the copperplate engraving of the Horses at Venice, in which one may see the pieces anciently inserted, and fastened by nails (3). I myself possess a piece of a probably defective casting, which, with the exception of the head of natural size, is the sole remaining part of a youthful male figure; the head was formerly in the museum of the Carthusians at Rome, but is at present in the Albani villa (4). This fragment is the pubis, which was cast separately, and afterwards fastened in its proper place. It was probably a second casting, and it is remarkable that, on the inner side of that portion which is covered externally by hair, there are three Greek capital letters, I · II · X, each an inch in length, which could not have been visible when the statue was entire. Montfaucon has been wrongly informed when he allows himself to state that the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was not cast, but wrought with the hammer.

7. The use of solder in antique figures, which is the object of my fourth remark, may be seen in the hair and free-hanging locks, which it was the practice, in the earliest as well as the most flourishing periods of art, to affix by such means (5). The oldest work of this kind, and one moreover of the oldest monuments of art, is a female bust in the Herculaneum museum at Portici. Upon the forehead, backwards to the ears, there are fifty ringlets, seemingly formed of a stout wire about the size of a writing-quill. They are soldered together in pairs, a long one and a short one together, and hang one over the other; each ringlet is composed of four or five spiral turns. The back hair is bound round the head in one tress, and forms as it were a diadem.

It is proved by another head, a male head with a long beard, in the same museum, that the use of solder prevailed in the best days of art. The face turns somewhat to one side, and looks downward. The curled locks on the temples are in this instance also affixed by solder. This ideal head, which is marked with the name of Plato, may be esteemed as a wonder of art, and no idea of it can be conveyed to any one who has not attentively studied the object itself. But the rarest speci-

men with soldered hair is a male youthful head, a portrait of some individual, in this same museum. There are sixty-eight locks soldered on around it, whereas those in the back of the neck which do not hang free were cast at the same time with the head. These ringlets resemble a narrow strip of paper which, after having been rolled up, has afterwards been drawn out in the form of a spiral spring. Those which hang over the forehead make five or more turns; of those in the neck some have as many as twelve spires, and all have two incised lines running along their margin. One might believe it to be a head of Ptolemy Aprión, which we see with long hanging ringlets on coins.

8. In the fifth place, of inlaid work in bronze; of this I have but little to say. Some pieces, filigreed with silver (6), have been preserved, as, for instance, the diadem of Apollo Sauroctonos, in the Albani villa, and the bases of different figures in the Herculaneum museum. The nails of the hands and feet were occasionally made of silver, — a practice which we see exemplified in a couple of small figures in the Herculaneum museum. Pausanias also speaks of a statue with silver nails (7). This is the proper place to make mention of the four gilded horses erected at Corinth by the celebrated and rich orator, Herod Atticus, the hoofs of which were of ivory.

9. As the color which bronze acquires by time adds to the beauty of bronze statues, it is, in the sixth place, a proper subject of remark. It arises from a greenish coat covering the bronze, and is therefore the more beautiful, the better the metal is. It was called by the Romans *æruugo*, and by Horace, *nobilis æruugo*, “noble rust” (8). Corinthian brass assumed a light green color, which is seen on coins and some small figures (9). The statues and heads of the Herculaneum museum have a dark green color, but it is not genuine. As all these pieces, when discovered, were very much injured and bruised, and have been re-soldered in the fire and repaired, all the ancient rust fell off, and it became necessary to give them a new coating. Now as this greenish garment is more beautiful the older the bronze-works, we see the reason why the older statues were preferred, even by the ancients themselves, to those of more modern date.

10. Many public statues of bronze were gilded, which the gold proves that remains even now on the equestrian statue of

Marcus Aurelius, on the fragments of the four horses and chariot which stood on the theatre at Herculaneum (10), particularly on the Hercules in the Campidoglio, and on the four horses at Venice (11). The durability of the gilding on statues which have lain buried many centuries beneath the earth is owing to the thickness of the gold-leaf; for the gold was not beaten so thin by far as it is in modern days, and Buonarroti shows the great difference in thickness. Hence the ornaments of gold in two buried rooms in the palace of the Cæsars, on Mount Palatine, in the Farnese villa, are as fresh now as if recently made, and yet these rooms are very damp on account of the earth with which they are covered; the arched stripes of an azure color, and the small figures in gold, cannot be seen without wonder and astonishment. In the ruins of Persepolis also the gilding remains perfect.

11. Gilding by the aid of heat is of two kinds, it is well known. One process is termed by amalgamation; the other is expressed in Rome by *allo spadaro*, "the sword-cutlers' process." The latter is effected by means of gold-leaf; the former, by a solution of gold in nitro-muriatic acid. In this process, quicksilver is put into the saturated solution, and the mixture is then exposed to a gentle heat, that the acid may be driven off, and the gold unite with the mercury and form a paste. The metal, after having been carefully cleaned, is rubbed over whilst hot with this amalgam, which immediately turns quite black; but, on again exposing the metal to heat, the gold-color shows itself. In this process, the gilding is as it were incorporated with the metal upon which it is laid, but the ancients were not acquainted with it. They gilded only with leaf, after having first coated or rubbed the metal over with quicksilver; and the long duration of the gilding is owing, as I have already said, to the thickness of the gold, layers of which are even now visible on the horse of Marcus Aurelius (12).

12. Gold was formerly laid upon marble by means of the white of egg, but garlic is now used as its substitute. With this the marble is first rubbed, and then covered with a thin coat of gypsum, on which the gilding is laid. Some gilders make use of the sap which flows when figs that are beginning to ripen fall from the branches, for it is one of the sourest and most corrosive juices in the world. On some marble statues there are traces even now of gilding on the hair and drapery,

—traces which were very visible on the beautiful Pallas at Portici when it was discovered. There are heads indeed which were completely gilt; among others is a head of Apollo, in the Capitoline museum; and, forty years ago, the lower part of a head was found, resembling the Laocoön, covered with gilding; but in this instance it was not laid upon gypsum, but immediately on the marble.

13. In remarking upon the mechanical parts of sculpture, it is particularly necessary to mention inserted eyes, which are found as well in heads of marble as of bronze. I am now speaking neither of the silver eyes of small figures in bronze, several of which are in the Herculaneum museum, nor of gems which were set in the eyeballs of some large bronze heads for the purpose of imitating the color of the iris, as was the case with the Pallas of Phidias of ivory, and of another Pallas, in the temple of Vulcan at Athens, of which it is remarked that they had blue eyes, *γλαυκοὺς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*, for the subject has been already handled by others, and is nowise remarkable. My remark applies to heads in which the whole eyeball has been inserted; in these cases it is formed of a snow-white, soft marble, called *Palombino* (13). These eyeballs were occasionally fastened in with particular care, as one may see by a beautiful female ideal head, in the house of the sculptor Cavaceppi, which has holes bored in the back and lower parts of the sockets. Eyes of this kind were given not only to the gods, but also to the portraits of distinguished men, and other persons (14); this fact is proved partly by the eyes which fell out of the statue of one Hiero, of Sparta, before the battle of Leuctra, at which he was slain, and which was supposed to forebode his death, and partly by several heads in the Herculaneum museum; for not only has the larger of two busts of Hercules such eyes, but also a small male youthful head of an unknown individual, a female bust, and the head of Seneca, erroneously so called. These are among the heads already brought to light; but a head with similar eyes has been found since, together with the Hermes of marble whereon it stood, on which the name CN. NORBANI. SORICIS is engraved.

14. A particular kind of inserted eyes is seen in the beautiful colossal head, beautiful beyond conception, of the Antinoüs at Mondragone, near Frascati, and in a Muse, larger than life, in the Barberini palace, of which mention will be made hereafter.

The eyeball of the former was turned on a lathe ; it is made of the marble above mentioned, which is as white as milk, but a different whiteness from that of the Parian marble of the head, the color of which in ancient statues more nearly resembles the whiteness of the skin. On the border of the eyeballs, and around on the lids, there remain traces of very thin silver-leaf, with which the eyeball was probably coated before its insertion, with the intention of imitating by the lustre of the silver the true color of the shining white cornea. This silver-leaf must have been cut away, on the front of the eye, as far as the iris extends ; for the circular space of the iris is depressed, and in its central part a still deeper round hole has been excavated, for the purpose of indicating both the iris and the pupil of the eye, which were probably represented by two different gems, imitating the different colors of each. The eyes of the Muse are formed from the same snow-white marble, and are inserted in precisely the same manner, as we may infer from small pieces of thin silver-leaf around the inner side of the eyelids.

15. The practice among Egyptian artists of inserting eyes had also been introduced into Greek art by the time of Phidias ; for Pausanias describes the eyes of the celebrated Pallas of this artist as being of a sea-color ; hence they would seem to have been made of a stone which we term *Aqua marina*, "sea-water." It may indeed be inferred from the suppositions which will be offered hereafter in regard to the statue of the Muse with inserted eyes, in the Barberini palace, that such eyes had been made prior to the days of Phidias. It is in fact probable that this statue is from the hand of Ageladas, the master of Polykletus, and the latter was an older man than Phidias.

16. Since of all the ancient monuments those in bronze are the rarest, I hope it will not be considered superfluous if I introduce here a list of the most remarkable pieces that have been preserved, — the number of which must have been small prior to the discoveries made in places choked and buried by the eruptions of Vesuvius. It is not, nor could it be, my intention to notice all the remarkable discoveries of this kind existing in the Herculaneum museum, as any one may conceive who has the least idea of this treasury of antiquities, whose wealth consists in monuments of bronze. I shall therefore limit myself here to a notice of some of the principal statues of natural size, because many of the other works are mentioned in different

parts of this history. But as bronze antiques are rare in Rome, and still more so elsewhere, I will name all the heads and statues which are known to me, merely excluding small figures not more than two palms ( $17\frac{1}{2}$  Eng. in.) high, for of these, especially Etruscan figures, there is an abundance. I shall however mention a few, not more than a palm (8.80 Eng. in.) high, because they are works of Greek art and of great beauty.

17. Among the statues of the size of life, in the Herculaneum museum, the most remarkable are a young Satyr, — asleep in a sitting position, his right arm placed upon his head, his left hanging down, — and an old intoxicated Satyr lying on a wine-skin ; under him is spread a lion's hide ; he leans upon his left arm, and, in token of his jollity, snaps the fingers of his raised right hand, — an action in which the statue of Sardanapalus at Anchiale in Cilicia is represented, and which is even now practised in a few dances. But still greater admiration is usually given to a seated Mercury, with its body bent forwards and left leg turned backwards ; it leans upon its right hand, and holds a fragment of the Caduceus in the left. In addition to its beauty, this statue is remarkable for a clasp, shaped like a rosette, in the middle of the sole of each foot, on the straps by which the wings are attached to the heels. Now, as this clasp would prevent the foot from being put upon the ground except with pain, it would seem to signify that the figure was intended to represent not a walking but a flying Mercury. I have already mentioned the retracted chin of this statue (Book V., Chap. V., ¶ 28). Of the Caduceus, in the left hand, only an end has been preserved ; the other part was not found. Hence we may infer that this statue must have been brought to the spot where it was discovered from some other place, and that the remainder of the staff was lost there ; for as the statue, with the exception of the head, had suffered not the least injury, its staff ought to have been found with it. Since the finding of these three statues, two young and nude Athletes have been discovered, likewise of full size ; they stand opposite to each other with outstretched arms, preparing to get the most advantageous hold. These statues are in the museum itself, each one in its appropriate cabinet, and may justly be reckoned among the greatest rarities of our time, as well as the four or five female statues, which are represented as if dancing, and which stand on the staircase leading to the museum ; and also the statues

of the emperors and empresses, which are still larger than the others, and which are gradually receiving restorations. In accordance with my intention of noticing in this museum only statues of full size, I omit the supposed Alexander, and an Amazon, both equestrian statues three palms (26.40 Eng. in.) in height, a Hercules, and also many Sileni, — some sitting on wine-skins, and others riding, — which were erected over springs, and discharged the water, together with many other figures of the same or similar size, the smaller ones not being included. I likewise omit twenty-four busts, some of life-size, some larger, and others which are smaller; all of them may be found in the fifth volume of the *Herculaneum Museum*.

18. I do not venture to assert that a collection of ancient bronze figures, so large and so valuable, can be brought together from entire Rome, from all its palaces and museums; it is my belief however that the Herculaneum museum has the superiority in this respect, even if we speak of statues alone. I will notice the most remarkable of these rare works in Rome, — beginning with the Campidoglio. Besides the almost colossal equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which stands on the piazza of the Campidoglio, there is on the right side of the inner court of this palace a colossal head, erroneously supposed to be the head of Commodus, together with a hand (15) which from its size probably belongs to the same statue as the head. In the galleries of the Conservatori of this palace is a well-known Hercules, larger than life, on which the ancient gilding is still perfectly preserved (16), together with the statue of a Camillus, so called, or a sacrificial youth, clad merely in an under garment, which is tucked up in the manner in which these youths are commonly seen represented on different rilievi (17). In this same gallery may be seen a boy, seated, and plucking a thorn from his foot (18); this and the former boy are as large as boys usually are at their age. There also stands the Etruscan she-wolf, with Romulus and Remus, — which has been cited in the third chapter of the third Book of this history, — together with a bust which goes by the name of Brutus (19), and also two geese, or rather ducks, which once were gilded. In the Capitoline museum, opposite to the Campidoglio, is a Diana *triformis*, but which does not belong here, as it is not more than a palm in height; it was formerly gilded. To these public works in bronze I add two peacocks, likewise

anciently gilded, which stand in the Vatican palace, near the large pine-cone of bronze, which appears to have once ornamented the summit of Adrian's tomb, for it was found within it.

19. Other Roman galleries, museums, and villas have only single or a few pieces to exhibit, among which the best known is the statue of Septimius Severus in the Barberini palace ; the arms and feet are modern. Here also is to be found the above-mentioned Etruscan figure, holding a cornucopia of modern make, and in the museum of this same house is preserved a beautiful female bust.

20. Besides this palace, the museum of the Jesuits is the sole one within Rome which contains works of bronze. Though their number is great, I cannot enter into any details regarding them, because the greater portion are small figures. The largest are a child and a Bacchus, which, with the ancient socles whereon they stand, are more than three palms (26.40 Eng. in.) high ; also a beautiful head of an Apollo, of the size of life, of which mention has already been made, and the gilded head of a young man, less than life. There remains nothing else to be noticed, except the figure of a boy running, about four palms (35.20 Eng. in.) tall, which formerly belonged to the antiquarian Sabbatini, but which, at his death, was purchased for three hundred and fifty dollars by a merchant, Belisario Amidei, in whose possession it now is.

21. Of the villas within and without Rome, there are only three which require to be mentioned, — the Ludovisi, Mattei, and Albani. In the first is a colossal head of Marcus Aurelius, and in the second a defaced head, supposed to be the head of Gallienus (20). The third is, next to the Campidoglio, the richest museum in bronze figures ; and, besides, every piece which it contains has either been purchased or discovered by the Cardinal Alexander Albani, by whom the villa was erected. Of the heads of the size of life, one is a Faun, and the other appears to be the image of a young hero, but it has without evidence, and on account of the diadem, by which it is encircled, been called a Ptolemy (21). Each of them is set upon a new bust of bronze, and the second has already been mentioned when I was speaking of that inserted pubis on the inner side of which Greek letters are engraved. Of the five figures to be seen here, two are in perfect preservation ; two others have only heads, hands, and feet of bronze, the drapery being of alabaster ; the

fifth, which is likewise perfect, is the largest and most beautiful of them all. The first two which stand on their ancient socles are about three palms (26.40 Eng. in.) high ; one of them represents a Hercules, and is an imitation of the Farnese Hercules ; it was purchased by the Cardinal for five hundred dollars. The other, a Pallas, which formerly belonged to Christina, Queen of Sweden, cost him eight hundred dollars. The two composite figures are a Pallas and a Diana (22). The fifth is a beautiful Apollo watching a lizard, or the Apollo Sauroctonos, of which I have frequently made mention in this *History*, and especially in the third chapter of the ninth Book, when speaking of the works of Praxiteles, among which this figure might be ranked (23) ; its ancient socle included, it stands five palms (44 Eng. in.) high. This statue was disinterred by the Cardinal himself in a vineyard below the church of Saint Balbina, on the Aventine hill. Those who know what Cicero, in his oration against Verres, states to the judges, — that, in his time, HS. CXX *millia*, that is, 3,000 ducats or sequins (6,000 dollars), had been paid for a bronze figure of moderate size, *signum æneum non magnum*, purchased at a public sale, — cannot find the prices above mentioned exorbitant, since it is plainly manifest, from the quotation, that antique figures and statues, notwithstanding the incredible number of them in Rome, cost much more then than they do now when they are so rare. We may also infer from the above statement the great value of the Albani Apollo, since it exceeds the dimensions of those figures which Cicero terms *signa non magna*, for it is as large as life, and has the size of a boy ten years of age.

22. Next to Rome, Florence, with its Grand-ducal gallery, is the richest in these treasures ; for it contains, in addition to many small figures, two well-preserved statues of life-size, one of which is a male adult, dressed in a Roman garb, but having Etruscan writing engraved on the border of its mantle. The other is a nude youth, which was found at Pesaro, on the Adriatic Gulf, and which apparently represents a young hero. Besides these there is the Chimæra, that is, an animal compounded of a lion and a goat, and of the size of the latter ; this remarkable piece is also marked with Etruscan letters. I omit a Pallas of the size of life, very much injured, though the head is beautiful and in full perservation. I do not forget that I have already mentioned these works in the second chapter of the third

Book, when speaking of the art of the Etruscans ; but the object of this catalogue seems to require a renewed mention of it (24).

23. It may probably be thought that I am wrong in placing Florence before Venice, on account of the four horses, of natural size, made of copper, and formerly gilded, which stand over the entrance to Saint Mark's church, in the latter city. It is well known that the Venetians carried them off, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, from Constantinople, of which city they were masters for a short time. Besides this work, the sole one of its kind, there are not in Venice, to my knowledge, any important large figures in bronze ; for I have not myself seen the heads in the Grimani mansion, and I do not dare to speak on the judgment of others ; and the few small figures in the Nani museum do not belong to this list.

24. At Naples, one admires, in the inner court of the Colobrano palace, the exceedingly beautiful head of a horse, which Vasari wrongly ascribes to the Florentine sculptor, Donatello (25). In the royal Farnese museum there is a large number of small figures, but most of them are modern and of sorry workmanship ; and the same must be said of the collection in the Porcinari mansion, the largest piece in which is a child about three palms (26.40 Eng. in.) tall, but of little merit. The most remarkable figure is a Hercules, about a palm high, which has a lion's skin thrown over the left arm, and resembles an Etruscan work.

25. I do not know what large figures or heads of bronze are to be found in France (26), but a head twice as large as nature, and representing an unknown young man, was carried to Spain in the Odescalchi museum, for which the late queen, a princess of Parma, paid fifty thousand dollars (27). This head is at Saint Ildefonso.

26. At Salzburg, in Germany, there is a statue of the size of life, of which mention will be made hereafter. Moreover, the king of Prussia possesses an undraped figure, which, with uplifted hands, turns its eyes to heaven (28), and in the rarity of its position it resembles a statue of marble, likewise undraped, and of the size of life, in the Pamfili palace, on the Navona square. Here also may be mentioned the head of a Venus, somewhat smaller than life, set upon an antique bust of beautiful Oriental alabaster, which the prince royal of Braunschweig obtained from the Cardinal Alexander Albani (29).

27. Of ancient works in bronze, existing in England, I know nothing except a bust of Plato, which the Duke of Devonshire received about thirty years ago from Greece (30). It is said to resemble exactly the true portrait of this philosopher with the ancient name on the breast, which was sent from Rome to Spain at the end of the last century, and was lost by the wreck of the vessel. An unrecognized Hermes in the Capitoline museum, which is classed among the unknown likenesses, is also perfectly similar to it.

28. I believe that I have now communicated more information than any other writer before me in regard to the mechanical portion of ancient sculpture; there are however lovers of antiquities who have found neither opportunities nor means of observing and studying such works, and yet have facilities for seeing coins, or even are possessors of them. They perhaps believe that even the ancient mint-masters made use of some peculiar mechanical process, mention of which might be interesting; I confess that I should not willingly pass by even this portion of my subject entirely without remark, and yet I shall be unable to offer anything new. For coins, even in regard to the mode of stamping, which was different among the Greeks according to the different epochs in art, have been thoroughly investigated, more so even than the marbles, because the former have been scattered over the whole world, and have gained the attention of those whose love for antiquity had nothing but coins to sustain it. But I could not entirely omit this part of art without subjecting myself to censure from the lovers of coins, though I cannot, on the other hand, hope to escape it, for every one loves to hear his favorite subject discussed, even though the discussion should consist merely of repetitions. In order therefore to leave no breaches in the mechanical portion of art, I will at least notice what others as well as myself have observed.

29. I have already stated that many of the most ancient Greek coins have been stamped with two different dies, one of which is raised and the other sunk. Barthelémy has moreover conjectured that, in the earliest periods, coins were fastened in a particular manner beneath the die, and that the sunken squares which we see on the reverse of some of them were made with no other view than to confine them. It is unnecessary to mention that, not only in the more remote ages,

but also when art was in its bloom, the impression is generally superficial, but becomes more raised subsequently, and during the times of the emperors; in the former case, the execution is, in part, very elaborate; in the latter, grand (31).

30. Not only the genuine coins, but also those which were counterfeited in ancient times, deserve our attention. There are two kinds of them, one coated with silver and the other with gold (32). The former, which are made of copper, overlaid with very thin silver-leaf, occur particularly among coins stamped during the times of the emperors. The latter, coated with gold, are more rare; a coin of this kind, bearing the head and name of Alexander the Great, is to be seen in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja, at Naples, in which the deception is recognized solely by the lightness of its weight, for it is in uncommonly good preservation.

31. I introduce here an inscription, which is in the Albani villa, and has never before been published, because it makes mention of the gilding of coins (33).

D.

M.

FECIT. MINDIA. HELPIS. C. IVLIO. THALLO. MARITO. SVO. BENE. MERENTI. QVI. EGIT. OFFICINAS. PLVMBARIAS. TRASTIBERINA. ET. TRIGARI. SVPERPOSITO. AVRI. MONETÆ. NVMVLARIORVM. QVI. VIXIT. ANN. XXXIIIMVL. ET. C. IVLIO. THALLO. FILIO. DVLCISSIMO. QVI. VIXIT. MESES IIII. DIES XI. ET. SIBI. POSTERISQVE. SVIS.

TO GOD THE GREATEST.

*Erected by Mindia Helpis to her excellent husband, Caius Julius Thallus, who was manager of the lead-shops on the other side of the Tiber and in the Trigarium, and superintendent of the changers of gold coins, who lived thirty-three years and six months; to my sweetest son, Caius Julius Thallus, who lived four months and eleven days; and to him and to his posterity.*

32. It may be conjectured from the Greek letter H on the socle of a Faun, in the Altieri palace, that when statues were collected in one place, they were designated by their numbers; this one therefore was probably the eighth. A bust of which mention is made in a Greek inscription was marked with the same letter, to signify that it was the eighth in place in the tem-

ple of Serapis, where it stood ranged among other busts. This fact escaped the observation of the translator of the inscription, and he regarded the letter H as superfluous (34). I believe that also the N on the shaft of an Amazon, in the Capitoline museum, signifies the number fifty, or that this statue was the fiftieth in the place where it stood.

## CHAPTER III.

## OF THE PAINTINGS OF THE ANCIENTS.

1. HAVING concluded my remarks in regard to the mechanical part of sculpture, I proceed to consider the art of painting as it existed among the ancients. We can, at the present time, judge and speak of it with more knowledge and instruction in consequence of the many hundreds of paintings that have been discovered in Herculaneum, as well as in other cities that were buried beneath the discharges of Vesuvius. At the same time we must, in addition to the descriptions to be found in books, constantly infer from those pictures which, according to all appearances, cannot have been more than moderately good, how great must have been the beauty of the best, and like shipwrecked mariners esteem ourselves fortunate that we are able to collect a few of the scattered planks.

2. In this fifth part, which is divided into five sections, I shall give in the first some account of the principal paintings which have been discovered ; in the second, offer a conjecture whether they are to be regarded as the work of Greek or Roman painters ; in the third, I shall speak of their coloring, in explanation of certain passages in ancient writers who treat upon the subject ; in the fourth place, consider the style of some of the ancient painters, and conclude with remarks upon painting in mosaic.

3. The number of ancient paintings which have been discovered in Rome greatly exceeds the number of those which have been published. Many of them however have perished, partly through the neglect of our predecessors, and partly by the action of the air, the destructive effects of which I witnessed myself on some pieces at whose discovery I was present. When the external air gains admission into a damp vault, so completely buried as to have been inaccessible to it for many hundred years, it not only extracts the colors, but also causes the painted plaster to crumble from the walls.

4. This has probably been the fate of several paintings of which colored drawings are preserved in the Vatican library, in the museum of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, and also elsewhere. The drawings in the Vatican were, for the most part, made from paintings in the Baths of Titus; they were done by Sante Bartoli and his son, Francis Bartoli, not, it is probable, from the pictures themselves, on the spot where they were, but, as it appears, from some older drawings which had been taken from them in Raphael's time (1). Of these pictures, four pieces were published for the first time in my *Ancient Monuments*. The first, taken from the Baths of Titus, is composed of four figures, and represents Pallas as a musician, with two flutes in her hand, which she seems about to throw away, because a Nymph of the river in which the goddess sees herself mirrored, whilst playing, informs her that blowing the flute distorts her face. The second, consisting of two figures, represents Pallas proffering to Paris a diadem, which she holds before him, and with it the sovereignty of Asia, if he would award her the prize of beauty. The third, of four figures, shows Helen, and a female figure leaning on the back of her chair, who appears to be one of her maidens, probably Astyanassa, the best known of them. Paris stands opposite, holding in his hand an arrow of Cupid, — who is between him and Helen, — which he has seized, whilst Helen snatches at the bow. The fourth, of five figures, represents Telemachus, accompanied by Pisistratus as his guide, in the house of Menelaus; Helen, to enliven the dejected mind of the son of Ulysses, offers him Nepenthe in a *cratera*, which is a deep cup. It is my intention to publish at a future time, among other monuments of ancient art, some of these drawings of perished pictures, the subject of which it is difficult to explain.

5. The ancient pictures which have been preserved, and still exist in Rome, are the *Venus*, so called, and the *Roma* in the Barberini palace, the so-styled *Aldobrandini Marriage*, the presumed *Marcus Coriolanus*, the *Ædipus* in the Altieri villa, seven pieces in the gallery of the Roman College, and two in the Albani villa.

6. The figures in the first two pictures are of the size of life; *Roma* is in a sitting posture, and *Venus* is recumbent; but the latter figure, as also the Cupid and other accessories in the picture, has been retouched in several places by Carlo Maratta.

The latter was found when workmen were digging for the foundations of the Barberini palace, and it is believed that the *Roma* was discovered in the same place. A written notice, attached to the copy of this picture made by order of Ferdinand III., states it to have been discovered in the year 1656, near the Baptistry of Constantine, and for this reason it is held to be a work of that age. But I learn from an unpublished letter of the Commendator Del Pozzo to Nicholas Heinsius that it was found on the seventh of April of the previous year, 1655; no mention however is made of the place; it has been described by La Chausse. Another picture, called *Rome Triumphant*, which consisted of many figures, and was in the same palace, is no longer in existence. The *Nymphæum* so called, also in this palace, has been effaced by the mould, and I conjecture that the other met with the same fate.

7. The third of the paintings above mentioned, the *Aldobrandini Marriage*, so called, is composed of figures somewhat more than two palms high. It was discovered not far from Santa Maria Maggiore, on the site formerly occupied by the gardens of Macænas. This picture represents, as I think I have shown in my *Monuments of Antiquity*, the marriage of Peleus with Thetis, at which three goddesses of the Seasons, or three Muses, are singing and playing the nuptial song (2). To avoid repetition, I refer the reader to my remarks on this picture in the *Essay on Allegory*.

8. The fourth picture, the supposed *Coriolanus*, has not become effaced, as Du Bos alleges, but is to be seen even now on the vaulted ceiling of a hall in the Baths of Titus in which the Laocoön formerly stood in a large niche, now filled with rubbish up to its arch. The fifth, the *Ædipus*, is perhaps the worst of all those now mentioned, at least when considered in the state in which it now exists, and I mention it merely for the purpose of noticing a particular circumstance, which has probably escaped the observation of every modern writer, and which was consequently unknown even to Bellori, by whom it has been omitted in his drawing. In the upper part of the picture, where it has suffered most injury, and as it were at a distance, there are still to be distinguished an ass and his driver, who with a stick is urging the beast along. This must be intended to represent the ass on which Ædipus loaded the body of the Sphinx after she had thrown herself from the preci-

pice, and carried it to Thebes. But, since this portion of the picture has been repainted, the ass is no longer distinguishable.

9. The seven pictures belonging to the Jesuits (3) were taken, in the present century, from a vault at the foot of the Palatine hill, on the side of the Circus Maximus. The best of them are a Satyr, two palms high, drinking from a horn, and a small landscape, with figures one palm high, which surpasses in merit many landscapes in the Herculaneum museum. One of the two pictures mentioned as being in the Albani villa was discovered in the same place and at the same time with those, and was selected from the whole number by the Abbot Franchini, at that time Minister at Rome from the Court of Tuscany, by whom it was transferred to the Cardinal Passionei; after his death, it was set in the place where it now stands. This piece may be seen as a supplement to the ancient paintings published by Bartoli, of which Morghen made engravings. As I believed however that I could give a probable explanation of the figures composing it, a more correct drawing of it has been introduced into my *Ancient Monuments*. On a base in the centre stands a small, nude male figure; with the raised left arm it holds a shield, and in the right hand a short mace, with numerous spikes projecting from it all around, of the kind formerly in use in Germany. On one side of the base is a small altar, and on the other a large coal-pan, from both of which smoke ascends. On each side stands a draped female figure with a diadem on her head; one of them strews incense on the altar; the other, with her right hand, seems to be doing the same upon the lighted coals, and in her left she holds a dish containing fruits which look like figs. It is my belief that this picture represents a sacrifice which Livia and Octavia, wife and sister of Augustus, offer to Mars, as the Roman matrons were accustomed to do on the first of March, at a festival from which men were excluded, and which was hence termed *matronalis*; for Horace speaks of a sacrifice offered by these two women on occasion of the safe return of Augustus from Spain, though he does not mention to what deity.

10. Another picture in the Albani villa was discovered about three years ago, in a room in an ancient village situate on the Appian way, about five miles from Rome. It is a palm and a half long, and half as broad, and represents a landscape with buildings, animals, and figures, which are executed with great

freedom, in a pleasing tone of coloring, and at the same time with a correct knowledge of distance in the background. The principal structure is a gate, consisting of a single arch, in which a portecullis is suspended by chains attached to its upper beam, and passing over a roller, by which it may be raised or lowered ; over the arch is a watch-room. This gate leads to a bridge over a river, on which oxen are passing with their driver ; the river empties itself into the sea. On the bank stands a tree, in the branches of which is built a small bower ; on other branches ribbons are suspended, — which were attached to trees as a kind of votive offering ; thus, in the *Thebaid* of Statius, Tydeus, the father of Diomedes, vowed to hang upon a tree purple-colored ribbons with a white border, in honor of Pallas, and Xerxes ornamented a tree with costly jewels. Beneath the tree are seen tombs, which it was also a custom to construct in such a situation, and occasionally plants grew out of them and from beneath them. A person reposing upon one of them conveys an allusion to a highway, by the sides of which the Romans were accustomed to erect their tombs.

11. I omit all mention of several small ancient paintings which were discovered in the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, and carried to Parma, because they have been effaced by mould. These pieces, after having been removed with the coating of the wall on which they were painted from the Farnese villa, situate on Mount Palatine, in Rome, were carried to Parma, and thence to Naples, and there, like other treasures of the Parmesan Farnese gallery, they remained in damp vaults, enclosed in cases, for more than twenty years, and when at last they were unpacked, scarcely a trace of them remained ; in this faded state they have been arranged in the royal gallery at Capo di Monte, in Naples. They were however of very moderate merit, and are no great loss. A painting of a Caryatid, with the entablature which she sustains, found in the said ruins, has been preserved, and it is at Portici, among the *Herculaneum* pictures. Some of these paintings were found in 1722, in the Farnese villa, and others on the walls of a large hall, forty palms long (28 ft. 4 in.), which was discovered in 1724. The walls were divided by painted mouldings into several compartments, in one of which a female figure, Helen, is landing from a vessel, and is conducted by a young male figure, Paris, who, with the exception of his mantle, which

hangs behind from his shoulders, is nude. An engraving of this piece may be seen in Turnbull's work on Ancient Painting.

12. The paintings in the tomb of Cestius have disappeared, consumed by the humidity of the place; and of those in the tomb of Ovid, — situate on the Flaminian way, a mile and a half from Rome, — the *Ædipus with the Sphinx* alone remains; it is set into the wall of a saloon in the Altieri villa. Bellori mentions two other pieces in this villa, but they are now no longer in existence. The Vulcan, together with the Venus, on the other side of that painting, is a modern work (4).

13. In the sixteenth century, paintings were still to be seen in the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. An old painting, mentioned by Du Bos as being in the Farnese palace, is entirely unknown in Rome. A painting which it is my intention to have engraved from a colored drawing in the museum of the Cardinal Albani was probably in the Baths of Titus, and will be explained by me hereafter.

14. No ancient paintings of any value have come to light in Rome itself, since the discoveries mentioned as having been made in the Farnese villa. In the spring of 1760, during the excavations needed for an arched drain in the Albani villa, several pieces of plaster, probably of the walls of an ancient tomb, were discovered, which had either fallen off or been intentionally detached, and which presented ornaments and figures that had been painted on the dry lime. On one of the two best pieces a Cupid is to be seen, on a red ground, in a flowing bluish robe, and riding on a green marine animal. On the other is preserved the beautiful trunk of a small female seated figure, together with the right hand, which has a ring on the ring-finger, so called. A reddish mantle is thrown over this arm and the lower part of the body. These two pieces belong to the author (5).

15. Finally, when little hope remained of finding works of ancient painting in or near Rome, the memorable discovery was effected of the cities buried by the discharges from Vesuvius, from which a thousand and several hundred of paintings, executed on the plaster of the walls, have been removed and set up in the Herculaneum museum. Some of them were discovered in the ruined buildings of Herculaneum itself; others have been taken from houses in the city of Stabia, and the last

are those of Pompeii, in which city excavations have been at last undertaken (6).

16. The four largest Herculaneum paintings were found on the walls of niches in a round and moderately large temple, sacred probably to Hercules. The subjects are *Theseus after killing the Minotaur*, the *Birth of Telephus*, *Chiron and Achilles*, and *Pan and Olympus*. The *Theseus* does not give us any idea of the beauty of the young hero, who, on his arrival at Athens, a stranger, was looked upon as a young maiden (7). I should like to see him with long flowing locks, such as he as well as Jason wore when the latter arrived for the first time at Athens. *Theseus* ought to resemble the *Jason* described by Pindar, whose beauty excited universal astonishment, and a belief among the people that *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, or *Mars* had appeared to them. In the *Birth of Telephus* *Hercules* does not resemble any Greek *Alcides*, and the other heads have a common conformation. *Achilles* is quiet and composed, but his countenance gives occasion for much reflection. The features show very promising indications of the future hero, and we read in his eyes, which are fixed with great attention upon *Chiron*, an impatient desire of instruction, in order that he may more speedily complete his course of youthful study, and render memorable by glorious deeds the briefly limited period of his life. On the forehead sit a noble shame and rebuke of his own incapacity when his teacher takes the plectrum from his hand for the purpose of correcting his mistakes. He is beautiful in the sense of Aristotle; the sweetness and charm of youth are blended with pride and sensitiveness. In the engraving of this picture there is a lack of thoughtfulness in the face of *Achilles*, and his eyes are looking away into the distance when they ought to be fixed upon *Chiron*.

17. We cannot refrain from wishing that the four designs on marble, in this museum, — one of which is marked with the names of the artists, and of the figures which they represent, — had proceeded from the hand of a great master; the artist was a native of Athens, and named *Alexander*. The three other pieces are also apparently from his hand; but the execution of them does not lead us to form a very high opinion of him; the heads are common, and the hands not beautifully drawn; now it is in the extremities of the human figure that we recognize the hand of the master. These *Monochromes*, or

paintings of one color, are done in vermillion, which has turned black from the action of heat, which is usually the case. The ancients selected this color for such paintings, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter (8).

Among the most beautiful of these paintings may be enumerated the *Dancing-women*, the *Bacchantes*, but especially the *Centaurs*, — not quite a span high, and painted on a black ground, — in which we recognize the correctness and firmness of a skilled artist (9). Still, there was felt a wish to have pieces of more finish, for these are dashed off with great facility, as if with one stroke of the pencil, and at the close of the year 1761 this wish was gratified.

18. The workmen were employed upon a room in the ancient buried city of Stabia, about eight Italian miles from Portici, and had cleared it almost entirely from rubbish, when they came to earth, near the lower part of the wall, which was still firm, and one of them, giving it a few strokes with a pick, brought to view four pieces of masonry, but two of them were shattered by the blows. The four paintings which I shall particularly describe had been cut out of the wall; they rested against it and were placed two and two, with their backs to each other, so that the painted surfaces remained outwards. The first supposition of myself and others was, that these paintings had been brought hither from some other place, but the discoveries afterwards made in the city of Pompeii proved that they had been removed anciently from the wall of the very house in which they were found. For it may be seen even now, in the excavated buildings of this city, that sometimes entire pictures, sometimes heads of figures, have been cut out of the walls; and this was done probably immediately after the place had been overwhelmed by the ashes of Vesuvius. The fugitive inhabitants, who, as it appears, still had time before their flight to save a portion of their valuables, returned to their deserted cities after the melancholy event, and, when the raging of the mountain was calmed, opened a passage through the ashes and pumice-stone to their dwellings, and sought out not only their buried movables, but carried away even statues, as the vacant pedestals proclaim; we even see that the bronze door-hinges and marble sills of doors have been removed. They also strove to rescue from destruction even the paintings on the walls; but, as some few only of them have been cut

out, it is probable that the inhabitants were prevented from completing their intentions by a renewed discharge of hot ashes from the mountain, and that these same four paintings were left behind for this very reason.

19. These four paintings have painted borders consisting of stripes of different colors, of which the outermost one is white, the middle violet, and the innermost green, and these frames are surrounded by brown lines. All three stripes together are as broad as the tip of the little finger, and on the outside of them is a white streak of a finger's breadth. The figures are two palms and two digits, Roman measure (19 in. Eng.), high. Although these paintings have been engraved and described, since the first edition of this work, in the fourth volume of the *Herculaneum Paintings*, I have not felt willing to withdraw the description given by myself, because the said work is not in every one's hands, and more especially because I think that I have offered the true explanation of the third picture (10).

20. The first picture is composed of four female figures. The principal one has her face turned forwards, and is sitting on a chair. With her left hand she draws aside from her face her mantle or peplum, which is lifted upon the back part of the head; this garment is of a violet color, and has a sea-green border; the tunic is flesh-colored (11). Her right hand is placed upon the shoulder of a young and beautiful maiden, who, wrapped in a white mantle, leans upon the other's chair, and rests her chin upon her right hand; her face is seen in profile. The feet of the former are supported by a footstool, as a sign of her dignity. Near her is a beautiful female figure, whose countenance is turned forwards, having her hair dressed; her right hand is placed in her bosom; the left hangs down, whilst the fingers make a movement as a person would in striking a chord upon a clavichord. Her tunic is white, with narrow sleeves reaching to the wrist; her mantle, of a violet color, has an embroidered hem of a thumb's breadth. The figure which dresses her hair stands higher, and is turned in profile, yet so that the tips of the hairs of the eyebrow of the averted eye are visible; the hairs of the eyebrow of the other eye are more distinctly marked than in the other figures. The earnestness of her attention is visible in her eye and on her compressed lips. Close to her stands a small low table with three feet, five digits

(2 in. 8 lines Eng.) in height, — so that it reaches to the middle of the thighs of the nearest figure, — having a marble slab, elegantly fluted, on which is a small casket, with twigs of laurel thrown over it; a violet ribbon, intended perhaps to be placed around the head of the attired figure, lies near (12). Beneath the table is an elegant tall vase; it reaches almost to the table-slab, has two handles, and is made of glass, which its transparency and color indicate.

21. The second painting appears to represent a tragic poet, who is seated, with his face turned forwards, and dressed in a long white tunic, — which descends to the feet, and has narrow sleeves reaching to the wrist, — of the kind worn by the actors in tragedy. He appears to be about fifty years old, and is without beard (13). Below the breast is a yellow band, of the breadth of the little finger, which may be an allusion to the Tragic Muse, who, as it was remarked elsewhere, in the first chapter of the second Book, generally wore a broader girdle than the other Muses. In his right hand he holds upright a staff of the length of a spear, *hasta pura*, on the upper extremity of which is a ferrule of a finger's breadth, denoted by a yellow stripe, just such a one as Homer holds in the picture of his deification (14). With the left hand he grasps a sword, which lies diagonally across the left thigh; both thighs are draped by a changeable red cloth, which also falls down over the seat of the chair; the belt of the sword is green. The sword, in this instance, may have the same signification as the one held by the figure personifying the Iliad, in the *Deification of Homer*, for this book furnishes the larger number of subjects for tragedy, drawn from heroic history. A female figure, whose right shoulder is bare, and who is draped in yellow, turns her back to him (15). She is kneeling with the right knee before a tragic mask, — which has a lofty head-dress of hair named ὄγκος, — that is set upon a frame, as on a base. This mask stands, as it were, in a shallow case or box, the sides of which, from the top to the bottom, are removed, and which is lined with blue cloth; from its top are suspended white bands, to the ends of which are attached two short cords with knots in them. The kneeling figure writes, with a pencil, probably the name of a tragedy, on the top of the base, on which she casts a shadow; but instead of letters we see only strokes. I believe it is the Tragic Muse, Melpomene, more especially because the figure is

represented as a virgin, for her hair is gathered together in a knot on the back of her head, — a manner of arranging it, which, as I have already stated, was usual only among unmarried women. Behind the trestle which supports the mask is seen a male figure, who leans with both hands on a long staff, and fixes his eyes on the writing figure; the countenance of the tragic poet is also turned in the same direction.

22. The third painting is composed of two nude male figures with a horse. One of them is seated, and faces the spectator; he is young, and his countenance is full of fire and boldness, and he is listening with deep attention to the words of the other, so that this figure may well represent Achilles. The seat of the chair is covered with crimson cloth, or with purple, which is thrown also over the right thigh, on which the right hand rests. His mantle too, which hangs down behind, is red, and therefore appropriate to a young hero and warrior as being a military color, for it was the usual color of the Spartans when on warlike expeditions; the couches also of the ancients were covered with purple. The arms of the chair are supported by Sphinxes (16), sitting on their haunches, as are the arms of the chair of a Jupiter, on a rilievo in the Albani palace, and as on a cameo where the arms of the chair are upheld by kneeling figures, so that they are consequently tolerably high; the right arm of the figure rests on the right elbow of the chair. A sheathed sword, six digits long, leans against one leg of the chair; it has a green belt, similar to that of the tragic poet, to which the sword is attached by means of two movable rings on the upper band of the sheath. The other figure is standing, and leaning upon a staff, which he has placed with his left hand beneath the right shoulder, — in the same attitude in which Paris stands on an engraved gem, — so that the right arm is raised, as if the speaker were relating some incident; one leg is thrown across the other; the head of this figure, and also of the horse, is wanting. This appears to be the youthful hero Antilochus, Nestor's youngest son, in the act of communicating to the astounded Achilles the intelligence of the death of Patroclus. This supposition is rendered probable to my mind by the building in which the action is represented; for it gives one an idea of the tent, constructed of boards, in which Achilles was found when the news was brought to him.

23. The fourth picture contains five figures. The first is a seated female figure, with one shoulder bared, and crowned with ivy and flowers; in her left hand she holds a roll of manuscript, to which she points with the right hand. She is dressed in violet, and her shoes are yellow, like those of the figure in the first painting, whose head is being dressed. Opposite to her sits a young female harpist, who strikes with her left hand a harp, named Barbytus, which is five digits and a half high, and holds in her right hand a tuning-fork, which is forked at its upper part, almost in the shape of a Greek Y, only the tines are more curved, as one may plainly see in a tuning-fork made of bronze, — in this same museum, — the tines of which, five digits long, terminate in horses' heads. Another beautiful tuning-fork, made of bronze and much ornamented, is in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, at Naples. It is probable that the instrument which the muse Erato, in a picture in the Herculaneum museum, holds in her hand, is not a plectrum, — which it is claimed to be, — but a tuning-fork, for it has two tines, though they curve inwards; besides, a plectrum was not needed here, seeing that she strikes the psaltery with her left hand. The harp of our figure has seven pegs on the head, — which was called ἀντιῆ χορδᾶν, — and consequently the same number of strings. Between them sits a Flute-player, dressed in white, who is blowing at the same time two straight flutes (17), of a yellow color and four inches and four lines in length, which enter the mouth through an opening in a band, — called στόμιον, also φόρβιον, φορβεῖα, — which, passing above the ears, was tied at the back of the head (18). There are several incised lines indicated on them, to denote either that they are made of so many separate pieces, or else of cane with its joints and knobs, — for not only pipes, *syrinx*, but also flutes, were made of the common cane; that kind however which grew near Orchomenus, in Bœotia, was without knobs, in consequence of which its bore was smooth throughout, and it was therefore preferable for such use. Flutes like those in the painting, composed of several pieces, were called ἐμβατήριοι, *gradarii*, because they had, as it were, several degrees (19). The joints of flutes made of bone, of which specimens are frequent in this museum, have no tenons and shoulders, (here I am at a loss for the German word,) and must therefore be drawn or stuck upon another tube. This tube was of metal or bored wood, which latter has been preserved in its

place in two joints of petrified flutes in this museum; and in the museum at Cortona is an ancient flute of ivory, the pieces of which are drawn upon a silver tube. I take this occasion to remark, that whenever flute-players blowing two flutes, a right and left one, or two flutes alone, are represented on ancient monuments — both of which occur — the two flutes are of equal size, whereas, according to the passage quoted from Pliny (20), the left must have been the larger, because it was cut from the lower portion of the cane, whilst the upper part was taken for the right one. Behind the first figure stand two male figures, wrapped in mantles, of which the one more in front is of a sea-green color. The hair of these, as well as of the female figures, is brown. The color of it in this case however establishes no rule, for, in the descriptive pictures of Philostratus, Hyacinthus and Panthia had black hair (21), as the mistress of Anacreon was also to have; Narcissus and Antilochus, on the contrary, had fair hair. According to Homer and Pindar, fair hair must be given to Achilles also, and by the former poet Menelaus was always termed *The Fair*, and the Graces received a similar appellation from the latter. In the painting to be described hereafter, Ganymedes has such hair, likewise the female figures in the so-called *Coriolanus*. Athenæus has therefore adopted a very groundless opinion, when he says that if an Apollo were represented with fair instead of black hair, he ought, for this reason alone, to be considered as badly made. The Greek women even colored their hair of a light color, when it was dark.

24. Besides these paintings there are some others, manifestly from the same hand, but they are not in perfect preservation. The most remarkable one represents Apollo, with rays about his head, seated upon the chariot of the sun, which is denoted by two wheels with spokes, — all of it that now remains visible. This piece has never been engraved. The figure is naked to the belly; a green mantle is cast over the thighs, to denote perhaps that the cheerful green of the earth is revealed by the rising of the sun. On his right shoulder lies the beautiful hand of a female figure, no longer present, raising a thin white drapery that obscured the god of day. This figure stood behind the other, and appears to be Aurora in the act of unveiling the sun to the world after she has withdrawn.

25. These pictures, consisting of small and highly finished

figures, still left a wish ungratified, which was to obtain larger pieces executed with a freer pencil and in a bolder manner. This wish was afterwards gratified by the discovery of two pieces, which were found in a large chamber behind the temple of Isis at Pompeii, and are now set up in the Herculaneum museum. Both of them represent the history of Isis, or Io, in figures of half the size of life. In one she is distinguished by two horns on her head; her garment has fallen down upon her thighs, leaving the upper part of the body bare. She is borne on the shoulder of a Triton or of Proteus, whose left arm encircles her. She steadies herself by holding him with her left hand, whilst she gives her right to a beautiful, fully draped female figure, who grasps with her right hand the hand of Io, and holds in her left a short snake with a swollen neck. This figure is seated on a base; behind her is a child playing with a *Situla*, of a larger size however than the one held by Mercury. At her back stands a young male figure, with the left shoulder bare, who is probably Mercury; for he holds in his right hand, which is raised, a Sistrum, and the Caduceus in his left, on the wrist of which is suspended a very small water-vessel, *Situla*. A fourth figure, standing like Mercury, also holds in the right hand a Sistrum, and in the left a slender wand; like the other figures, with the exception of the Triton, it is draped in white. The Triton, or Proteus, is rising out of the sea, or Nile, behind rocks seemingly whitened by the foam of the waters. Under their surface swims a crocodile, of a steel-color; on the right, there is a Sphinx lying on a pedestal.

26. The other picture represents Io, Mercury, and Argus. Io is seated, has horns on her head, and is draped in white. Mercury is standing, and supporting himself on the thigh of the left leg, which is placed upon a rock; in his left hand he holds a Caduceus of a peculiar shape, — the snakes being twice knotted; with his right, he extends to Argus a Syrninx, or cane-pipe. This latter is represented as a young man, but there is nothing remarkable in his shape.

27. Engravings of some of the paintings which were in the tombs at Corneto, not far from Civita Vecchia, have been published; but of the originals nothing now remains visible except a trace of a female figure of the size of life, with a garland around its head. Some of them have been obliterated by the

admission of the external air; others have been battered down with the pickaxe, on the supposition that concealed treasures might be found behind them. In this district, once inhabited by that tribe of the ancient Etruscans which was called Tarquinii, there are many thousand mounds, all of which are tombs that have been excavated in the rock, which is a Tufo. The entrance is choked up with earth, but it is not to be doubted that whoever would go to the expense of its removal would find within them not only Etruscan inscriptions, but also paintings on the plastered walls.

28. After the lapse of a long time, during which no ancient paintings in perfect preservation had been discovered in or about Rome, a piece came to light in September, 1760, the equal of which had not yet been seen; it even surpassed the Herculaneum paintings at that time known. The subject is a seated Jupiter, crowned with laurel, — at Elis he had a crown of flowers, — in the act of kissing Ganymedes, who offers him with the right hand a cup ornamented with embossed work, and in the left holds a vase, from which he pours ambrosia for the gods. The picture is eight palms (5 ft. 10 in.) high, and six palms (4 ft. 4½ in.) broad; both figures are of the size of life; Ganymedes has the stature of a boy of sixteen years of age, and is entirely naked. Jupiter is nude to the lower part of the belly, which is covered with a white robe; his foot rests upon a stool. The favorite of Jupiter is unquestionably one of the most beautiful figures which antiquity has left us; and I find nothing that can be compared with the face, over which such an expression of voluptuousness is diffused that his whole life seems to be merely a prolonged kiss.

29. This painting was discovered by a foreigner, — who, about four years before, had become a resident in Rome, — of the name of Chevalier Diel of Marseilles, in Normandy, and formerly a lieutenant in the royal grenadier guards of France. He had it removed privately from the place where it was found, and, as the secrecy required did not allow him to saw out a piece of the wall, and thus preserve the painting entire, he detached the plaster piecemeal, and in this way, in many fragments, transferred the rare treasure to Rome (22). From fear of being betrayed, and to avoid all claims, he employed a mason who was at work in his house to make a bed of gypsum





of the size of the painting, and on this he joined the pieces together with his own hands.<sup>1</sup>

30. All the above-described paintings, with the exception of the four pieces on marble, have been painted on walls; and although Pliny says that no celebrated painter painted on the wall, this unfounded assertion serves as a corroborative proof of the excellence of the best works of antiquity, since some of those pieces which have been preserved, and which would be ordinary in comparison with so many celebrated master-pieces, possess great beauties both in drawing and coloring.

31. The earliest paintings were executed on the walls, and rooms were thus embellished even in the time of the Chaldeans, as we read in the prophet (23), whose words are not to be understood, as some one supposes, of paintings suspended on the walls. Polygnotus, Onatas, Pausias, and other celebrated Greek painters distinguished themselves by embellishing with their pencils different temples and public buildings; even Apelles is said to have covered the walls of a temple at Pergamus with the works of his hand. This mode of embellishing rooms, at a time when it was not customary to hang the walls with tapestry, contributed to promote the art; for the ancients did not like the sight of bare walls, and, where it was too expensive to cover them with figures, they were painted in panels, which were separated from each other by borders.

32. In the description of these paintings I have been governed by the principle that an author should write or omit whatever he might wish the ancients had written or neglected to write; for we should feel grateful to Pausanias if he had given us as minute a description of many works of celebrated painters as he has of the paintings of Polygnotus at Delphi.

33. In respect to the time in which the paintings discovered in and about Rome, and in Herculaneum, were executed, it can be proved that most of them belong to the days of the Cæsars; and appearances justify the same opinion in regard to the others, for they were discovered either in the apartments, filled with rubbish and earth, of the palace of the Cæsars, or else in the Baths of Titus. The *Roma* of the Barberini gallery is apparently of a later age, and, like those which were in the tomb of Ovid, of the time of the Antonines, — which is proved by

<sup>1</sup> Plate XI.

the inscriptions there found. The Herculaneum paintings, with the exception of the four last discovered, are probably not older than those; for, in the first place, most of them represent landscapes, harbors, country-seats, forests, fishing-scenes, and views, and this style of painting was first introduced by one Ludius, in the time of Augustus. The ancient Greeks were not fond of representations of still life, which gratify the eye alone, leaving the intellect idle. In the second place, the buildings introduced into these pictures are in quite an extravagant style, and their false and strange embellishments prove them to be works of an age in which the reign of pure good taste had ceased (24). Pliny tells us what opinion we should form of the paintings of this period, where he says, "at that time painting was drawing its last breath."

34. After this historical account of the paintings now to be found in Rome and the Herculaneum museum principally, the reader would like to be informed whether they are the work of Greek or Roman artists. It would please me to gratify the wish, but our knowledge of the points in which their styles differed does not enable us to determine the point; and if the name of the Athenian artist had not been placed by himself on one of the above-mentioned drawings on marble in the Herculaneum museum, we should have been in doubt to which nation to ascribe its manner. It cannot be denied that, even in the earliest times, the Romans employed Greek painters not only in great, but also in small towns, — for instance at Ardea, situate by the sea, not far from Rome, in which was a temple of Juno, embellished by the pencil of Marcus Ludius, a Greek of Ætolia, who was a Helot or fugitive Spartan serf, on his work the artist had put his name in the Roman language, and in letters of a very ancient form. Pliny relates that two Greek painters, named Damophilus and Gorgasus, beautified with their pencil a temple of Ceres in Rome, and placed their names under their paintings; the connection in which he mentions the fact seems to show that it did not occur in the later days of the republic. It is probable therefore that most of the paintings now remaining were executed by Greeks, since wealthy individuals among the Romans had painters in their service, who were freedmen, and consequently not Romans. This can be shown partly by an Antium inscription, in the Campidoglio, — on which is the name of an artist of this condition among the emperor's ser-

vants, — and partly from an account of a portico at Antium, embellished with gladiatorial figures, executed, at the order of Nero, by the pencil of a freedman. The superior esteem in which the Greek painters were held in Rome under the Cæsars is known ; and it is shown by the Greek subscription of the Muses, among the Herculaneum paintings. Now, since these paintings — with the exception of a few, which, as I remarked, were taken from a Herculaneum temple — stood in country-seats and other dwellings, it is probable that they also are the work of manumitted painters. But among the Herculaneum paintings there are also pieces from the pencil of a Roman artist, — which is proved by the Latin inscription on the scroll of paper in the picture ; and during my first visit there, in 1759, a beautiful female half-figure in miniature was found, which, in its kind is as beautiful as any other there, and near which are legible the letters DIDV. This piece, which has been mentioned by me elsewhere, might be the work of a freedman who had been educated or born in Rome. This is the point to which Pliny refers, when, in lamenting the downfall of painting, he assigns as one of the causes, “ that the art, even before and during his time, had not been followed by respectable persons,” *non est spectata honestis manibus*. It had not however become an occupation of freedmen from the low estimation in which it was held ; for it appears that Amulius, who painted the golden house of Nero, and Cornelius Pinus and Accius Priscus, who displayed their art in the Temple of Virtue and Honor on its restoration by Vespasian, were Roman citizens. As we know however that the art of drawing, and of painting especially, was practised among the Greeks by persons of free birth only, and that among the Romans they had fallen into the hands of liberated slaves, this abasement of the dignity of painting may be considered as one cause of its decay even as early as the Cæsars, so that Petronius complains that there was not to be found in the art the least trace of its former mastery. The decline of painting was also much accelerated by the new style — introduced under Augustus by a certain Ludius — of ornamenting rooms with landscapes, views of harbors, forests, and other insignificant things ; Vitruvius, lamenting over the change, remarks that the subjects of the paintings on the walls were of an instructive character prior to this time, and had been drawn from the history of the gods and heroes,

—consequently it might be called an heroic style of painting. These remarks apply only to the state of painting at the time of the Cæsars, to which the paintings known to us belong. The condition of the art among the Romans, during the Republic, will be made the subject of notice in the fourth chapter of the next Book.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE EXECUTION OF PICTURES.

1. As respects the execution, or the painting itself, it was at first of one color only, and the figures were sketched with mere lines of a single color, — which was usually red, either cinnabar or red lead. Occasionally, instead of red, white was used, as Zeuxis was accustomed to paint (1); and such figures, with white outlines on a dark ground, are to be seen even now in the ancient tombs of Tarquinii, near Corneto. This kind of painting was called Monochrome, that is, paintings in one color (2).

2. It seems to have been the intention of Aristotle to signify by the word λευκογραφεῖν, *to paint in white*, pictures executed merely in white; for he says that those tragedies in which the expression of the passions has not been attempted, or in which the attempt has not been successful, are to be regarded precisely as pictures deficient in expression; for even though the artist may finish them in the most beautiful colors, still they would not thereby please the spectator more than do those of that painter who paints wholly in white, λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα, — by this expression probably alluding to Zeuxis, since he, as was before mentioned, was accustomed to paint with this single color, and likewise, as the philosopher had shortly before remarked, gave to his pictures no expression, ἡθος. The reader will please to compare this interpretation with that of Daniel Heinsius, who translates καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα by *quam qui creta singula distincte delineat*, “who accurately delineates objects with chalk.” Such an interpretation shows clearly that this learned man had no distinct idea of the meaning of the words. Castelvetro, who is generally wrong in his understanding and explanation of the *Poetic* of Aristotle, is entirely in the wrong here, when he translates the passage in question in the following manner: *percio chè cosa simile avviene ancora nella pittura, poichè così non diletterebbe altri, avendo distesi bellissimi*

*colori confusamente, come farebbe se di chiaro e di scuro avesse figurata un' immagine*, “for something similar happens even in painting, since a picture in which the most beautiful colors were laid on confusedly would not please so much as if the figures were drawn in light and shade.” Is there in this translation the slightest trace of the word λευκογραφεῖν, *to paint in white*? Besides, Aristotle does not attribute any perfection to λευκογραφεῖν, or painting in white; he does not even introduce the style, as the Italian translator has understood it, in opposition to the whole remark, but only to the first portion of his comparison, drawn from painting.

3. Of the second kind of Monochromes, or those which are painted with red alone, there have been preserved the four above-mentioned drawings on plates of white marble, in the Herculaneum museum, which prove that this, the earliest and the original mode of painting, has been steadily retained. The red color of these four pieces has turned to black under the glowing discharges from Vesuvius, as I have shown, yet in such a manner that the ancient red color can be discerned here and there.

4. The most numerous specimens of this kind of painting are the vessels of burnt clay, of which the greater number are painted with a single color, and are consequently to be called Monochromes, as has been shown in the fourth chapter of the third Book; and vessels are probably painted in a similar manner at the present day, in all parts of the world (3).

5. When the art of painting had made further progress, and Light and Dark was invented, the painter advanced another step, and, between light and shade, placed the proper and natural color of every object, which the Greeks termed the tone of color, just as we are accustomed to express ourselves at the present day, when we say *the true tone of color*. For Pliny says, this brilliancy — as he translates the word, *tone* — may be something else than light, and between light and dark; for light and dark does not give the true color of an object (4). So, it seems to me, must we understand this obscure passage, which has been interpreted in different ways. The painter attained the perfection of coloring through the harmony of the principal color and of the broken and mixed colors, the blending of which with one another was termed by the Greeks ἀρμολογία, as Pliny shows in the same passage. The high and

strong colors were called by the Romans *saturi*, "saturated," and the cold colors, and those of a lower tone, *diluti*, "diluted" (5).

6. After these critical remarks upon the coloring of the ancients, the reader will wish to be informed of the kind of painting peculiar to the ancient artists. This can be done however only in regard to painting on walls ; and the remarks made on such painting are not wholly applicable to painting on wooden tablets, because the mode adopted in the latter, as is the case in more modern art, was different from that of the former. But it may be asserted as generally true, that the art of painting among the ancients was more skilful than that of modern days in attaining a high degree of life and the true color of the flesh, because all colors lose somewhat in oil, and become darker. Of the ancient art of painting on wood we know nothing in particular, except that the ancients painted on a white ground, probably for the same reason that the whitest wool, as Plato says, was used when it was intended to dye it of a purple color.

7. Of the kind of ancient painting I have several particular observations to make, relating partly to the preparation for pictures, or the coating and plastering of the walls, and partly to the kind and manner of the painting itself. The coating of the walls for pictures differs according to places, especially in regard to the puzzolana. That which is found in ancient buildings in the environs of Rome and Naples is different from that of the ancient buildings remote from these two places. As the earth above mentioned is excavated only in these two localities, the first coat on the walls consists of that and lime, thoroughly mixed together ; and hence it is of a grayish color. In other places, the walls are faced with pulverized travertino, or marble, and also, instead of other stones, with powdered alabaster, which is recognized by the translucency of the small fragments. In Greece, the walls were not prepared for painting by a coat of puzzolana, because none was found there.

8. The first coat upon the walls is commonly fully a finger thick ; the second layer, formed of lime mixed and beaten up with finely powdered marble, is almost a third as thick as the first. The walls of tombs ornamented with paintings were usually coated in this way, and the Herculaneum pictures also are on this kind of wall. Occasionally the outer coat is so fine

and white that it appears to be pure lime or gypsum, as in the picture of *Jupiter and Ganymedes*, and is of the thickness of a large straw. In all pictures, whether on a dry or wet ground, the outermost layer is smoothed in a similar way, and with so much care as to have a surface like glass, — a process which, in the second kind of painting, when the ground was very fine, required very great dexterity and rapid execution on the part of the artist.

9. The manner of proceeding at the present day in preparing walls for fresco painting, or painting on a wet ground, is somewhat different from that of the ancients. The ground is composed of lime and puzzolana; for lime, beaten up with finely powdered marble, dries too quickly, and would instantly absorb the colors. Moreover the surface is not smoothed, as with the ancients, but is left a little rough, and is, as it were, granulated with a painter's brush, in order to take the colors better; for it is supposed that they would spread, if laid on a perfectly smooth surface.

10. Something is also to be said of the kind and manner of painting itself, the preparation and execution of the same, which was termed *udo tectorio pingere*, "to paint on wet plaster," and of the painting on dry grounds. The ancient artists must have proceeded almost as the moderns in their preparations for painting on wet grounds. At the present day, after the cartoon has been drawn of full size, and so much wet ground has been laid on as can be executed in a day, the outlines of the figures and the principal parts of them are punctured on the pasteboard with a needle. This piece of the drawing is then laid on the prepared ground, and finely powdered charcoal dusted through the pierced holes; and in this manner the outlines are marked out on the ground. In Germany, this process is termed *pouncing*. In this manner Raphael also proceeded, as I see by one of his drawings of a child's head, in black crayon, which is in the collection of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. The painter next goes over the outlines, formed by the charcoal-dust, with a pointed style, and they are thus pressed into the wet ground. These impressed outlines are distinctly visible in the works of Michael Angelo and Raphael. But in this last particular the ancient artists differ from the moderns; for in the ancient pictures the outline is found not to be impressed, but the figures are painted, as on wood or linen,

with great rapidity and confidence. The first kind of painting before mentioned, that is, with simple lines of a white color, also continued in use afterwards, because the figures could be completed with their appropriate and living colors, and the artist drew with a pencil in white what he intended to finish afterwards in colors. This is plainly to be seen on a long fragment of a painted wall, which was found at Pompeii, from which most of the colored paint has fallen off, so that only the outlines remain, and these not entire. The ancient painters therefore drew their figures with the brush itself, because, through their more frequent opportunities of painting on walls, they had acquired superior dexterity ; for I have not been able to discover impressed outlines in a single picture among the many hundreds in the Herculaneum museum which I have examined.

11. It must have been less common among the ancients to paint on moist than on dry grounds, for the larger portion of the pictures in the Herculaneum museum are of the latter kind. This is evident in some few of the figures, the colors of which have separated from the walls, leaving visible not only the ground on which they had been painted, but also the different layers of colors. Thus in some, for example, the ground is black ; on this ground there is a panel of a different shape, or even a long stripe, laid on in vermilion ; and on this second ground figures are painted (6). The figure has disappeared, or has become detached, and the second red ground is as clean as if nothing had been painted on it. This is most observable in the picture of *Chiron and Achilles*, already cited, in which the ornaments of the Doric order, behind the figures, were painted before the figures themselves ; so that the artist, in this instance, has reversed the usual practice. For our artists proceed as the nature of things teaches them, — first putting in their figures, and then sketching the background of their picture ; in that instance the reverse is the case. But other paintings, which appear to be of the same kind, are painted on a wet ground, but have finally received a coat of dry colors, like the *Ganymedes*, and others which have been found in the same place.

12. Some believe that they can distinguish painting on a dry ground by the prominence of the brush-strokes, but without reason, for the same effect is observable in pictures by Raphael

which are painted on a wet ground. The raised strokes of the brush in this case show that he retouched his works here and there after the ground had dried ; and this has also been the practice of succeeding painters in the same style. The colors of the ancient paintings on wet grounds must have been laid on with a peculiar solution of glue ; for they have, after so many hundred years, remained in a measure fresh, and a wet sponge or cloth can be passed over them without injury. In the cities overwhelmed by ashes from Vesuvius, pictures have been found covered by a tough and hard coat consisting of ashes and moisture, and which could not be detached without great difficulty, by means of heat ; but even this accident did not affect them injuriously. Those which are on wet grounds are able to resist the aquafortis with which the pictures are cleaned of the stonelike crust deposited on them.

The most beautiful fragments of the ancient paintings in the Herculaneum museum are the Dancing Women, together with the Nymphs and Centaurs. These figures, a palm high, and painted on a black ground, seem to have been sketched as quickly, easily, and carelessly as the first thoughts of a drawing. But this rapidity, which astonishes all connoisseurs, had become, through science and skill, as certain as fate.

13. In most of the ancient paintings on walls, the lights and shadows are produced sometimes by parallel and sometimes by crossed lines, termed by Pliny *incisuras*, "hatching," and in the Italian *tratteggiare*. This mode of handling is also seen occasionally in the works of Raphael, and even now pictures on walls are executed in a similar manner. Others, especially the larger figures of the ancients, are treated after the manner adopted in oil-painting, that is, they are thrown back or brought forward by large masses of retreating or advancing colors ; and in the *Ganymedes* these colors are blended together in a masterly manner. In the same large manner are executed the so-called *Venus* in the Barberini palace, and also the four small beautiful pieces in the Herculaneum museum, previously described, and other pictures there, which are elaborately finished. But in some pieces of this museum both kinds of shading are to be seen at once, as, for example, among others, the *Chiron* and *Achilles*, of which figures the latter is painted with entire masses, whilst the former, on the contrary, is hatched.

14. In regard to the Herculaneum pictures, it is a subject of

regret that they have been covered with a varnish, which causes the colors to cleave off in flakes. I have, within two months, seen fragments fall from the Achilles.

15. That I may omit nothing relative to the painting of the ancients, I remind the reader of the Diana in the Herculaneum museum, — described in the second chapter of the third Book, — which is wrought in the most ancient style, and of which not only the hem of the robe but also other parts of the garments are painted. Although it is more probable that this statue is an Etruscan, and not a Greek work, yet from a passage in Plato it might seem as if the same practice existed also among the Greeks. He says, by way of comparison, in the words which I quote : *Ὡσπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀνδριάντας γράφοντας προσελθὼν ἂν εἰ τις ἔψεγε, λέγων ὅτι οὐ τοῖς καλλίστοις τοῦ ζώου τὰ κάλλιστα φάρμακα προστίθεμεν. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ, κάλλιστον ὄν, οὐκ ὀστρεῖῳ ἐναηλιμμένοι εἶεν, ἀλλὰ μέλανι, κ. τ. λ.* — *Just as if some one who should find us bepainting statues should censure us because we did not put the most beautiful colors upon the most beautiful parts of the figure ; for the eyes, which are the most beautiful, should be colored, not with purple, but with black, etc.* I translate these words in the sense in which I understand them ; and they are susceptible of no other interpretation until it can be shown that the word *ἀνδριάς*, which generally signifies a *statue*, can be understood to mean also a picture, — a point which I leave for the decision of those whose reading is more extensive than mine.

16. As the explanation of a passage in Aristotle, and of the word *λευκογραφεῖν*, together with an attempted elucidation of an obscure passage in Pliny, gave occasion, in the second paragraph of this chapter, to speak of the coloring of the ancients, so the judgment of this philosopher upon three painters leads me to express my opinion upon their characters. “Polygnotus,” he says, “has painted his figures better, Pauson worse, and Dionysius as they are.” I do not know whether Count Caylus has touched on this passage, and, if he has, whether he has hit its meaning ; for I have not at hand his *Remarks upon the Painting of the Ancients*, inserted in the *Memoirs of the Academy*, nor the time to look for them ; the reader may take the trouble to compare our opinions upon the passage. In this passage, Castelvetro has again displayed his want of acuteness ; and his explanation does not deserve either to be translated or refuted.

Aristotle, as far as I can see, wishes to teach as follows. Polygnotus has painted his figures better, as the philosopher requires from every good painter, that is, he has elevated them above the common rank and shape of men; and since he, like most of the ancient painters, represented not only the mythology of the gods, but also the stories of the heroic ages, his figures were consequently also similar to heroes, and copies after a most beautiful idea of nature. Pauson painted his figures worse. This remark is not probably intended as a censure of the artist, because Aristotle quotes him as a great painter, and places him near Polygnotus. The intention of this comparison, drawn from the artists mentioned, is unequivocally plain. Aristotle means thereby to explain more clearly the three different kinds of imitation, *μιμησέων*, in the poetic art as well as in dancing. He intended consequently to say that tragedy, which is devoted to heroic actions, is in the art of poetry what the pictures of Polygnotus are in painting; and the figures of Pauson may be compared with comedy, which represents persons as worse than they are, as he says in the same chapter, “*Ἡ μὲν (κωμῳδία) γὰρ χείρους, ἥ δὲ (τραγῳδία) βελτίους μιμείσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν*”; and he repeats the same idea in the following chapter, *Κωμῳδία μίμησις φαυλοτέρων*, *Comedy is an imitation of the worse*; that is to say, with the object of improving the morals it presents the follies of mankind in a higher degree than they actually exist, in order that their ridiculousness may be rendered the more obvious. We may infer from this that Pauson painted a greater number of comic than of heroic and tragic pieces, and that his talent may have been to represent the ridiculous, which comedy also aims to do. For the ridiculous, Aristotle continues, represents persons in a bad light, *τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ γέλοιον μῶριον*. Dionysius on the contrary, who according to Pliny was ranked among the most celebrated painters, kept the mean between the two, and was, when compared with Polygnotus, what Euripides is compared with Sophocles. The latter represented women as they should be; the former, as they are. Dionysius imitated Polygnotus in everything, as Ælian informs us, except in grandeur, *πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους*; he lacked elevation.

17. This criticism of the character of Dionysius gives, at once, to the notice by Pliny of the same painter, a signification that differs entirely from the sense in which it has been hitherto

understood. Dionysius, he says, *nihil aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id Anthropographus cognominatus*, "He painted only men, and on that account acquired the appellation of Man-painter." The meaning is, that he gave to his men a human shape, and did not elevate them above the ordinary condition; and hence he received this surname. It is evident therefore that he must have given the likeness of particular persons to his figures, even those of a heroic character, and these he probably painted from living models without refining them by any ideal traits, so that he took for his pictures what we term Academy-figures.

18. In this treatise on ancient painting, some notice must also be taken of Mosaic-work, as it is a sort of painting, consisting partly of small stones and partly of colored glass. Of the former kind, the most common pictures are those which are composed of little white and black square stones; and even in the very finest of these works from stones alone the artist seems to have avoided the lively colors, such as red, green, and the like, especially as no marble is to be found possessing either of these colors in its highest and most beautiful tone; at least, only dull colors are introduced into the very finest Mosaic of this kind,—the Doves, in the Capitoline museum. Those of the second kind however have all possible colors, though in glass-paste; the two pieces in the Herculaneum museum, executed by Dioscorides of Samos, and described in the first chapter of the twelfth Book, are of this sort. I do not however assert that in Mosaic works of many colors there are not to be found yellow and red stones, and stones of some other colors, as this would be contrary to what we see to be the fact, but merely say that such colors are not found of the greatest brilliancy.

19. Mosaic-work was especially intended for pavements in temples and other buildings; but finally ceilings also were overlaid with it,—examples of which may be seen, even at the present day, in a crypt-porch of the Tiburtine villa of the emperor Adrian, and also in the larger as well as smaller cupola of Saint Peter's church, at Rome. Such pavements are composed of stones of the size of the nail of the little finger; and when any of especial beauty have been found, they have been converted into table-slabs,—instances of which are to be seen in the Capitoline museum, and in the dwelling-houses of the Romans. The stones of the celebrated Mosaic at Palestrina

are also of the same size. In sumptuous rooms, figures of several colors were occasionally wrought in the middle and other parts of the pavement floor when it was formed of white and black stones. Of this kind is the Mosaic of a room which was discovered under Palestrina about four years ago. But as such pieces were exceedingly delicate, they not only rested on thin marble slabs beneath, but they were also surrounded by a border of the same kind, and were thus framed in the coarser work. In this way were arranged the Doves of the Capitoline museum, and the two pieces by Dioscorides, found in the pavements of two rooms of a building in Pompeii (7).

20. In conclusion, I have a few words to say in regard to the custom among the ancients of protecting paintings from the injuries which they might suffer from air or moisture (8). This was done by means of wax, a coat of which was put over them, as Vitruvius and Pliny mention, which not only protected the picture, but also heightened at the same time the brilliancy of the colors. Proof of this may be seen in some rooms in the buried houses of the ancient town of Resina, situated near the ancient Herculaneum. On the walls were compartments painted in scarlet of such beauty that it appeared purple ; but when they were brought near the fire for the purpose of detaching the crust deposited on them, the wax melted with which the paintings were coated. A cake of white wax was also found lying among colors, in an apartment of subterranean Herculaneum ; an artist was probably engaged in embellishing it with pictures when the disastrous eruption of Vesuvius occurred and overwhelmed everything.

## BOOK VIII.

THE RISE AND FALL OF GREEK ART, IN WHICH  
FOUR PERIODS AND AS MANY STYLES CAN BE  
DETERMINED.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE MORE ANCIENT STYLE OF ART.

1. THE third division of this treatise on the growth and decline of Greek art relates, not less than the preceding, to its essential ; and several general considerations, found in the preceding books, will here be more nearly and precisely determined by remarkable monuments of Greek art.

2. He who has had the rare opportunity of seeing paintings, and especially drawings of the earliest painters in Italy up to the present time, can form a better idea than others of the origin, progress, and growth of Greek art, especially when he can run through and overlook, as with a glance, an unbroken series of drawings for more than three hundred years, — for which purpose a portion of the large collection of drawings in the possession of Bartholomew Cavaceppi, sculptor at Rome, is arranged ; and if, by means of them, we compare the progressive steps of more modern art with those which are discoverable in the art of the ancients, we obtain clearer ideas of the path by which the ancients attained their perfection. For it becomes more evident through such a comparison, that, as the path to virtue is narrow and rough, so the road to art, particularly that which leads to the truth of art, may and must be hard and undeviating. The patriarchs of modern art, even in its infancy, have done what Raphael did in its greatest bloom ;

they sketched the outlines of their figures with accuracy and precision, and were not so easily satisfied as are those who are termed *machinists*, that is, they who rapidly execute large works, who sketch their figures in the coarsest manner, and trust for the rest to the good luck of their brush. The former, through their severe drawing, finally attained to correctness; and the master is manifest in the firm, scarcely-touched strokes, even of the smallest figure. Hence we can distinguish at the present day some few drawings of Penni, called *Fattore*, which come the nearest to those of Raphael, whose pupil he was, merely by the frequent breaks in the lines and outlines of his figures, which, in the first thoughts of his master, flow one out of another, like the thoughts themselves, and may be said to have been written.

3. When I speak here of the most ancient style of Greek art, the reader is not to understand those earliest essays of which mention was made in the first chapter of the first Book, but works in which art had already attained a form, and been reduced to a system. This style might perhaps be compared with the style of Herodotus, the most ancient Greek historian, and of his contemporaries. Aristotle remarks that they have retained the ancient form of expression, in which the phrases are disjoined one from the other, and have no connection, and for this reason their periods also are deficient in that roundness which is desirable. This will serve as a comparison peculiarly appropriate to pictures of the earliest style of art, for they were deficient in that roundness which is produced by light and shade, like the works of the painters who preceded Raphael, and especially those of the Florentine school, in which the same defect is observable.

4. Greek art, like Greek poetry, has according to Scaliger four principal periods, resembling in this respect the division made in Roman history by Florus; we might even count five such epochs. For as every action or event has five parts, and, as it were, stages, — namely, beginning, progress, state of rest, decrease, and end, in which lies the ground of the five scenes or acts in dramatic pieces, — so it is with the succession of time in art; but since the close of art is beyond its bounds, so there are properly only four periods in it for consideration here. The more ancient style lasted until Phidias; through him and the artists of his time art attained its greatness. This style may

be called the grand and lofty. From the time of Praxiteles to that of Lysippus and Apelles, art acquired more grace and pleasingness ; this style should be named the beautiful. Some little time subsequent to these artists and their school, art began to decline among their imitators ; and we might now add a third style, that of the imitators, until art gradually bowed itself to its fall.

5. In the more ancient style we have, in the first place, to study the admirable monuments now remaining ; next, the characteristics deducible from them ; and, finally, the transition to the grand style. No older and more authentic monuments of the more ancient style can be produced than some coins, to the great antiquity of which both the impression and inscription bear testimony ; and, since they were stamped under the inspection of the cities to which they belong, we can infer with certainty in regard to the art of the age in which they were made. To these I add a carnelian from the Stosch museum, which is placed at the end of the first portion of this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

6. The inscription, as well on the coins as on the gem, reads backwards, that is to say, from the right to the left. But this manner of writing must have ceased a long time before Herodotus. For the historian, when making a comparison of the manners and customs of the Egyptians with those of the Greeks, states that the former, even in writing, did the opposite to the latter, writing from right to left. This statement, which affords some means of determining time by the mode of writing practised by the Greeks, has not as yet to my knowledge been noticed ; and we may infer from it, that, from the age of the historian, — that is to say, in the seventy-sixth Olympiad, — the custom of writing backwards had ceased among the Greeks for a considerable time. But Pausanias mentioned that the inscriptions under the statue of Agamemnon, at Elis, — which was one of the eight figures by Onatas of those who had offered themselves for the lot of fighting with Hector, — was from right to left. This appears to have been something rare even on the most ancient statues, for he does not state it of any other inscription on statues. Now since Onatas flourished shortly before the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, — that is, before the seventy-second Olympiad, — and consequently not long before Phidias,

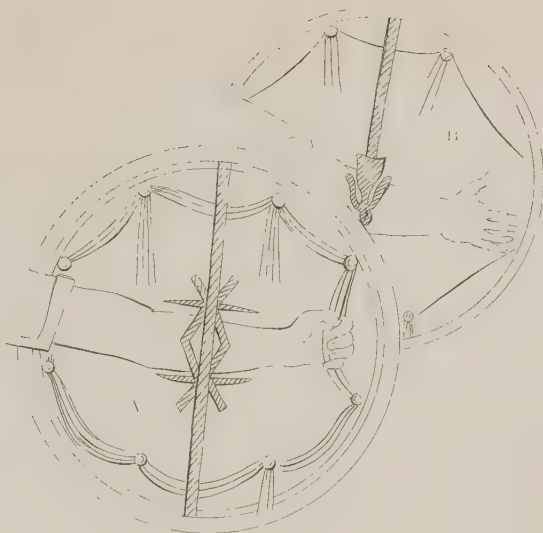
<sup>1</sup> First edition, page 140. — *Anc. Monuments*, No. 125.

the date may be nearly settled when the Greeks ceased to write backwards.

7. Amongst the most ancient coins to be noticed are those of certain cities in Magna Græcia, especially those of Sybaris, Caulonia, and Posidonia or Pæstum in Lucania. The first cannot have been made after the seventy-second Olympiad, when Sybaris was destroyed by the Crotonians; and the form of the letters in the name of the city points to a much earlier date (1). The ox on them and the goat on those of Caulonia are rather unshapely; the Jupiter on very ancient coins of the latter city, as well as the Neptune on coins of the city of Posidonia, is of a finer impression, but in the style which is commonly termed Etruscan. Neptune holds his trident-sceptre like a lance, in the act of thrusting, and is naked like Jupiter, except that he has gathered his robe together and thrown it over both arms, as if intending it should serve him as a shield, in the same manner as Jupiter, on an engraved gem, has wrapped his ægis about his left arm. The ancients occasionally fought in this way, when without a shield, as Plutarch relates of Alcibiades, and Livy of Tiberius Gracchus. The impression on these coins is concave on one side, and raised on the other; but not like some imperial coins, as well as those of Roman families, of which the hollow stamp on one side is a fault.<sup>1</sup> In the case of these coins, it is evident that two different dies were employed, — as I can clearly prove by the Neptune (2). Thus, where the impression is in relief, he has a beard and curly hair; where it is hollow, he is without beard and with smooth hair. There, the mantle hangs forward over the arm; here, backwards. There, an ornament, like two cords loosely twisted, goes round the rim; here, it resembles a wreath of wheat-ears, but the sceptre is in relief on both sides.

8. Some one asserts without proof that, not long after the fiftieth Olympiad, the Gamma of the Greeks was written, not Γ, but C; the assertion cannot however be sustained, for if it was the fact, our ideas of the more ancient style, derived from coins, would be doubtful and contradictory. For coins are found on which the said letter occurs in its older form, and yet which notwithstanding have an admirable impression. Among them, I can mention a coin of the city of Gela, in Sicily, the name on which is written CEΛϞΣ, with a two-horse chariot,

<sup>1</sup> Plate XII., Letters C, D.



c



d





and the forepart of a Minotaur. Indeed, the contrary of that assertion can be shown by a coin, among others, of the city of Segesta, in Sicily, having the round Gamma, which, as I hope to prove hereafter, was stamped long after this time, in the one hundred and thirty-fourth Olympiad (3).

9. In this place, four cups of the finest gold, in size and shape resembling coffee-saucers, deserve mention. They were discovered in the ancient tombs near Girgenti, and are now in the museum of the Bishop Lucchesi, of that city. They are remarkable, because the decorations on them are in a certain degree like the impressions on those coins; hence also these rare pieces appear to be of equal antiquity. The outside of two of these cups is surrounded by a band, the ornaments of which consist of oxen; and this band may be termed embossed work. For it was struck with a die cut in relief, and placed on the inner side, for the purpose of driving out the other side in relief. The two other cups have an ornament around the rim, consisting of indented points. It is not necessary, in explanation of the oxen above mentioned, to go back with the possessor of the cups to the time of Apis of the Egyptians; for, among the Greeks, oxen were consecrated to the Sun, and they also drew the car of Diana. These animals may even be regarded as a symbol of agriculture, — which the ox on several coins of Magna Græcia appears to signify, — because oxen drew the plough and did the entire tillage. This same animal was the stamp of the most ancient Athenian as well as Roman coins.

10. That ideas of beauty, or rather the conformation and representation of it by Greek artists, were not original with art, as gold is native in Peru, is proved especially by the oldest Sicilian coins, and the more convincingly by the coins of subsequent ages, which exceeded all others in beauty. I base my judgment on very ancient and rare coins of Leontium, Messina, Segesta, and Syracuse, which were examined by me when they were in the former Stosch cabinet; an engraving of two of these coins of the last city may be seen at the beginning of this third part.<sup>1</sup> The head is a Proserpine; this and other heads on said coins are drawn like the head of Pallas on the oldest Athenian coins, and that of a statue of her in the Albani villa. No single part of these heads has beauty of form; consequently the head as a whole has none. The eyes are long and

<sup>1</sup> Of the Vienna edition, p. 451.

flat ; the opening of the mouth is turned upwards ; the chin is pointed, and deficient in elegance of curve ; the locks of hair are disposed in small ringlets, and resemble the berries of a bunch of grapes, and on this account they are termed so, even by the most ancient Greek poets ; and it is significant enough to say that the sex is almost doubtful, in female heads. Hence it has happened that a very rare female head of this kind in bronze, somewhat larger than life, in the *Herculaneum* museum, has been regarded as that of a male. Notwithstanding, the reverse of these coins is elegant not only as regards the impression, but also the drawing of the figure. But there is a great difference between the drawing of small and that of large figures, and no conclusion can be drawn from the former in regard to the latter ; for it was easier to draw a neat small figure about an inch high, than to draw beautifully a head alone of just the same size. The shape of these heads has therefore, according to the form described, the characteristics of the Egyptian and Etruscan styles, and it is a proof of the similarity — pointed out in the first chapter of the first Book — of the figures of these three nations in the earliest ages.

11. The dying *Othryades* in the *Stosch* museum appears to have equal antiquity with the coins just mentioned. From the inscription on the gem, the workmanship is Greek ; it represents the dying *Othryades*, and another wounded warrior, drawing the fatal arrows from their breasts, whilst the former writes at the same time upon his shield, "To Victory" (4). The *Argives* and *Spartans* were engaged in a dispute about the city of *Thyrea*, and, in order to prevent a general effusion of blood, three hundred warriors were selected on each side to contend together. The six hundred were all slain, with the exception of two of the *Argives*, and one only of the *Spartans*, *Othryades* ; he, though fatally wounded, collected all his strength, and with the weapons of the *Argives* erected a sort of trophy. On one of the shields he wrote with his blood, "To Victory," and claimed it for the *Spartans*. This war happened about the time of *Croesus*. The historians, among whom *Herodotus* is the first, who relate this memorable event, differ in their account of it ; but this is not the place to enter into an investigation of it. The workmanship of the gem is elaborate in its execution ; and the figures are not deficient in expression, but the drawing of them is stiff and flat, and the position strained and without





grace. If we consider that not one of the other heroes of antiquity whose death is memorable ended his life in a similar way, and that the death of Othryades made him an object of respect even among the enemies of Sparta, — for his statue was at Argos, — it is probable that this representation can point to no one else. If we should assume that this hero, shortly after his death, became a subject for artists, — a supposition that is rendered probable by the inscription on his shield, which is written backwards, — and since his death is to be placed between the fiftieth and sixtieth Olympiad, the workmanship on the gem would show us the style of the age of Anacreon. Consequently the famous emerald of Polycrates, ruler of Samos, which was engraved by Theodorus, the father of Telecles, probably resembled it in workmanship.

12. In regard to works of sculpture in this older style, I have observed my usual custom in regard to other works of art, that is, to mention none which I have not seen and carefully examined; for the same thing happens to drawings of them as to a story, which receives an addition from every mouth. Hence I cannot speak, in my present undertaking, of one of the most ancient works in relief in the world, because it is in England. It represents a young athlete standing before a seated Jupiter; I shall notice it hereafter.

13. The most prominent characteristics of this older style (5) are manifested in the Pallas<sup>1</sup> of the Albani villa (6), which is represented in the *Ancient Monuments* in the condition in which it existed previously to its restoration. The shape of the face, and the forms of the parts are such that, if the head had been of basalt, it would be looked upon as a piece of Egyptian workmanship; and it is entirely similar to the female heads on the most ancient coins of Syracuse, and some of Magna Græcia. Indeed, we might also show in this figure the Etruscan style; for the openings of the eyes are somewhat long, and flat, and turned upwards; the mouth is likewise turned upwards; the chin is somewhat small, and the oval of the face consequently imperfect; the hair is tied in the manner usual with Pallas, low on the head, and at some distance from it. The ægis covers not only her breast, but also her back, and reaches down to the thighs in such a manner that it represents a skin, which the ægis properly was, and from which it received

<sup>1</sup> Plate XIV.

its name. The ægis of Jupiter was the skin of the goat Amalthæa, by which he was suckled. The ægis of our Pallas has a border trimmed with serpents, and it is bound about her body by serpents instead of a girdle. The Diana of painted marble, in the Herculaneum museum, is probably quite as ancient as this Pallas, to which it is perfectly similar in the idea of the face. The reason which induced the Romans to carry away from Greece these and other statues of like antiquity can have been no other than that which leads me to mention them here, namely, to set up works of the most ancient art of the Greeks in order to have the series complete.

14. The lovers of antiquity believe that they recognize this older style in a rilievo in the Campidoglio, an engraving of which is placed before the preliminary *Dissertation upon the Drawing of the Ancients*, in my *Monuments*. It represents three female Bacchantes, and a Faun,<sup>1</sup> with the subscription, ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, *Callimachus made it*. This name is understood to designate the Callimachus who was never able to satisfy himself; as he made figures of Spartan women dancing, that relief is looked upon as a representation of the kind. To me, the inscription on it is suspicious; it cannot be considered as modern, but it is quite possible that the fraudulent imitation may have been placed there anciently, like that of the name of Lysippus on a Hercules in Florence; the name, it is true, is ancient, but neither it nor the statue itself can have proceeded from the hand of this artist, as I will hereafter show. A Greek work of the style of the rilievo in the Campidoglio must, according to the ideas which we have of the flourishing age of art, be more ancient. Now Callimachus cannot have lived before Phidias, and they who put him in the sixtieth Olympiad have not the least ground for so doing, and err very grossly. But, even allowing this, no X could be in the artist's name, because this letter was invented by Simonides at a much later period, and Callimachus must have been written ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΗΟΣ or ΚΑΛΙΜΑΚΟΣ, as the name is found written on an old inscription from Amyclæ. Pausanias ranks him among the greatest artists; he must therefore have lived at a time when it would have been possible to approach them in excellence. A sculptor of this name was moreover the first one who worked with a drill; now the artist of the Laocoön, who must have belonged

<sup>1</sup> Plate XIII. Note 6.





to the fairest period of art, used the drill on the hair, the head, and the deep folds of the mantle. Callimachus the sculptor is said moreover to have invented the Corinthian capital; but Scopas, the celebrated sculptor, built a temple with Corinthian columns in the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Consequently Callimachus should have lived at the time of the greatest masters, and prior to the artist of Niobe, which Scopas probably was, — a point which will be investigated hereafter, — and earlier than the master of the Laocoön. Now this does not well accord with the time to be inferred from the place which Pliny assigns him in the succession of artists. Besides, the piece in question was found at Horta, a district inhabited by Etruscans. This circumstance of itself might give some probability of its being a work of Etruscan art, of which it has all the characteristics. The same reasons that lead us to regard this work as a Greek production would, on the other hand, have induced us to look upon the three beautiful painted earthen vases in the Mastrilli museum, at Naples, — mentioned in the fourth chapter of the third Book, — and a cup in the royal museum at Portici, as Etruscan, if the Greek inscription on them did not show the contrary (7).

15. We should be able to give more precise characteristics of this elder style if a greater number of works in marble, and especially in rilievo, had been preserved; as from them we could discover the method employed by the most ancient artists in grouping their figures, and hereby discern the degree in which the passions were expressed (8). But if, for example, from the strength with which the parts are rendered in the small figures on coins, we might infer that the actions of larger figures would be expressed with a corresponding force, then the artists of this style probably gave to their figures violent actions and positions, just as the men of the heroic ages who were the subjects of the artists acted in conformity to nature, and without putting any constraint upon their inclinations. Such an inference is rendered probable by comparing these works with the Etruscan, which they are thought to resemble.

16. In regard to the execution in particular of works of sculpture of this age, we have to remark that they were probably finished with the most laborious industry, and that they were characterized by nicety much earlier than by beauty; as we see among other instances in the primeval Pallas, recently

mentioned, in the Albani villa, the robe of which is elaborated with the utmost delicacy, though the shape of the face is the commonest and worst. Cicero gives us to understand the very same thing where he says that some ivory figures of Victory had been brought from the island of Malta, which were of the utmost antiquity, and executed with great skill. For the remark of Aristotle in regard to tragedy is true here ; he says that it attained correctness in its expressions and modes of speech sooner than in its plot, the words and vesture of the thoughts bearing the same relation to tragedy as do in sculpture the mechanical part of the art and dexterity in working the marble. We might also conjecture the same thing from the steps by which art has advanced in more modern times. For the immediate predecessors of the greatest men in painting, whose works, though deficient in true beauty, are finished with incredible patience, have sought, partly by the execution of the smallest details, to diffuse brilliancy over their pictures, to which they were unable to impart grandeur. In fact, their great successors, Michael Angelo and Raphael, wrought according to the precept of an English poet, — “Design with fire, but execute with coolness.” The great unity in the finish, which preceded the knowledge of the beautiful, is manifested in different sepulchral monuments, executed partly by Sansovino and partly by other sculptors at the beginning of the sixteenth century ; for the figures are all very moderate, but the ornaments are wrought in such a manner that they may serve as models to our artists, and they will be regarded as equal to antique works of this kind (9).

17. The characteristics and peculiarities of this older style may be embraced, in a general way, in the following brief description. The drawing was vigorous but hard ; powerful but without grace ; and the strength of expression detracted from beauty. But as the art of the earliest ages was devoted only to gods and heroes, whose praise, as Horace says, accords not with the soft lyre, this very hardness probably co-operated to give grandeur to the figures. Art, like justice in those days, which inflicted death for the smallest offence, was severe and hard. As we comprehend under the older style the longer period of Greek art, this description is to be understood with some reservations, depending on the different stages of progress during that period, in which the later works must have been very unlike the earlier.

18. According to Athenæus, this style lasted until the flourishing period of art in Greece; for he states in regard to the poet Stesichorus that he was the first to represent Hercules with a club and bow (10). We cannot however allow the assertion to pass without contradiction; for there are many gems extant showing Hercules thus armed, which were engraved in the older style before mentioned. Now Stesichorus lived at the same time with Simonides, namely, in the seventy-second Olympiad, or about the time when Xerxes marched against Greece; and Phidias, who elevated art to its summit, flourished in the seventy-eighth Olympiad; the gems in question must therefore have been executed shortly before or after that Olympiad. But Strabo assigns to these attributes of Hercules a much earlier origin; according to him, the invention of them is due to Pisander, who, as some maintain, lived at the same time with Eumolpus, but who is placed by others in the thirty-third Olympiad. He also states that the most ancient figures of Hercules had neither club nor bow.

19. But it is impossible to be sufficiently circumspect in judging of the age of the workmanship; a figure which appears to be Etruscan or of the more ancient art of the Greeks is not so always. It may be a copy or imitation of older works, which always served as a model to many Greek artists. As the older style was formed principally through images of divinities, it still continued to be imitated, even by artists of the best and later times, when making figures of them, — probably for the purpose of impressing upon them in such a shape a higher antiquity, and thus inspiring deeper reverence. There are works with figures of divinities, which appear to belong to the period of art in question, especially in the drapery and its stiff parallel folds; but the ornaments on them are opposed to any such antiquity, and point to a far later style. This is plainly visible in a four-sided altar, or base, in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani; and several works of a similar kind might be adduced. The more ancient shape of the deities is introduced even on coins, and it may be studied, together with other peculiarities, in a Pallas, draped in the older style, on coins of Alexander the Great. If therefore we see figures of deities which from other characteristics and for other reasons cannot have the antiquity which they show, then the older style would seem to be something adopted in order to awaken

greater reverence. As it was the opinion of an ancient writer that harshness in the construction and sound of words gives grandeur to speech, so the hardness and severity of the older style produce a similar effect in art. This remark is to be understood not only of the naked parts of figures, but also of the drapery, and of the mode of dressing the hair and beard, as they exist in Etruscan and the older Greek figures.

20. In illustration of this statement, I may instance that rilievo in the Albani villa, of which an engraving is placed at the beginning of the Preface of the first Dresden edition; all the figures of the female divinities in it are draped after the idea which we have of Etruscan figures. But as the Corinthian order of the temple and the chariot-race represented on the frieze of it indicate a Greek work, yet we should hold it to be a Greek work of the older style, if we considered it in reference to the drapery of the figures. Proof of the contrary however exists precisely in the order of the temple, which, according to Vitruvius, was an invention of a later date; consequently the older style has been imitated. We cannot look for an Etruscan work in this rilievo, because we know that the Etruscan temples were generally different from the Greek, the former having no frieze, and projecting the beams of the roof, *mutuli*, far over the columns of the porch, as well as over the walls of the cella, and this projecting part of the beams was in the proportion of one fourth of the height of the columns. The object of this projection was to protect the people from the rain, as the cella was not surrounded by a row of columns (11). This comment explains, at the same time, a passage in Vitruvius hitherto not understood (12).

21. The same kind of imitation is still more manifest in a figure of Jupiter in relief, having a beard longer than usual, and hair falling forwards over the shoulders, which is also draped after the manner of the most ancient figures; and yet, it is a work of the Romans under the Emperors, as the inscription IOVI EXSVPERANTISSIMO and the form of the letters show. The inscription, without the figure, has been published by Spon. In this case it appears to have been the intention to excite, through such a primeval form, more reverence for Jupiter, and to give to him, as it were, a more remote origin (13).

22. The goddess of Hope is found represented in the oldest style in a small figure in the Ludovisi villa, which likewise,

from the Roman inscription on the socle (14), must have been executed in the time of the Emperors, possibly in the second century. The Hope on the imperial coins of which I have seen either the originals or engravings is shaped precisely in the same way. As an instance I mention one of the latter on a coin of the Emperor Philip, the Elder. We may, for example, illustrate this custom by the portraits dressed in the style of Vandyck, a style which is popular even now among the English, and which is also far more favorable to the artist, as well as more becoming to the person painted, than the present closely-fitting stiff dress without folds. I also remember that two statues of Victory, which stand on tiptoe with the feet close together, have on account of the attitude been referred to the most ancient times by those to whom it appeared constrained (15), because they did not understand its signification. But the contrary is proved by the Roman name behind, on the band that passes crosswise over the breast as well as the back. These bands are intended to represent the fastenings of the wings, which were formerly there, and which were probably of bronze and set into the stone (16).

23. The case is the same with the heads erroneously called heads of Plato. They are however merely heads of Hermæ, and the shape generally given to these Hermæ is that which, it is supposed, the stones might possibly have had on which the first heads were placed (17); but there is a difference in the antiquity of them, which is manifested by the greater or less degree of art displayed in them. The most beautiful of such Hermæ was carried in my time from Rome to Sicily, and is now in the museum of the former Jesuits' College, at Palermo; but of the great number in Rome, that in the Farnesina palace is the most excellent. Perfectly similar and equal to the former Hermes is the head of a male draped statue, nine palms (6 ft. 7 in.) high, which, together with the four Caryatides already mentioned, was found, in the spring of 1761, near the Portian Hill, not far from Frascati, where, according to some previously discovered inscriptions, there had formerly been a villa of the Portia family. It has a tunic of some thin stuff, indicated by the numerous small folds in which it hangs down as low as the feet; over it is a mantle of cloth, which passes under the right arm and over the left shoulder in such a manner that the left arm, which rests upon the hip, remains covered (18). On the

hem of the portion of the mantle thrown over the shoulder CAPAANAΠAAAOC, with two lambdas, Λ, contrary to the usual mode of writing the name. But this letter may be found in other places also, where it is doubled and superfluous, as for instance on a rare bronze coin of the city of Magnesia (19), with the inscription, MATNHT. ΠOAAIΣ, instead of ΠOAIΣ (20). The name of the goddess Cybele is also found written Κυβέλλα, just as Petilia, a city in Lucania, is written Petillia (21). In my *Ancient Monuments*, in which this figure was published, I have discussed it at length; I therefore confine myself here to the following remarks. It had for a long time been a subject of dispute in Rome what person this statue was intended to represent. It could not be designed for the celebrated Sardanapalus, because he wore no beard, and caused it to be removed every day. At last I assumed it as probable from the accounts of two kings of this name in Assyria, the former of whom was a wise man, that it might perhaps be intended to represent him. We cannot moreover maintain, even in regard to a male figure in female dress, that it represents the voluptuous Sardanapalus, since the philosopher Aristippus also may have assumed the garments of the other sex; at least it was a matter of indifference to him whether he dressed himself so, or in the usual manner. The four Caryatides, with others that have perished, probably supported the cornice of a room, for there is a round elevation on their heads within the rim of which a capital or basket probably stood.

24. A similar shape was given to the heads of an Indian Bacchus, or Liber Pater, though in this case the nobleness of the forms plainly distinguish the divinity from the common heads of the Hermæ. An attempt has been made to imitate a far older style in a female statue of blackish marble, in the Capitoline museum, which is twice as large as life; it was discovered in the villa of Adrian. It stands with the arms hanging down and closely pressed to the sides, as Pausanias describes the statue of Arrhachion, a victor in the Olympic Games of the fifty-fourth Olympiad. But it is clearly manifest from the workmanship that this statue has no such antiquity; the opposite indeed might be made still more evident, if the head were ancient, as Bottari, in his *Capitoline Museum*, erroneously believes, dwelling for a long time on the shape of it. The head, on the contrary, is altogether modern, yet the artist,

though he modelled it after an idea of his own, endeavored to make the large locks of hair correspond to those which have been preserved on the shoulders. After the statue had been restored, the genuine antique head was discovered in the villa mentioned, and purchased by the Cardinal Albani, in whose collection of antiquities it still remains.

25. The characteristics of this older style prepared the way for the grand style of art, and guided the latter to severe correctness and lofty expression; for in the hardness of the former we see the accurately drawn outline and the certainty of the knowledge where everything lies plain in sight. By proceeding in the same way, art would in modern times have reached its height, if, instructed by the sharp outlines and strong development of all the parts, as shown in Michael Angelo's figures, sculptors had continued to follow in his footsteps. For, as in learning music and languages, the tone in one case, and the syllables and words in the other, must be sharply and clearly rendered, in order to attain pure harmony and a fluent utterance, even so drawing leads to truth and beauty of form, not through indecisive, faint, and lightly touched strokes, but through manly, although somewhat hard and accurately defined, outlines. With a style like this, and precisely at the time when art made its great advance to perfection, tragedy rose up in mighty words and strong expressions of great weight, whereby Æschylus gave dignity to his personages, and to probability its utmost extent, and rhetoric itself became poetical in the writings of Gorgias, its inventor.

26. In concluding our examination of this first style, I would call attention to the ignorant criticism of a painter (22), who, like Du Fresnoy, became an author, and who had no better success in art than he. He wishes to inform us that all works from the time of Alexander the Great to Phocas may be called antique; but the point from which he starts is not more correct than that at which he stops. We see from what has preceded, and it will be shown hereafter, that there are extant even now older works than of the time prior to Alexander; but antiquity in art ceases before Constantine. They too have much need of instruction who believe with Father Montfaucon that no works of Greek sculptors have been preserved which have an earlier date than the period when the Greeks fell under the dominion of the Romans.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE GRAND STYLE.

1. FINALLY, at the time when Greece attained its highest degree of refinement and freedom, art also became more unfettered and lofty ; for the older style was constructed upon a system composed of rules which, though originally derived from nature, had afterwards departed from it and become ideal. The artist wrought more in conformity to these rules than to nature, the object of imitation, for art had created for itself a nature of its own. The improvers of art elevated themselves above this adopted system, and drew nearer to the truth of nature, by which they were taught to throw aside, for flowing outlines, the hardness of the older style, with its prominent and abruptly ending parts of the figure, to make the violent positions and actions more refined and becoming, and to display in their works less science, and more beauty, loftiness, and grandeur (1). Through this improvement in art, Phidias, Polyclethus, Scopas, Alcamenes, Myron, and other masters, made themselves celebrated ; and their style may be called the Grand Style, because their chief object, besides beauty, appears to have been grandeur. But a clear distinction must be made here between hardness in drawing and sharpness, in order not to mistake the sharp rendering of the eyebrows for example, which we constantly see in shapes of the highest beauty, for an unnatural hardness remaining from the older style ; for the sharpness with which the parts are denoted has its foundation in ideas of beauty, as we have already remarked.<sup>1</sup>

2. But it is probable, and it may be inferred from some remarks of writers, that the rectilinear still continued to be characteristic in a certain degree of the drawing of the grand style, and that the outlines in consequence passed into angles, — a characteristic which seems to have been denoted by the word

<sup>1</sup> Plates XV., XVI.





“square” or “angular.” For as these masters, like Polycletus for example, were lawgivers in proportion, and therefore probably established exactly the measure of each one part, it is not incredible that a certain degree of beauty of form may have been sacrificed to this great exactness (2). But though grandeur was displayed in the figures of these great masters, still, in comparison with the waving outlines of their successors, it may have exhibited a certain hardness. This appears to have been the hardness which was censured in Callon, Hegesias, Canachus, and Calamis, indeed even in Myron. Canachus however was younger than Phidias, for he was the scholar of Polycletus, and flourished in the ninety-fifth Olympiad. If the conjecture which I shall offer hereafter in regard to two Canephoroi in terra-cotta be accepted, namely, that they are copies of the two celebrated Canephoroi of Polycletus, a clearer idea of the peculiarity of this style, and of the hardness still clinging to it, might be derived from that rilievo than from other statements and inferences.

3. In regard to the hardness imputed as a fault in the drawing of the sculptors before mentioned it might however be shown that the ancient writers have very often judged of art in the same manner as the moderns ; and the firmness of drawing, the correctly and severely rendered figures of Raphael, have to many appeared hard and stiff, when compared with the tenderness of the outlines and the round and softly treated forms of Correggio. Malvasia, a historian of the Bolognese painters, but a person of no taste, is altogether of this opinion ; so to uncultivated minds the Homeric verse, and the antique majesty of Lucretius and Catullus, sound negligent and coarse in comparison with the brilliancy of Virgil and the charming sweetness of Ovid. If, on the other hand, the opinion of Lucian in art is good for anything, the statue of the Amazon Sosandra, from the hand of Calamis, was to be placed among the four most admirable figures of female beauty. For in his description of her beauty he mentions not only the whole dress, but also the modest mien and the soft and covert smile. However, the style of one period can no more be general in art than in writing ; for if Thucydides, of all the authors of his time, had been the only one preserved, we should, from the conciseness amounting almost to obscurity in the speeches of his history, have formed an erroneous conclusion in regard to Plato, Ly-

sias, and Xenophon, whose words flow onward like a gentle stream (3).

4. The most admirable, and one may say the sole works in Rome belonging to the period of the grand style, as far as I can see, are the oft-quoted Pallas, nine palms high (6 ft. 9 in.), in the Albani villa, and the Niobe and her Daughters, in the Medici villa. The former must not however be confounded with the Pallas of the more ancient style, in the same villa, which has also been mentioned before. It is worthy of the great artists of the age of which we speak, and we are enabled to form an opinion upon it the more correctly, since we see the head in its entire original beauty ; for it has not been injured even by a harsh wind, but is as pure and brilliant as when it came from the master's hands. It has, in connection with the lofty beauty with which it is endowed, the characteristics of this style which we noticed ; a certain hardness is visible, but it is a hardness more easily felt than described. We might wish to see in the face a certain grace which it would receive through more roundness and softness. This is probably the grace which, in the subsequent age of art, Praxiteles first gave to his figures, — as will be noticed hereafter. The Niobe and her Daughters are to be regarded as indisputable works of the grand style ; but that appearance of hardness which in the Pallas suggests a conjecture as to its age is not a characteristic of this group, in which are found the principal attributes whereby the style is indicated ; namely, an uncreated idea of beauty, if I may so say, but specially a lofty simplicity as well in the conformation of the heads as in the whole drawing, in the drapery, and in the execution. This beauty is like an idea conceived without the aid of the senses, which might be generated in a lofty understanding and in a happy imagination, if it could rise in contemplation near to divine beauty ; so great is the unity of form and outline, that it appears to have been produced not with labor, but awakened like a thought, and blown out with a breath ; just as the skilful hand of the great Raphael — which, like a ready tool, obeyed his will — would, with a single stroke of the pen, design a most beautiful outline of a Madonna's head, and, without making any improvements, go on correctly and confidently with the execution of it.

5. The works of the great improvers of art having been lost, it is impossible to determine more precisely the varied learning





and the attributes of the grand style. We resemble in this respect those who can recognize, in a much corroded head of an ancient statue, the person represented, as if seen from a distance, but are unable to distinguish either the features or the execution. But we can speak with more confidence of the style of their successors, which I term the Beautiful, for some of the most beautiful figures of antiquity were without doubt executed in the period within which this style flourished; and many others of which this cannot be shown are at least imitations of them. The beautiful style of art begins with Praxiteles; it attained its highest splendor through Lysippus and Apelles, — the proofs of which will be adduced hereafter. It is therefore the style which prevailed not long before and at the time of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors (4).

6. The principal attribute by which the beautiful style is distinguished from the grand is grace; and in this respect the artists last named hold the same relation towards their predecessors that Guido, among the moderns, would hold to Raphael. This will be shown more clearly when we come to consider the drawing of this style, and the grace which constitutes its peculiar character.

7. In regard to the drawing generally, it was a principle to avoid everything angular, even what had hitherto remained in the statues of great artists, like Polyclethus. The merit of this improvement in art is, in sculpture, especially attributed to Lysippus, who imitated nature more than did his predecessors; he therefore gave an undulating form to certain parts of his figures, which were still rendered angularly. In this way probably are we to understand what Pliny means by squared statues, for, even at the present day, the term *quadrature* is applied to a square manner of drawing. But the forms of beauty of the preceding style remained as a rule even in this, for Nature in her utmost beauty had been the teacher. Hence Lucian, in describing a beautiful woman, takes the figure as a whole, and the principal parts, from the artists of the grand style, but the elegance from their successors. The shape of the face should be like that of the Lemnian Pallas of Phidias; but the hair, eyebrows, and forehead as in the Venus of Praxiteles; in the eyes he would wish to see the tenderness and charm which characterized the latter. The hands should be made after those of the Venus of Alcamenes, a scholar of Phidias.

When, in descriptions of beautiful women, the hands of Pallas are specified, we are probably to understand the Pallas of Phidias, as being the most celebrated; hands of Polycletus signify the most beautiful hands (5).

8. In general, we may represent to ourselves the figures of the grand style, compared with those of the beautiful style, as men of the heroic age, as Homer's heroes and men, compared with the cultivated Athenians in the bloom of the republic. Or, to make a comparison with something actual, I would place the works of the former period near Demosthenes, and those of the subsequent age near Cicero. The former hurries us, as it were, impetuously away; the latter leads us willingly along with him. In the one, we have no opportunity to think of the beauties of execution; in the other, they show themselves unsought, and diffuse themselves with a general light over the arguments of the speaker.

9. In the second place, we are now to speak of grace specially, as the distinctive peculiarity of the beautiful style. It is formed and dwells in the gestures, and is manifested in the actions and movements of the body; it even shows itself in the cast of the drapery, and in the entire dress. The artists who followed Phidias, Polycletus, and their contemporaries, sought for it more than they, and were more successful in attaining it. The reason must lie in the loftiness of the ideas which the latter artists embodied, and in the severity of their drawing. This point deserves our special attention.

10. The great masters of the grand style whom we have just mentioned had sought for beauty only in perfect harmony of all the parts, and in elevation of expression, striving more for the truly beautiful than for the lovely. But as only a single idea of beauty in the highest degree and always equal to itself can be imagined, and as this idea was always present to those artists, their beautiful women must consequently always have approximated to their ideal, and been similar to each other, and uniform. This is the reason of the similarity in the heads of Niobe and her Daughters, which varies imperceptibly, and only with the age and degree of beauty in them.

" . . . Facies non omnibus una,  
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum," —

" . . . In face they were not all alike,  
Nor more unlike than sisters well might be."

11. Now, if the fundamental principle of the grand style was, as it appears, to represent the countenance and attitude of the gods and heroes as free from emotion, and not agitated by inward perturbation, in an equilibrium of feeling, and with a peaceful, always even, state of mind, we see why a certain grace was wanting ; no attempt even was made to introduce it. But it demands a lofty understanding to express this significant and speaking stillness of the soul ; for "the imitation of the violent," as Plato says, "can be made in different ways ; but a calm, wise demeanor can neither be easily imitated, nor, when imitated, easily comprehended."

12. With such severe ideas of beauty, art began to be great, as well-ordered states thrive with severe laws ; and the figures were simple, like the manners and men of the age. The immediate successors of the great lawgivers in art did not however proceed as Solon did with the laws of Draco, they did not depart from their rules ; but as the strictest laws become more useful and acceptable through a temperate interpretation of them, so the latter sought to bring nearer to nature the lofty beauties which, in the statues of their great masters, were like abstract ideas of nature, and forms modelled upon a system ; and in this way they attained greater variety. This is the sense in which we are to understand the grace introduced by the masters of the beautiful style into their works.

13. But the Graces, who, like the Muses, were worshipped by the most ancient Greeks under two names only, appear, like Venus, whose companions they are, to be of different characters. One is like the heavenly Venus, of higher birth, the daughter of harmony ; she is constant and unchangeable, even as the laws of harmony. On this account, Horace seems to name only one Grace, calling the two others her sisters. The other Grace is, like the Venus, daughter of Dione, more subject to the influence of matter. She is a daughter of Time, and only a follower of the former, or the heavenly Grace, whom she announces to those who are not devoted to her service. She descends from her loftiness and reveals herself kindly, without humiliation, to those who turn their eyes upon her ; though not eager to please, she is not willing to remain unknown. But the former Grace, an associate of all the deities, appears to be sufficient to herself. She does not offer herself unsolicited, she wishes to be sought ; she is too elevated ever

to be much an object of sense ; for, as Plato says, "there is no form capable of expressing the highest." She converses only with the wise ; to the mass she appears forbidding and unamiable. She conceals the emotions of her soul, and brings herself near to the blissful serenity of the divine nature, of which the great artists, as the ancients write, sought to delineate an image. Her seemingly austere aspect might even be compared with the more acid kinds of fruits, which, according to Theophrastus, have greater fragrance than the sweeter sorts ; for whatever is intended to impress strongly and to excite must be pungent and savory. The Greeks would have compared this latter Grace to the Doric harmony, and the other to the Ionic ; and we may make the same comparison in regard to the Doric and Ionic orders of architecture, as one which is wholly correct.

14. This grace in works of art appears indeed to have been known to the divine poet ; and he has represented it in the image of the beautiful and lightly dressed Aglaia, or Thalia, — whom Vulcan married, — and who, on this account, is elsewhere termed his helpmate, and who wrought with him in the formation of the divine Pandora. This was the grace which Pallas shed around Ulysses, and of which the lofty Pindar sings ; this is the grace to whom the artists of the grand style sacrificed. She worked with Phidias in the shaping of the Olympian Jupiter ; she stood near the footstool of the Jupiter on the chariot of the Sun ; she arched with love, as in the artist's prototype, the proud curve of his eyebrows, and to his look of majesty imparted an air of benevolence and graciousness. With her sisters and the goddesses of the seasons she crowned the head of Juno at Argos, — who was brought up by the latter, — as her work, wherein she recognized herself, and in which she guided the hand of Polycletus. In the Sosandra of Calamis she smiled with innocence and reserve ; she hid herself, with modest shame, on her forehead and in her eyes, and played with unsought elegance in the folds of her drapery. With her the artist of the Niobe ventured into the kingdom of incorporeal forms, and mastered the secret of uniting the anguish of death with the highest beauty ; he became a creator of pure spirits and heavenly souls, which, exciting no desires of the senses, produced a contemplative consideration of beauty of every kind ; for they seem to have been formed, not for the

expression of the passions, but simply for the lodgement of them.

15. The grand style without grace, and the following style, are found united in a single statue in the Albani villa. It is a beautiful Bacchus, larger than life, of which I have made mention in my remarks upon the drawing of the nude figure. The head is not the one which properly belongs to it ; it is that of an Apollo, beautiful, it is true, and of noble conformation, but still too serious in look, and the mouth lacks that sweetness of shape which we should like to see ; so that we can perceive, without a doubt, that the statue of which the head has been adopted for this Bacchus must belong to a far more ancient era of art than the body on which it is placed.

16. The artists of the beautiful style united the second to the first and higher Grace. As the Juno of Homer took the girdle of Venus that she might appear more pleasing and lovely to Jupiter, so those masters sought to combine with lofty beauty a more sensual charm, and to make grandeur more companionable, as it were, through an engaging desire to please. This more pleasing Grace was first created in painting and by painting imparted to sculpture. She conferred immortality upon Parrhasius, to whom she first revealed herself. Some time afterwards she appeared also in marble and bronze, for there is an interval of half a century between Parrhasius—who was a contemporary of Phidias—and Praxiteles, whose works, as far as we know, were distinguished by a peculiar grace from those that were executed prior to his time.

17. It is remarkable that the father of this Grace in art, and Apelles, to whom she wholly attached herself, and who may properly be termed the Painter of the Lovely Grace,—inasmuch as he has painted her exclusively, without her other two companions,—were both born beneath the joyous skies of Ionia, and in the land where the Father of Poets had been endowed, some hundred years before, with the highest grace ; for Ephesus was the father-land of Parrhasius as well as of Apelles, who might probably derive his descent from a certain Apelles who went with the Amazons to Smyrna, and even from Homer himself, for this Apelles was among the ancestors of the great poet. Parrhasius was endowed with a delicate sensibility, which such a climate generates, and had been instructed in art by his father, who had, himself, some reputation ; he went to Athens, and

there he became the friend of the philosopher, the teacher of Greece (6), who revealed her to Plato and Xenophon.

18. Of the second or more pleasing grace we may get an idea from the heads of the Leucothea in the Capitoline museum ; and the reader, if he would obtain a clear insight into the qualities which with the ancient artists constituted grace, may compare with those and similar heads the conformation of Correggio, the Father of the Graces. He will be immediately satisfied that, between this more modern grace, not infrequently ornamented, and oftentimes exaggerated, and the pleasing grace of the ancient artists of the beautiful style, the interval is no greater than was perhaps remarked by true connoisseurs in former times as existing between the latter and the exalted grace of the grand style.

19. The variety and greater diversity of expression in the beautiful style did not detract from its harmony and grandeur ; the soul manifested itself only, as it were, beneath a still surface of water, and never burst impetuously forth. In the representation of suffering, as in the Laocoön, the greatest pain is concealed ; and joy floats, like a soft breeze that scarcely stirs the leaves, over the faces of a Leucothea in the Campidoglio, and a Bacchante on the coins of the island of Naxos. Art philosophized with the passions, as Aristotle says of reason, *συμφιλοσοφεί τοῖς πάθεσι*.

20. This grace — the first and lofty, as well as the second and pleasing — upon which I have just offered my reflections, belongs, as the reader comprehends, only to ideal and lofty beauties in whose conformation alone it finds fitting expression. Grace is however not thus limited in its agency ; it is diffused also over forms which do not embody the perfect idea of beauty, in order to repair by its influence the deficiency in the latter. This is the humbler grace that belongs especially to children, as in them the forms which beauty shapes are not yet fully developed, and cannot therefore be susceptible of the other grace. We might even term this the comic grace, and that the tragic and epic.

21. The grace which I have termed comic is expressed in the heads of some Fauns as well as of some Bacchantes by a joyous laugh, which draws the corners of the mouth upwards. In all instances where joyousness is found marked by such traits, the face always has a common sunken profile, or a flattened nose. The idea of that grace which is peculiar to the heads of Cor-

reggio, and hence is termed *Grazia Correggesca*, immediately occurs to us, as they also have the character just pointed out (7).

22. From this we may be enabled, I believe, to explain how *ἐπίχαρις*, "endowed with grace," was used by Plato as synonymous with *σιμός*, "flat-nosed." Aristænetus, quoting from Plato, makes the same remark : Καὶ ὁ μὲν τις τῶν νέων ὅτι σιμός, ἐπίχαρις παρά σοι κληθεὶς ἐπαινείται, — "And a young person, when flat-nosed, is praised by you as charming." The latter word, *σιμός*, signifies properly a sunken and flattened nose ; it is the opposite of *γρυπός*, meaning a high and aquiline nose ; at first sight however there seems to be in this opposition no expression of grace. We must therefore regard the word *σιμός* as having the same signification as *σιληνός*, just as Lucretius interprets it ; according to him, the Latin word *simus*, *simulus*, derived from the Greek *σιμός*, has the same meaning as *σιληνός*, Silenus ; and this shows us, at the same time, how we are to interpret Plato, if, in coming to a conclusion, we follow the well-known proposition, that, if two things are equal to a third, they are also equal to each other. Now as *σιμός* has the same signification as *σιληνός*, then *ἐπίχαρις* has the same meaning as *σιληνός*, and as the Satyrs and Fauns are comprehended by the Greeks under the term *Sileni*, grace may, consequently, be attributed even to them. For the usual conformation of the Fauns has that attribute which the ancients termed *σιμός*, and which, according to Plato, signified *ἐπίχαρις*, or *εὐχαρις*, as Pollux explains it. In this way, and because the grace of which we speak is the grace of childhood, as I have remarked, it is explained how *σιμά γελῶν*, when said of Cupid, in a Greek epigram, is to be understood of his roguish laugh, but a laugh blended with grace. Hence, in another epigram, Cupid is called *σιμός* without any addition (8).

23. But that I may be able to explain myself still more clearly upon this particular grace I will here adduce the head, wholly uninjured, of a statue of a Bacchante, which is to be found in the Albani villa. As it cannot be regarded as the portrait of any particular individual, it must consequently be ranked among ideal beauties, notwithstanding it has a sunken profile, eyes turned upwards at the corners, after the manner of some Fauns, and the corners of the mouth likewise turned upwards ; thus we see that the ancient artists have expressed even in figures of Bacchantes, that is, in ideal images, what was termed the Silenus or Faun grace.

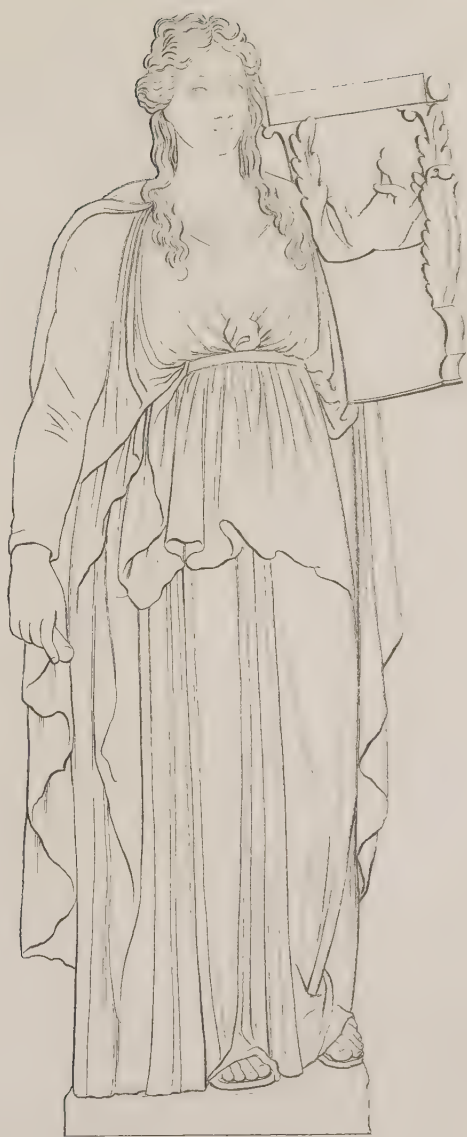
24. Finally, it occurred to me that the Romans jeeringly called the old Emperor Galba, *Simum*, "flat-nosed" (9), notwithstanding he had a hawk-nose. The author of the *Capitoline Museum*, connecting these two circumstances in one idea, informs us that Galba had a hawk-nose, but that it was flattened, *non solamente avea il naso aquilino ma anche schiacciato*, — which is a manifest contradiction. The commentators of Suetonius do not touch upon the difficulty at all; and I see no other means of explaining it than to assume that the word *simus* has been used here derisively, *per antonomasiam*, as the grammarians say, and was intended to mean directly the reverse of what was said; for I imagine that the Romans, in order to make Galba ridiculous on account of the great hump on his nose, may have termed it a flattened nose.

25. From this digression, as well as from the consideration of the grace of Fauns, I turn the reader's attention back again to the true and lofty grace which it is my purpose to investigate, by pointing it out in single figures. This remark, however, is intended especially for those who have no opportunity of visiting Rome. As it is difficult to discriminate the lofty from the pleasing grace, let us study the former in a Muse, larger than life, holding in her hand a large lyre, *βάρβιτος*, in the Barberini palace;<sup>1</sup> for I shall hereafter show the probability that it was executed by Ageladas, the master of Polycletus, and therefore prior to the age of Phidias (10). With the image of this Muse fresh in the memory, let us go into the papal garden, on the Quirinal, which is quite near, and there examine a Muse, holding a lyre of the same kind, and wholly similar to the other in dress also; after comparing one with the other, we shall find in the charmingly beautiful head of the latter a striking representation of the pleasing grace (11).<sup>2</sup>

26. I have endeavored to explain above in what sense Lucian and Pliny are to be understood, where the former informs us that the works of Praxiteles are distinguished by a peculiar grace from those which were executed prior to his time, and where Pliny says that Apelles surpassed in grace all his predecessors. From these statements, when compared with the opinions of other authors in regard to the predecessors of Praxiteles and Apelles, in whose works a degree of hardness was observable, I have concluded that the great masters who, with

<sup>1</sup> Frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> Plate XVII.





Phidias, ennobled art, had not yet acquired a certain pleasing grace, and I have sought, without judging unfavorably of so great artists, to point out a difference between this and a higher grace. But, without oral instruction and the knowledge which is acquired by actual observation, the difference can neither be wholly evident, nor be made perfectly intelligible, and even they who are endowed with fine perceptions can comprehend it only when they have sufficient leisure to make the necessary examinations.

27. If however the grand style of art did not condescend to the unfinished form of young children, and if the artists of this style, whose attention was chiefly directed to the completely developed figure, displayed in their works no excess of plumpness, — a point of which we have no knowledge, — it is on the other hand certain that their successors in the beautiful style, whose aim was the tender and the pleasing, allowed children to be subjects of their skill. Aristides, who painted a dead mother with a nursing babe at her breast (12), is said to have also painted a suckling child. Cupid is represented, on the most ancient engraved gems, not as a child, but as a lad, and he is thus seen on a beautiful gem belonging to the commendator Vettori, at Rome. From the shape of the letters in the name of the artist, ΦΡΥΓΙΑ<sup>Λ</sup>ΟΣ, it is one of the oldest gems bearing the artist's name. Cupid is represented on it as lying, with his body raised, and playing; he has large eagle-wings, — in conformity with the idea of remote antiquity in regard to almost all the deities, — and holds an open shell with two valves. The artists who followed Phrygillus, as Solon and Tryphon, gave to Cupid a more childlike nature and shorter wings; and in this form, and after the manner of the children painted by Fiamingo, we see Cupid on innumerable engraved gems. The children in the pictures of Herculaneum are shaped in the same way, and are, particularly on a black ground, of equal size with the beautiful female dancing figures.

28. Among the most beautiful children of marble, in Rome, may be mentioned a child playing with a swan, in the Campidoglio (13), and another riding on a tiger, in the Negroni villa; also two Cupids in the same villa, one of whom is frightening the other with a mask; and these alone can prove how successful the ancient artists were in imitating childish nature. Besides these figures, there are extant many truly beautiful

heads of children. But the most beautiful child which has come down to us from antiquity, although in a mutilated condition, is a childish Satyr, about as large as a yearling child, in the Albani villa. It is a rilievo, but so much in relief that almost the whole figure is detached. He is crowned with ivy, and is drinking — probably from a skin bottle, though this is wanting — with so much eagerness and delight that the eyeballs are turned entirely upwards, and only a small portion of the hollowed out pupil is visible (14). This piece was discovered at the foot of the Palatine Hill, on the side towards the Circus Maximus, together with the beautiful Icarus, on whom Dædalus is fastening wings, which is likewise executed in strong relief (15). A well-known prejudice, which has almost established itself as a truth, how I know not, that the ancient artists are far inferior to the moderns in the figures of children, would therefore be refuted by these examples.

29. The beautiful style of Greek art continued to flourish a long time after Alexander the Great, in different artists who are celebrated. This we may infer from the works in marble which will be cited hereafter, and likewise from coins.

## CHAPTER III.

THE STYLE OF THE IMITATORS.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE  
DECLINE AND FALL OF ART.

1. As the proportions and forms of beauty had been thoroughly studied by the artists of antiquity, and the outlines of figures were so determinate that it was impossible either to go beyond them or fall within them without error, the conception of beauty could be carried no higher. Inasmuch therefore as art could not advance, it must go backwards, because in it, as in all the operations of nature, we cannot think of any stationary point. The conceptions of deities and heroes were figured in all possible ways and positions; it was difficult to invent new ones; consequently the path was opened to imitation (1). It cramps the spirit to copy; and if it did not seem possible to surpass a Praxiteles and an Apelles, so also it was difficult to equal them; the imitator has always proved inferior to him whom he has imitated.

2. The same result took place also in art which had happened to philosophy; as among philosophers, so too among artists there arose Eclectics or Compilers, who, being deficient in original powers, sought to unite in one the peculiar beauties of many. But as the Eclectics are to be regarded only as copyists of philosophers of particular schools, and have produced little or nothing original, so also no complete, original, and harmonious work was to be expected in art when it took precisely the same course. As the grand writings of the ancients were lost in consequence of abridgments made of them, so also, through the productions of the eclectics in art, the grand original works were probably neglected. Imitation favored the lack of accurate knowledge; the drawing consequently became timid; and what the artist wanted in knowledge, he sought to supply by diligence, which gradually displayed itself in details that, in the flourishing times of the art, were omitted, and deemed unfavorable to the grand style.

3. Here we feel the truth of what Quintilian says, that many artists would have executed the ornaments on the Jupiter of Phidias better than Phidias himself (2). Through the effort to avoid any supposed hardness, and thus to make everything tender and soft, those parts which were strongly rendered by preceding artists became rounder, but insipid ; sweeter, but less expressive. Hence art itself became dull, just as an axe sooner becomes dull on wood of the linden-tree than on that of the oak (3). Precisely in the same way corruption has at all times crept also into the style of writing, and thus music, renouncing its manly tones, degenerated like art into the effeminate. The actual excellence in any production is frequently lost by the very care with which it is elaborated, just as the bodily health is impaired by attempts to make it better ; and as flattery is despised, and a firm, unwavering opinion admired, there is reason to believe that the true connoisseurs of the day, when comparing the works of art of which we speak with those of the grand style, and even with those which were still more ancient, pronounced upon them a judgment similar to ours.

4. Shortly before and during the time of the Emperors, artists in marble began to give especial care to the execution of free-hanging locks of hair, and they also indicated the hairs of the eyebrows, though only in portrait-heads. This had never been done before in marble, though it was not uncommon in bronze. On one of the most beautiful heads, in bronze, of a young man, of the size of life — it is a full bust — in the royal museum at Portici, which appears to represent a hero, executed by an Athenian artist, Apollonius, son of Archias, the eyebrows are denoted by slight incisions into the sharply wrought edges of the bones of the orbits (4). This bust however, as well as the female bust of similar size, was undoubtedly made at a time when art was in a flourishing state. But as in the most ancient times, and before Phidias, the pupil of the eyes was indicated on coins, so also more elaborateness generally was bestowed on bronze than on marble. This minuteness however began in male ideal heads sooner than in female ; the eyebrows even of that head in bronze, which is apparently from the hand of the same artist as the male head, are rendered after the ancient manner by a sharp arch.

5. The decline of art must necessarily become perceptible on comparison of the works of this epoch with the works of the

highest and most brilliant period; and it is to be presumed that some few artists sought to return to the grand manner of their predecessors. As things in this world frequently revolve in a circle, and return to the point whence they started, it may have happened that artists strove to imitate the more ancient style, which, in the slight curvature of its outlines, approximates the workmanship of the Egyptians. This was my first conjecture in regard to an obscure passage in Petronius relative to painting, which I understood of art generally, and upon the explanation of which commentators have not yet been able to agree. The writer in question, when speaking of the causes that produced the decline of eloquence, likewise laments the fate of art, corrupted by an Egyptian style, which, to translate the words with their true expressiveness, — *draws or brings together into narrowness*, where he says: *Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiarium invenit*, — “Painting also had the same end, after the audacity of the Egyptians invented a compendious way of so grand an art.” Some commentators have sought to elude the obscurity of this difficult passage, which lies in the word *compendiarium*, by quoting other phrases in which the same word is found, and with such dictionary-learning as this, Burmann, according to his wont, seeks to divert the reader. Others, on the contrary, have not been ashamed to acknowledge that they had no idea of the meaning of the passage, that they were unable to offer even a conjecture in regard to it, — as Frank Junius declares. But these commentators had, in part, no sufficient knowledge of art, and, in part, no opportunity of examining the paintings which have been preserved. Now as more than a thousand pieces have been discovered in the cities buried by the ashes of Vesuvius, I might hazard, perhaps with greater probability, a conjecture in regard to said passage, — a conjecture suggested by some of the latter paintings. They are long and narrow bands, little more than a palm (8.40 inches) in breadth, divided into different compartments, within which are represented, on a black ground, small figures shaped in the Egyptian style; between the compartments on which figures are painted, and on the borders of the pictures, are introduced many kinds of forms and ornaments of the most extraordinary conception. This style of painting of Egyptian figures, interwoven with extravagant conceits, appears to be the style which,

in Petronius, is termed *ars compendiaría* of the Egyptians ; and probably it has been so named because it was an imitation of a mode common to the Egyptians, who embellished their buildings in this manner. For in Upper Egypt there are to be found even now palaces and temples in a perfect state of preservation, supported on enormously large columns, which, as well as the walls and ceilings, are entirely covered from below upward by engraved hieroglyphs, which have afterwards been painted over, — as the reader will remember that I mentioned in the second chapter of the fourth Book. With this crowded multitude of signs and small images Petronius compares the embellishments — crammed with little insignificant figures — which were at that time the principal subject of paintings ; and this style of paintings would be termed *compendiaria*, because so many and so different things were compressed into such a narrow space, and reduced *in compendium*, “to miniature.” Further, if we reflect upon the lamentations of Vitruvius over this art, — in which, as he says, no basis of truth could any longer be found at his time, — and his conclusion, *nam pinguntur tectoriis monstra potius, quam ex rebus finitis imagines certæ*, — “for monsters are painted on the plaster, rather than definite figures of known objects,” — we might believe that it was his intention to point out precisely what Petronius says of the audacity of the Egyptians, who invented an abridgment, *compendiariam*, of so great an art. Now since, according to Vitruvius, the edifices of the older times were decorated with representations, drawn from mythology, of deities, heroes, and deeds of fame, in perfect imitation of truth, so through the abuse which, after a time, became prevalent, of crowding together extravagant, absurd, and insignificant things (5), must the wings of art, if I may so speak, necessarily have been clipped ; it could no longer soar into the heroic, but became little, as were the works which it produced. The multitude of figures in a picture is also generally a proof of poverty, as, in other things, a superfluity frequently is ; it is the same here as with the kings of Syria, who, according to Pliny, built their vessels of cedar, because they had no firs, which were better. I therefore believe that I find here one of the peculiarities and distinguishing marks of the Egyptian style ; and if this explanation should be adopted, it will follow that the artists about and before the time of Petronius had degenerated into a dry, meagre, and petty man-

ner of design and execution. As, according to the natural course of things, one extreme is apt to follow its opposite, we might suppose that the meagre style, resembling the Egyptian, would be the correction of an exaggerated, inflated style; and we might adduce here the Farnese Hercules, all the muscles of which are more prominent than they should be according to the teaching of correct drawing.

6. We find a style the opposite of this in some works in relief, which, on account of a certain stiffness and hardness of the figures, we should hold to be Etruscan or ancient Greek, if other indications permitted. I will, for an example, cite one of them, in the Albani villa, a copperplate engraving of which is prefixed to the preface of this treatise.<sup>1</sup> It represents four draped goddesses, seemingly in procession, of whom the last carries a long sceptre. One of the middle ones, who is Diana, has a bow and quiver suspended across her shoulders, and carries a torch; she grasps with one hand the mantle of the first, who is a Muse, and who is playing on a psalter, and in the other she holds a dish, into which a Victoria, standing near an altar, is pouring a libation. At first sight the style might seem to be Etruscan, but the architecture of the temple is opposed to such a supposition. It appears therefore that this work is the production of a Greek artist, not of the older time, who wished to imitate in it the style of the older time. In the same villa may be found four other rilievi, similar to this, and representing the same scene. Even in the fashion of the garb of the same period there was a fondness for the closely fitting dress; for though the orators of Rome had formerly made their appearance in public in a garment with sumptuous large folds, yet, under Vespasian, they went abroad in a strait and closely fitting frock. In Pliny's time, artists began to represent male statues in a *penula*, a "strait-coat."

7. We might also apply the complaint of Petronius to the numerous figures of Egyptian deities, the worship of which was at that time the prevailing superstition in Rome, insomuch that the painters, as Juvenal says, lived on figures of Isis. As a consequence of the employment of the artists upon such figures, a style resembling that of Egyptian figures might have crept even into other works. Statues of Isis are even now extant, clothed entirely in the Etruscan manner, which, from their

<sup>1</sup> First edition. Compare Book VIII., Chap. I. ¶ 20.

characteristics, manifestly belong to the times of the Cæsars; among others, I may cite one, of the size of life, in the Barberini palace. This opinion will not surprise those who know that a corruption was introduced into art by a single man, as Bernini, which still continues; so much the more readily could the same thing have happened through many artists, or through those who worked on Egyptian figures, who formed the majority.

8. That the style of art in the last period was very different from that of ancient times is intimated by Pausanias, where he says that a priestess of the Leucippides, that is, of Phœbe and Hilaira, caused the antique head of one of the two statues of them to be removed, and a new one substituted in its place, — meaning to make the statue thereby more beautiful; the new head, he further observes, was wrought in the style of art of the day, — a remark which Gedoyne, to whom the fashions of his time occurred in this passage, translates “after the present fashion” (6). We might term this style a petty or flat style; for what in the ancient figures was vigorous and elevated was now weak and vulgar. We are not however to judge of this style from statues which have derived their names from their heads, because there are a great many on which strange heads have been placed, those properly belonging to them not having been found (7).

9. As art finally drew near its fall, and as also, on account of the number of ancient statues, fewer were made in comparison to preceding times, the principal occupation of artists was to make heads and busts, and in these especially was their skill displayed during this last stage, until the downfall of art. Hence it is not so extraordinary as it must appear to many, to see not only tolerable, but in a measure beautiful, heads of Macrinus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, as the Farnese head is, for the merit of them consists solely in their elaborateness. Lysippus could not probably have made a much better head of Caracalla; but the artist of it could not make a figure like Lysippus; and herein lay the difference.

10. Contrary to the opinion of the ancients, large prominent veins were thought to show especial skill, and on the arch of Septimius Severus the artist was unwilling to omit such veins even on the hands of ideal female figures, as are the figures of Victoria bearing trophies, as if the strength which Cicero asserts to be a general characteristic of perfect hands was required

even in female hands, and must be expressed in the manner before mentioned. Prior to the restoration of the arts, the skill of artists was placed precisely in this particular, and such a vein-work is admired, even when out of place, by the childish, untaught mind; but the wise ancients would have censured this not less than the representation of a lion with his claws projected, — which, when he is in motion, are turned underneath, — in order to exhibit the full might of the animal. How delicately the artists of the flourishing times of antiquity expressed the veins even on colossal figures is shown by the astonishing fragments of such a statue in the Campidoglio, — said to be those of an Apollo, — and on the neck of a colossal head of Trajan in the Albani villa (8). But it is with art as with man; when, according to Plato, the passions begin to lose their vigor in man, the pleasure of prattling increases; so, in art, puerilities step into the place of fallen greatness.

11. The greater number of the burial-urns belong to this latter period of art, and therefore also the larger portion of the rilievi, for they have been sawed off from such oblong urns. Among them I notice six as the most beautiful, but they must have been executed at an earlier date. Three of them are in the Capitoline museum. The largest represents the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles on account of Chryseis; the second, the nine Muses; and the third, a battle with the Amazons; on the fourth, in the Albani villa, is seen the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, together with the gods and goddesses of the Seasons, who bring gifts to the pair; the fifth and sixth, in the Borghese villa, represent the death of Meleager, and the fable of Actæon (9). But these rilievi, which are particularly elaborated, are distinguished by a raised edge or prominence passing around them. The greater number of burial-urns were made beforehand, and kept on sale, as we are led to believe from the representations on them, for they have no connection with the person of the deceased, nor with the inscription. There is an urn of this kind, among others, in an injured state, in the Albani villa. The front side is divided into three compartments; the one to the right shows Ulysses tied to the mast of his vessel, through fear of the song of the Sirens, one of whom is playing on the lyre, another on the flute, whilst the third sings, and holds a scroll in her hand. They have the feet of birds, as usual; but it is a singular circumstance that all three

have a mantle thrown around them. On the left are seated philosophers in conversation. On the middle field is the following inscription, which has not the slightest allusion to the representation, and has not yet been published.

ΑΘΑΝΑΘΩΝ ΜΕΡΟΠΩΝ  
 ΟΥΔΕΙΣ· ΕΦΥ· ΤΟΥΔΕ· ΣΕΒΗΡΑ  
 ΘΗΕΤΣ· ΑΙΑΚΙΑΙ  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ· ΕΙΣΙ· ΛΟΓΟΥ  
 ΑΤΧΩ· ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑ· ΤΥΝΒΟΣ· Ε  
 ΜΑΙΣ· ΛΑΓΟΝΕΨΣΙ· ΣΕΒΗΡΑΝ  
 ΚΟΥΡΗΝ· ΣΤΡΥΜΟΝΙΟΥ· ΠΑΙ  
 ΔΟΣ· ΑΜΥΜΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ.  
 ΟΙΗΝ· ΟΥΚ· ΗΝΕΙΚΕ· ΠΟΛΥΣ  
 ΒΙΟΣ· ΟΥΔΕ· ΤΙΣ· ΟΥΠΩ  
 ΕΞΕ· ΤΑΦΟΣ· ΧΡΗCΤΗΝ  
 ΑΛΛΟΣ· ΤΦ ΗΕΛΙΩΙ.

"No mortal was ever born of immortals; of this, Severa, Theseus, and the Æacides, are proofs. It is my pride that I Enclose within my cavity the modest Severa, the Virgin grand-daughter of Strymon. Long years have not produced one so excellent, Nor has any other tomb beneath the sun ever contained One so gentle."

12. It is necessary for me, in speaking of ancient works of low art, to remind the reader that he should study to distinguish those works which were wrought in Greece itself, or in Rome, from those which were made to order in other cities and colonies of the Roman empire. This caution is applicable not only to works in marble and other stones, but also to coins. The difference has already been noticed in regard to coins, and it is well known that those which were stamped under the Emperors, out of Rome, do not generally equal those which were executed in the capital itself of the Roman empire. But hitherto this inequality has not been observed in works in marble, though it is evident in the rilievi which exist in Capua and Naples; among them is a rilievo in the Colobrano mansion, of the latter city, on which some of the labors of Hercules are represented, which appears to belong to the middle period of art. The difference in question is most clearly manifested in the heads of the different divinities wrought on the keystones of the arches of the outermost corridor of the amphitheatre of

ancient Capua, two of which are still remaining in their places, namely, Juno and Diana. Three others of these stones, representing Jupiter Ammon, Mercury, and Hercules, may be found set into the wall of the council-house of the modern city of Capua, formerly named Casilinum. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of that amphitheatre, and also of the theatre in this city. Most of these figures are cut, not from marble, — because no white marble is found in the lower part of Italy, — but from a hard white stone of which most of the Apennine mountains in those regions, as well as in the States of the Church, are composed.

13. The same difference is observable in the architecture of the temples and other edifices which were erected in the time of the Emperors, in Rome itself, and of those which were constructed in the provinces of the Roman empire ; it is evident in a temple at Melasso, in Caria, which was consecrated to Augustus and the city of Rome, as I shall notice hereafter. We might also mention here the arch near Susa, in the Piedmontese territory, which was likewise erected in honor of Augustus ; for the capitals of the pilasters have a form which appears to have been not common in Rome at that time (10).

14. Nevertheless, it is creditable to the ancients that they continued conscious of the grandeur of art, even until its downfall. The spirit of their forefathers had not yet utterly departed from them, and even the indifferent works of the last period are wrought in accordance with the principles of the great masters. The heads have retained the general idea of ancient beauty, and in the position, action, and drapery of the figures are always manifest the traces of pure truth and simplicity. The senses of the ancients were never dazzled by an ornamented elegance, by an affected and ill-conceived grace, by an exaggerated and distorted suppleness, of which even the best works of modern sculpture have their share. We find indeed some admirable works belonging to the third century, — if we may judge from the mode of head-dress, — which are to be considered as copies made from older works. Of this kind are two figures of Venus of the size of life, with their proper heads, in the garden behind the Farnese palace. One of them has a beautiful head of Venus ; the other, the head of a woman of rank, of the century mentioned, and both heads have the same style of head-dress (11). There is in the Belvedere a Venus of

the same size, though inferior in merit to those, with a head-dress similar to theirs; this head-dress was peculiar to the women of that age (12). An Apollo, in the Negroni villa, of the age and size of a youth of fifteen, may be classed among the beautiful youthful figures in Rome; the proper head however of this figure represents not an Apollo, but perhaps an imperial prince of that time (13). Some artists therefore were still to be found who well understood how to copy the beautiful figures of more ancient times.

15. I shall conclude the third portion of this chapter<sup>1</sup> with an altogether extraordinary monument, in the Campidoglio, made from basalt. It represents a large ape, seated, whose forefeet rest on the knees of the hind-feet; the head is lost. On the right side of the base of this figure is engraved in Greek characters, "Phidias and Ammonius, sons of Phidias, made it." This inscription, which has been noticed by few, was slightly mentioned in the manuscript catalogue from which Reinesius took it without any notice of the work on which it stands, and if it were not for manifest tokens of its antiquity it might be regarded as not genuine. The inscription upon this apparently contemptible work may attract attention to it, and I wish to communicate my conjectures regarding it.

16. A colony of Greeks had settled in Africa, who were called in their language *πιθηκούσσαν*, from the great number of monkeys thereabouts. Diodorus says that the animal was held sacred by them, and worshipped, like the dog in Egypt. It entered freely into their dwellings, and took whatever it pleased; indeed, these Greeks named their children after the animals, which, like the deities in other countries, probably received from them certain honorary appellations. I imagine that the monkey in the Campidoglio may have been an object of reverence to the Pithekoussæ Greeks; at least, I see no other way of reconciling such a monster in art with the names of Greek sculptors; Phidias and Ammonius probably practised their art, as sculptors, among these barbarian Greeks. When Agathocles, king of Sicily, invaded the Carthaginians, in Africa, his general, Eumachus, penetrated so far inland as to reach the territory of these Greeks, and conquered and destroyed one of their towns. The form of the letters does not permit us to assume that this divinely worshipped monkey may have been

<sup>1</sup> First edition.

carried away at this time, as a memorial, as something extraordinary among the Greeks, because the strokes of them belong to a later period, and resemble the Herculaneum letters. We are therefore inclined to believe that this work was executed long after the period supposed, and was probably carried from the land of this people to Rome, during the time of the Cæsars. This supposition is rendered probable by a couple of words of a Latin inscription on the left side of the base, which consisted of four lines, of which there remain only traces, with the exception of the words, still legible, VII. COS. These words can apply to no one except C. Marius, the only person, during the time of the republic, upon whom the consulship had been so many times bestowed. Before him, Valerius Corvinus is the only instance in which any one had attained the consulship six times. This tribe of Greeks in Africa would therefore, according to this, have been still in existence about the time of our historian, and still have continued in their superstition. I take this opportunity to mention here a female statue, of marble, in the gallery at Versailles, which has been looked upon as a Vestal, and which, it is asserted, was found at Ben-Gazi, — the presumed capital of Numidia, — now Barca (14).

17. If we review and condense the substance of this Book, we shall see in the art of the Greeks, especially in sculpture, four stages of style, namely, the straight and hard, the grand and square, the beautiful and flowing, and the imitative. The first probably lasted, for the most part, until the age of Phidias; the second, until Praxiteles, Lysippus, and Apelles; the third probably ceased with the school of the three latter artists; and the fourth continued until the downfall of art. The period during which art was in its highest bloom was not of long duration; for from the age of Pericles until the death of Alexander, at which time the glory of art began to diminish, there are about one hundred and twenty years.

18. In general the fate of art in modern times is, as regards periods, similar to that of antiquity. In it likewise there have occurred four principal changes; there is this difference only, that modern art did not fall gradually from its height, as among the Greeks; but as soon as it had reached, in two great men, the utmost degree of elevation at that time possible, — I here speak only of drawing, — it fell again and at once. Until Michael Angelo and Raphael, the style was dry and stiff; the

highest point to which art attained, after its restoration, was in these two men; after an interval, in which a bad taste prevailed (15), came the style of the imitators; this was the period of the Caracci and their school, with its followers, and it extended unto Carlo Maratti. But, if we speak of sculpture in particular, the history of it is very brief. It flourished with Michael Angelo and Sansovino, and ended with them. Algardi, Fiamingo, and Rusconi came more than a hundred years later.

19. I have not been willing to deprive either the amateur or the artist of the pleasure of making his own reflections and adding them to the doctrines and remarks contained in the five sections of this chapter,<sup>1</sup> and which may be still further improved by observations drawn from the writings of those learned men, who have ventured into the same field as myself. But let both the amateur and artist be assured — if, under the guidance of this history, they have opportunity and leisure to examine the works of Greek art — that nothing in art is small, and that what may appear easy to have been observed is, for the most part, only like the egg of Columbus. It would be impossible in a month — the usual time which German travellers spend in Rome — even to find and cast a glance upon every object which has been the subject of my remarks, although with the book in hand. But just as a little, more or less, makes the difference between artists, so details supposed to be trifling reveal the attentive observer; and the little leads to the great. But it is not with reflections upon art as it is with learned investigations in antiquities. In the latter, it is difficult to discover anything new, and what is known is investigated with this understanding; in the former however, there is something to be found even in that which is most familiar; for art is not exhausted. But the beautiful and useful are not to be apprehended at a glance, as an unwise German painter fancied, after a stay of two weeks in Rome; for the important and the weighty lie deeply; they do not flow upon the surface. The first view of beautiful statues is, to him who possesses sensibility, like the first glance over the open sea; we gaze on it bewildered, and with undistinguishing eyes, but after we have contemplated it repeatedly the soul becomes more tranquil and the eye more quiet, and capable of separating the whole into its particulars. We may explain to ourselves the works of art

<sup>1</sup> Last five books.

precisely in the way in which we should explain to others an ancient author, for generally it is with them as with the reading of books ; we think that we understand what we are reading, but if we attempt to explain it intelligibly to another we find that we do not understand it. It is one thing to *read* Homer ; it is another to *translate* it as we read.

20. I cannot refrain, at the close of this chapter, from expressing a wish relative to the enlargement of our knowledge of Greek art, as well as of Greek literature and history. I should like to make a voyage to Greece ; not to places of usual resort, but to Elis, through which no learned man nor connoisseur of art has ever yet journeyed. The learned Fourmont himself did not succeed in getting into this territory, wherein the statues of all the heroes and celebrated persons of the Greeks were exposed, for he was recalled by his court at the very time when he had approached the boundaries of ancient Elis. The journey must be undertaken with the same full powers which were granted to him by the Porte ; namely, with permission to excavate in all places, as he did, for he employed fifty men in digging and searching among the ruins of the ancient city of Amyclæ, in the Lacedæmonian territory, in which were discovered the rare and the most ancient Greek inscriptions known to us. But in regard to works of art, what would be the entire Lacedæmonian territory, in comparison with the single city of Pisa, in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated ? I am assured that the yield here would be abundant beyond conception, and that a great light would shoot up from this soil of art, if it should be thoroughly searched.

## CHAPTER IV.

## OF ART AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. IF I were to conform to the common opinion, I should continue the treatise on Greek art by an examination of the style of the Roman artists, and here especially of Roman sculptors. For I hear, even daily, our antiquarians and sculptors speak of a Latin art of sculpture, and of a style of workmanship peculiar to Roman artists, when they wish to denote anything of moderate excellence; but I give no more heed to this manner of speaking than to other expressions which error has brought into general use. We know, as well from writings as from remanent works, that there were Roman sculptors and painters, and it is not unlikely that some may have attained great excellence in art, and may have been worthy of comparison with many Greek artists; but from such notices and works it is impossible to deduce any system of Roman art, as distinguished from the Greek. Among the Greek artists, on the other hand, even as among Greek authors, there were probably some of middling excellence. Who will hold Nicander to be a great poet, but him who finds beauty only in that which is obscure? Art has surely had its Nicander and its Aratus.

2. Those who hold the common opinion in regard to Roman art are like those who do not distinguish primeval works of art from those of a later age; thus there have been and still are learned men who maintain that the most ancient Etruscan work, — namely, the tomb erroneously called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, — was constructed in later Roman times. If they had compared the shape of this tomb with that of the tomb of the king Porsena, at Elusium, which it perfectly resembles, and had observed that the Appian Way makes a curve around it, they would have been convinced that it is the work of an Etruscan artist, and that it is more ancient than that very ancient

road, which would have continued on in a straight direction if this work had not stood in the way. I have already mentioned, in another place, that a celebrated antiquarian regarded a round altar with relieved work on it, in the Pamfili villa, as the oldest piece of Greek art; whereas it ought rather to be ascribed to a moderate Roman artist, especially since a Roman deity, namely, Juno Sospita, wearing the skin of a roe, — of whom I have previously made mention, — is represented on it. The Roman artists are to be considered as imitators of the Greeks, and therefore they have not been able to form any distinct school and style of their own.

3. There were formerly, and there are even now, some works of art — figures as well as reliefs — with Roman inscriptions, and other statues and relieved works, bearing the name of the artist. Of the former kind is that figure which was discovered, more than two hundred years ago, near the church of St. Vitus, in the archbishopric of Salzburg, and was set up in Salzburg by the well-known archbishop and cardinal, Matthias Lange. It is of bronze, of the size of life, and in attitude resembles the statue in the Belvedere, wrongly named the Antinoüs or Meleager. A bronze statue perfectly similar to this one, and having exactly the same inscription on the same unusual place, namely, on the thigh, is found in the garden of the royal country-seat Aranjuez, in Spain, where it was seen by my friend, Antonio Raphael Mengs, who assures me that it is an antique. I have not been able, with all the pains that I have taken, to procure the slightest account of the statue at Salzburg; a correct and detailed notice of it would have enabled us to judge whether either of them was a copy of the other. Thus much I see clearly, that the battle-axe which is held by this statue, in the engraving of it, is a modern addition, made by ignorance. To this class belongs also the statue of a Venus in the Belvedere, which, from the inscription on the socle of it, was erected by one Sallust (1). A small figure, more than three palms (26 in.) high, which represents Hope, is wrought in imitation of the Etruscan style, and has a Roman inscription on the base, which is cited in the first chapter of this Book. It stands in the Ludovisi villa. Also one of the two figures of Victoria, of which mention is made in the same place, has a Roman inscription on one of the two bands which pass cross-wise over the back.

4. Of rilievi with Roman inscriptions I have slightly noticed one, at the beginning of the third chapter, in the Albani villa, which represents a larder. Another work of this kind is the base on the market-place at Pozzuoli, which was erected in honor of Tiberius by fourteen cities in Asia. The symbolic figure of each city, with the name in Roman fashion below it, is wrought upon it, and therefore it must be a work of a Roman artist. Of this base I shall speak hereafter more circumstantially. The third work of the kind is in the Borghese villa, and has been published in the *Ancient Monuments*. It represents Antiope between her two sons, Amphion and Zethus; the name of each figure is placed in Roman writing above it. Zethus has a hat hanging on his shoulders behind, — to denote his rustic life; and Amphion wears a helmet, and holds his lyre half covered beneath his chlamys. In the explanation of this work I have mentioned the helmet, but had not discovered the meaning of it in this instance, because Amphion was not a warrior. I therefore contented myself with adducing a statue of Apollo of the earliest date, with a helmet on the head, which stood at Amyclæ, as an example of a helmet being given without any reason known to us. I now believe myself able to solve both difficulties, namely, the wearing of the helmet, and also the seemingly concealed lyre of Amphion. The unpublished Greek commentaries upon the Gorgias of Plato which were taken by the learned Muretus from an ancient manuscript of Plato belonging to the former Farnese library, and introduced into his edition of Plato, published at Basle, of which a copy is in the library of the Jesuits, at Rome, — these scholia, I say, lead to the supposition that this rilievo represents a scene in the *Antiope*, a tragedy of Euripides. The author of these scholia must be pretty ancient, because he mentions in one place that the wall which Plato calls διαμέσου τείχους, *division wall*, still stood at his time; and he likewise explains what kind of a wall it was, namely, the one by which Themistocles or Pericles united the Piræus harbor with the small harbor, Munichia. This passage escaped the observation of Meursius, as he does not introduce it among other notices of the Piræus, found in those authors which have been preserved, though he ought to have done so on account of the particular name applied to the wall; but that Amphion gave heed to the admonition of his brother we are taught by Horace, where he says:—

Nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.  
 Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque  
 Zethi dissiluit; donec suspecta severo  
 Conticuit lyra; fraternis cecidisse putatur  
 Moribus Amphion . . .

"Nor be thy thoughts on verses bent,  
 When he on hunting is intent;  
 Dirce's twin sons in love were bound,  
 Till discord thus an entrance found;  
 'Tis said, by Zethus' taste denied,  
 Amphion put his lyre aside. . . ."

Book I., *Epist.* 18, v. 40.

and this passage, hitherto not wholly understood, is rendered clear by the commentary of the scholiast; for Horace undoubtedly alludes to the *Antiope* of Euripides. After Kallicles had tried to persuade Socrates to renounce philosophical speculations, and betake himself to public affairs, — just as Zethus censured Amphion for his love of music, and his withdrawal from all other occupation, — he goes on to say, "It appears that I am of the same opinion in regard to you that Zethus is in regard to the Amphion of Euripides," — *κινδυνεύω οὖν πεπονθέναι νῦν ὅπερ ὁ Ζῆθος πρὸς τὸν Ἀμφίωνα τοῦ Εὐριπίδου*, — "for I also can say to you what he said to his brother, namely, that you neglect what should be of importance to you." The scholiast of Plato remarks in reference to these words that they contain an allusion to a passage in the tragedy mentioned, in which Zethus says to Amphion, —

*Ῥίψον τὴν λύραν, κέχρησο δ' ὅπλοις,*  
 "Throw away your lyre, seize your arms."

I am therefore of the opinion that the artist of the work in question may have wished to signify by the helmet which he has put upon Amphion, as well as by the half-concealed lyre, that Amphion had yielded to the admonition of his brother. I hope that I shall not be blamed for this digression, because it renders Plato more intelligible in the passage before us; because, in the next place, we can get an idea of a scene from the *Antiope* of Euripides, of which I publish at the same time a verse; and because, finally, a valuable monument of ancient art, and of a Roman artist besides, receives thereby a learned explanation.

5. Of the second kind of works by Roman artists, bearing

the name of the artist himself, there exists a statue of Æsculapius of very moderate goodness, in the Verospi mansion, on the socle of which is the name of the artist, Assalectus. But of rilievi there is in the Albani villa a small work which shows a father, clothed as a senator, and seated on a stool, with his feet on a kind of footstool; in his right hand he holds the bust of his son, and in his left, as a sculptor, a modelling stick; over against him stands a female figure, who appears to be scattering incense upon a lamp. It bears the superscription:—

Q. LOLLIVS. ALCAMENES.

DEC· ET· DVVMVIR·.

This Alcamenes however was a Greek by birth, but a freed-man of the Lollius family; properly therefore he is not to be regarded as a Roman sculptor. A statue is also found in Bois-sard with the inscription, TITIVS· FECIT·. I shall say nothing of engraved gems with the names of their Roman artists, an Æpolianus, Caius, Cneius, etc., etc.

6. These monuments however are not sufficient to enable us to construct a system of art and to define a peculiar style differing from the Etruscan and Greek. It is probable that the Roman artists did not even form a particular style of their own; we may believe that in the earliest times they imitated the Etruscans, from whom they adopted many customs, especially those of a religious character; and in the later and flourishing periods the few artists who appeared were most likely scholars of the Greeks, so that what Horace says of the Romans of his time, —

. . . Pingimus atque

Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis,

“ . . . . The anointed Greeks we far excel

In painting, playing, and in wrestling well,” —

is to be understood with an allowance, and interpreted as flattery of Augustus to whom the ode from which the quotation is made is addressed.

7. In the college of St. Ignatius, at Rome, there is a cylindrical vase of metal which gives a clear and indisputable proof that the Roman artists, at the time of the republic, imitated in their works the Etruscan style of art. For, in the first place, on the cover is the name of the artist himself, together with the remark that it was made at Rome; in the second place, the

Etruscan style is manifest not only in the drawing of many figures, but also in the conception of them. The vase is about two palms (17 inches) high, and perhaps a palm and a half (13.2 inches) in diameter. There are ornaments on the band which is below the upper edge, and also on the one at the lower end of the vessel. On the intermediate space, around the vessel, is represented the history of the Argonauts,—their landing, the combat of Pollux with Amycus and his victory over him, etc., etc. From the last scene I have selected the three figures, Pollux, Amycus, and Minerva, to give an idea of the drawing on the vessel, and an engraving of them is placed at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>1</sup> The work on the vase is engraved with a burin. Round the outer surface of the cover is represented a chase ; and on the top of it are fastened in an upright position three figures, cast in metal, half a span in height, namely, the deceased person in honor and remembrance of whom this vase was deposited in the tomb, and two Fauns, whom he holds in his embrace ; these Fauns have human feet, conformably to the notion of the Etruscans, who gave to these demi-gods either this shape, or else represented them with the feet and tail of a horse ; the latter is found even in this instance. Beneath the figures is the inscription quoted ; on one side are the names of the daughter and her dead mother ; on the other is the name of the artist (2). The three feet on which the vase stands have each of them a particular representation, cast in metal. On one of them is Hercules with Virtue and Pleasure ; but they are not personified here as females according to the idea of the Greeks, but as male persons.

8. The preconceived opinion that the Roman artists had a style of their own, and different from that of the Greeks, has arisen from two causes. One of them is the incorrect explanation of the figures represented ; expositors desire to find Roman history in scenes that are drawn from Grecian fable, and consequently a Roman artist, as I think that I have proved in the *Treatise on Allegory*, and in the *Preface to the Ancient Monuments*. We have an instance of the kind in the conclusion drawn by a superficial writer from the forced, ungrounded explanation of a gem, engraved in intaglio, in the former Stosch museum. This gem represents the sacrifice of Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, by Pyrrhus, on the tomb of his father,

<sup>1</sup> First edition.

Achilles. The author in question however finds not the least difficulty in seeing here the Rape of Lucretia. A proof of his explanation is presumed to be in the Roman style of the workmanship, which, he says, is seen distinctly here ; that is, according to a reversed mode of reasoning, a false premise is deduced from an erroneous conclusion. He would have drawn precisely the same conclusion from the beautiful group of Phædra and Hippolytus, in the Ludovisi villa, — erroneously supposed to be the young Papirius, — if the name of the Greek artist had not been affixed to the work.

9. The second cause lies in an unseasonable reverence towards the works of Greek artists. As many works of only moderate excellence are found to exist, an unwillingness is felt to attribute them to the Greeks, and it seems more just to attribute to the Romans rather than to the Greeks the want of merit in such works. Hence everything which appears bad is comprehended under the name of Roman workmanship, yet without assigning the slightest characteristic of it. From a comparison of the coins which were stamped at Rome in the time of the republic with those of the smallest cities in Magna Græcia, or of the southern part of Italy, it cannot be denied that the former appear like the performances of beginners in art.

10. I noticed the same fact again when examining some hundred silver coins, which were excavated in January, 1758, at Loretto, where they had been buried at some former time in an earthen vessel, and were consequently in perfect preservation. In regard to such coins, which are to be regarded as public works, we may confidently believe that they were stamped by Roman artists at a time when Greek artists had not yet established themselves in Rome. But it is impossible to determine either the beauty of the drawing or the style from works which were not worthy of any great display of skill, such as sepulchral urns, since also they were furnished for persons of moderate means, and most of them were made for sale, as I have already reminded the reader. From such works has been drawn the erroneous idea of the Roman style. Nevertheless genuine Greek works are to be found among the very worst of them, as the inscriptions on them in the Greek language show ; and works of this kind seem to have been executed in the last days of the Roman empire. I believe myself

therefore to be justified in assuming, as a consequence of such groundless opinions, that the idea of a Roman style in art, so far at least as our present knowledge goes, is a mere conceit. It is certain however that even at the time when Roman artists had seen and were able to copy Greek works, they were still far from being able to equal the Greeks. Pliny himself testifies to this, and remarks that there were in the Capitol two colossal heads, one of which was executed by Chares, the celebrated scholar of Lysippus, the other by Decius, a Roman sculptor; but the latter appeared so bad in comparison with the former that it could hardly be regarded as the production of a middling artist (3).

11. As I do not wish to omit anything, I will notice the circumstances under which art was placed at the time of the Roman kings and of the republic. It is probable that under the kings few or none at all of their subjects devoted themselves to drawing, and especially to sculpture, because it was forbidden by the laws of Numa to represent the deity in human form, as we are told by Plutarch; so that for the space of one hundred and sixty years after the reign of this king, or in the first one hundred and seventy years, as Varro relates, neither statues nor images of the gods were placed in the temples at Rome. I say in the *temples*, meaning to be understood thereby that none of them were regarded as objects of religious veneration, — for there were statues of the deities in Rome, which I shall directly mention, but they were not of course placed in the temples.

12. For other public works the Romans employed Etruscan artists, who were at Rome in the earliest times what the Greek artists afterwards became; and the statue of Romulus, mentioned in the second chapter of the first Book, was probably executed by them. Whether the bronze she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, in the Campidoglio, is the one of which Dionysius speaks as a very ancient work, or the one which according to Cicero was injured by lightning, we do not know; but we see in the hind-leg of the beast a large fissure, which is probably the injury occasioned by the lightning.

13. Tarquinius Priscus, or according to others Tarquinius Superbus, procured an artist from Fregellæ, in the country of the Volsci, or, as Plutarch states, Etruscan artists from Veii, to make the statue of the Capitoline Jupiter in terra-cotta; and

a Quadriga of the same material was placed on the top of the temple of this god. Others say that the work was executed at Veii. The statue which was placed in the temple of the god Sanga by Caia Cæcilia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was of bronze. The statues of the kings were standing even in the time of the republic, during the Gracchi disturbances, at the entrance of the Capitol.

14. In the simplicity of manners belonging to the earliest periods of the republic, and in a state whose existence depended on war, there could have been but little opportunity for the practice of art. Even from that article of the alliance made with Porsena after the expulsion of the kings, — by which it was agreed that iron should be used only in agriculture, — we must conclude that sculpture at least could not be practised, since a prohibition of this kind would deprive the artist of his tools. The highest honor that could be conferred on any one was the erection of a column to his name; and when great merits were rewarded by statues, the height of them at the beginning was fixed at three feet, — a limited size for art. The statue of Horatius Cocles, which was erected to him in the temple of Vulcan, the equestrian statue of Cloelia, — which was still standing (4) in the time of Seneca, — both of bronze, and many others made in Rome in its earliest days, must therefore present themselves to our imaginations as of this height. Other public monuments also were made of bronze; new ordinances were engraved on pillars of bronze, as the one for instance by which the citizens of Rome received permission to build on Mount Aventine, at the beginning of the fourth century of the city of Rome; so also the columns on which shortly afterwards the new laws of the Decemviri were exposed to public view.

15. In the earlier days of the republic, the greater number of the statues of the deities probably conformed to the size and character of the temples; they cannot have been very stately, if we may infer, partly from the Temple of Fortune, which was completed in the space of a year, and partly from other accounts, and from the temples or the ruins of temples still remaining.

These statues were probably made by Etruscan artists. Pliny assures us that this was the case in regard to the Apollo in bronze which afterwards stood in the library of the temple

of Augustus. It was cast by an Etruscan artist under the direction of Spurius Carvilius, by whom the Samnites were defeated, and whose cuirasses, greaves, and helmets furnished the metal, in the four hundred and sixty-first year of the city of Rome, that is, in the one hundred and twenty-first Olympiad. This statue was so large, it is said, that it could be seen from the Albanian mountain, now called Mount Cavo. The first statue of Ceres in bronze was made by order of Spurius Cassius, who was consul in the two hundred and fifty-second year. In the four hundred and seventeenth year equestrian statues, as something exceedingly rare, were erected to the consuls L. Furius Camillus and Caius Mœnius, after their triumph over the Latins; but the material of which they were made is not mentioned. The Romans likewise employed Etruscan painters, by whom a temple of Ceres among others was embellished with paintings, which, when the temple began to fall into decay, were removed with the walls on which they were painted, and transferred elsewhere.

16. Marble, as a material of art, did not come into use in Rome until late; this is proved even by the well-known inscription on L. Scipio Barbatus, the worthiest man of his time, for it is cut in the poorest sort of stone, named *Peperino*. The inscription on the Columna Rostrata of C. Duillius of the same age was also, it is probable, only of this stone, and not of marble, — which is asserted on the pretended authority of a passage in Silius, — for the remains of the inscription now in existence evidently belong to a later age.

17. Until the year four hundred and fifty-four of Rome, that is until the one hundred and twentieth Olympiad, the statues in the city, like the citizens themselves, had long hair and long beards, for in this year, for the first time, barbers came there from Sicily (5); and Livy relates that the consul M. Livius, who from some vexation had left the city, and allowed his beard to grow, had it taken off when he was persuaded by the senate to return. Scipio Africanus the Elder wore long hair when Masinissa had the first interview with him; but all the heads of him in marble and basalt represented him as shaven quite smoothly, namely, in more advanced years of manhood.

18. At the time of the second Punic war painting was practised by the nobles of Rome; and Quintus Fabius, who was

sent after the disastrous battle at Cannæ to the oracle at Delphi, received the name of Pictor, from the art which he cultivated. Two years after this battle, Tiberius Gracchus caused a picture, representing the rejoicings of his army at Benevento after the victory over Hanno, near Luceria, to be painted in the Temple of Freedom, at Rome. The soldiers were feasted by the inhabitants of Benevento in the streets of the city, and as the greater number of them were armed bondmen to whom Gracchus, with the approbation of the senate, had promised their freedom in consideration of military service for some years prior to this battle, they wore their hats, and had white woollen bands about their heads, — as a sign of their manumission. But among them there were many who had not done their duty satisfactorily, upon whom the punishment was imposed that they should not eat and drink during the war unless in a standing position. In the picture therefore some were lying at table, others were standing, and still others were waiting upon them. The celebrated Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, was not less a painter than a poet; and Pliny relates on the authority of Varro that, before a temple of Ceres had been embellished with paintings by two of the above-mentioned Greek artists, Damophilus and Gorgasus, *ante hanc cedem Tuscanica omnia in ædibus fuisse*, — “everything in the temples was Etruscan, prior to this temple.” I understand this remark to mean that all the painting was Etruscan, and it seems to me that Hardouin has entirely missed the sense of it in believing that Pliny intends to say that, before the building of this temple, all figures were of bronze.

19. In this second Punic war, in which the Romans strained all their powers, and notwithstanding the entire destruction of many armies, so that only 137,000 citizens remained in Rome, yet brought into the field, in the last year of it, twenty-three legions, which must seem wonderful, — in this war, I say, the Roman republic, like the Athenian in the war with the Persians, assumed a different form; it made acquaintance and alliances with the Greeks, and a love for their art was awakened. The first one who brought Greek statues and works of art to Rome was Claudius Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse; with them he ornamented the Capitol, and the temple dedicated by him, near the Porta Capena. The city of Capua, after it was taken by Q. Fulvius Flaccus, met

with the same fate; all the statues were transported to Rome.

20. Notwithstanding the great number of statues which had been obtained as the spoils of war, new statues of the divinities continued to be wrought at Rome, as about this time the fines collected by the tribunes of the people were spent by them in erecting bronze statues in the temple of Ceres. In the seventeen and last year of this war, the ædiles caused three other statues, paid for by fines, to be set up in the Capitol, and a like number of bronze statues of Ceres, Liber Pater, and Libera, were not long afterwards made, likewise from fines. At that time L. Stertinius employed the booty which had been collected in Spain in the erection of two arches on the ox-market, on which he placed a row of gilded statues. Livy remarks that the public edifices which were called Basilicæ had not then been built in Rome.

21. Statues of wood still continued to be borne in public processions; this was done two years after the capture of the city of Syracuse, and in the twelfth year of the Punic war. When a thunderbolt had fallen upon the temple of Juno Regina, on the Aventine hill, it was ordered, in order to avert the consequences of this evil portent, that two statues of the goddess, made of cypress-wood, should be taken from her temple and carried about in procession, accompanied by twenty-seven virgins in long garments, singing a hymn to the goddess.

22. After the elder Scipio Africanus had expelled the Carthaginians from every part of Spain, and when he was on the point of attacking them in Africa on their own soil, the Romans sent to the oracle at Delphi figures of the gods, which were wrought from a thousand pounds of captured silver, and likewise a crown of gold, weighing two hundred pounds.

23. At the termination of the war between the Romans and Philip, king of Macedon, the father of Perseus, the last king of the country, L. Quinctius brought from Greece to Rome a large and fresh supply of statues in bronze and marble, together with many artistically wrought vases, all of which were displayed in his three days' triumph, — an event that occurred in the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad. Among the spoils were also ten shields of silver, and one of gold, and one hundred and fourteen golden crowns; the latter were gifts from Grecian cities. Soon afterwards, and a year prior to the war with

Antiochus the Great, a gilded Quadriga was placed above on the temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, and twelve gilded shields on its ridge. And Scipio Africanus, before he began the campaign as his brother's lieutenant against this king, built an arch on the ascent to the Capitol, and ornamented it with seven gilded statues, and with two horses; in front of it he placed two large marble water-basins.

24. Until the one hundred and forty-seventh Olympiad, and the victory of Lucius Scipio, brother of the elder Scipio Africanus, over Antiochus the Great, the statues of the divinities in the temples at Rome were for the most part only of wood or clay, and there were few public buildings of any magnificence in the city. But this victory, which made the Romans lords of Asia as far as Mount Taurus, and filled Rome with an indescribable booty of splendid Asiatic objects, also added to the magnificence in Rome, and Asiatic pleasures were introduced and became familiar there. About the same time the Bacchanalia came from the Greeks to the Romans. Among other valuables, L. Scipio carried in his triumph one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds of enchased and engraved silver vessels, and one thousand and twenty-four pounds of gold vessels, wrought in a similar way.

25. As shortly afterwards the Greek deities under Greek names were adopted by the Romans, and introduced among them, and Greek priests were appointed for their service, this also gave occasion either to bespeak statues of them in Greece, or to let them be wrought in Rome by Greek artists, and the rilievi in terra-cotta on the ancient temples became ridiculous, as the elder Cato says in one of his speeches. About this time the statue of L. Quinctius, who celebrated his triumph at the close of the Macedonian war in the preceding Olympiad, was erected in Rome with a Greek inscription, and therefore was probably executed by a Greek artist; so too the Greek inscription on the base of a statue erected by Augustus to the emperor leads us to a similar conjecture.

26. After peace had been concluded between the Romans and Antiochus, the Ætolians, who had been the allies of the latter, again took up arms, but against the Macedonians with whom the Romans were at this time friendly, and who were consequently interested in this proceeding of their enemies. In this war, the city of Ambracia was subjected to a severe siege, and

it finally surrendered itself. Here had formerly been the royal residence of Pyrrhus, and the city was filled with statues of bronze and marble, and with pictures, all of which must be delivered to the Romans, by whom they were sent to Rome, insomuch that the inhabitants of the city made a complaint at Rome that they had not a single deity whom they could worship. M. Fulvius, in his triumph over the Ætolians, carried into Rome two hundred and eighty statues of bronze, and two hundred and thirty of marble. Artists came from Greece to Rome to erect and decorate the building in which were held the games provided by this same consul, and for the first time athletes took share in them, after the Greek custom. When this M. Fulvius was censor with M. Æmilius, in the year five hundred and seventy-three U. C., he began to embellish the city with magnificent public buildings. Yet at that time marble could not have been abundant in Rome, for the Romans were not as yet peaceable possessors of the country of the Ligurians, in which Luna, now Carrara, was situated, and whence formerly even as now white marble was brought. This is evident also from the fact that the same M. Fulvius caused the slabs of marble with which the roof of the celebrated temple of Juno Lacinia, near Crotona, in Magna Græcia, was covered to be removed, and carried to Rome for the purpose of covering the roof of a temple which he himself was bound by a vow to build. His colleague, the censor M. Æmilius, caused a marketplace to be paved, and, what appears strange, enclosed by a paling.

27. The pictures and statues with which Rome was filled in countless numbers and of the highest beauty, and the many artists who, as prisoners of war, had been brought hither, finally excited among the Romans a love for art, so that even the noblest among them had their children instructed in it, as we know in regard to the celebrated Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of the last king of the Macedonians, who appointed painters and sculptors to instruct his children in their respective arts.

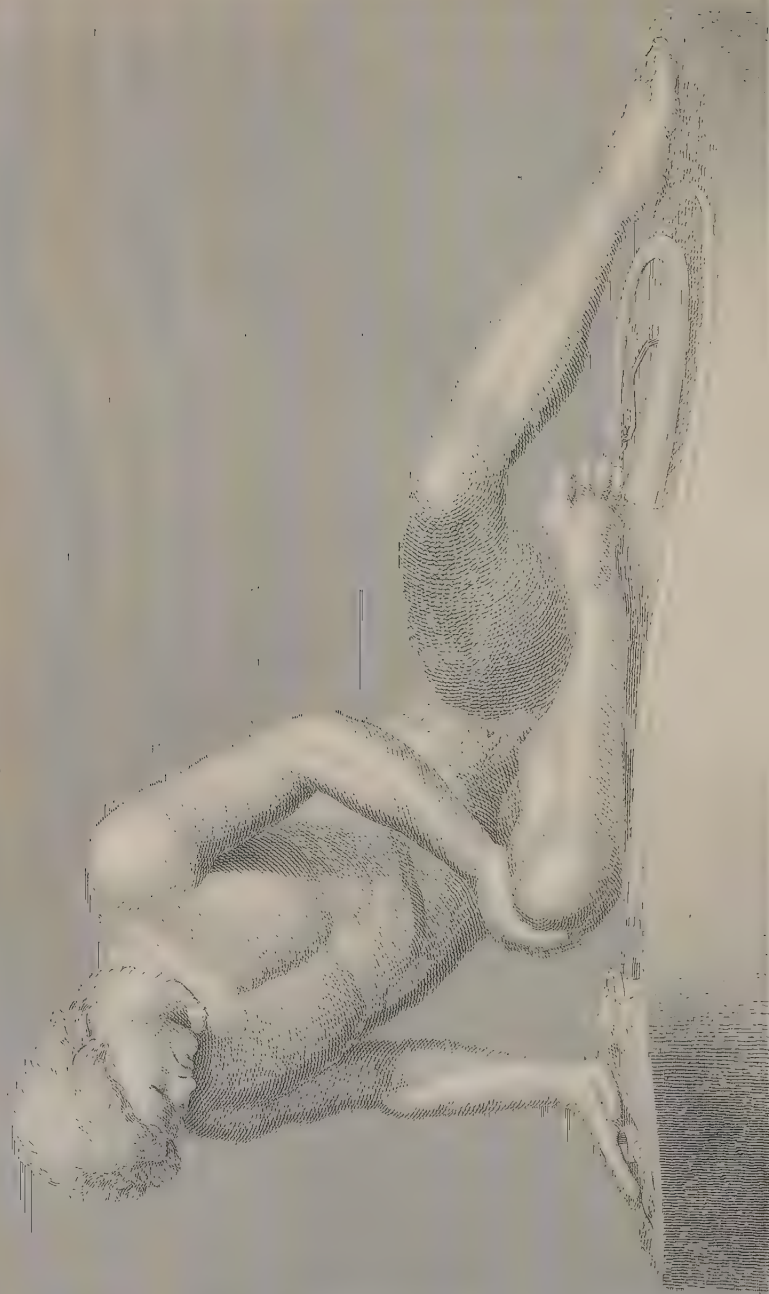
28. A few years afterwards, and in the five hundred and sixty-fourth year of Rome, the elder Scipio Africanus erected the pillar of Hercules in the temple of Hercules, and placed two gilded bigæ on the Capitol; the ædile Q. Fulvius Flaccus set two gilded statues in it. The son of the Glabrio who

defeated Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, erected to his father the first gilded statue in Italy, according to Livy; this must however be understood as meaning the first of the statues of celebrated men. In the Macedonian war against the last king, Perseus, the ambassadors of the city of Chalcis complained that all their temples had been plundered by the prætor C. Lucretius to whom they had surrendered, and the statues and other treasures contained in them had been sent to Antium (6). Paulus Æmilius after his victory over Perseus went to Delphi, where artists were at work on the base on which the monarch had intended that his statue should be placed, but the conqueror appropriated it for his own statue.

29. These statements refer to art under the Romans at the time of the republic. Those relating to it between the point at which I here stop and the fall of Roman freedom will be found in the second part, because they are more intermixed with Greek history. They have this value at least that, if any one should wish to pursue them more at length, they will save him a portion of the labor which is occasioned by reading the ancient authors with so much care and with reference to the succession of events.

30. Finally, and to return to Greek art, the chief view of this history, we should show ourselves grateful to the Romans for all that we possess of it; for little has been discovered in Greece itself, because the former occupants of the land neither dug for such treasures nor valued them. Even as oratory, according to Cicero, went out from Athens into all lands, and was carried from the Piræus, as it were with Attic merchandise, into all harbors and to every shore, so can it be said of Rome, that Greek art, springing up from its ashes, and the productions of Greek art, have been communicated from her to the most remote nations of Europe. Hence she has become in modern times what she once was, the lawgiver and the instructress of the whole world, and she will also send forth to the latest posterity, from the bosom of her riches, works upon which Athens, Corinth, and Sicyon have gazed. However I remember at last what Pythagoras says, that speech should be sealed by silence.





THE  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

VOLUME IV.



## DEDICATION.

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THIS fourth and last volume of the Translation of the History of Ancient Art is dedicated, by permission, to my much-esteemed friend,

MRS. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

In public Mrs. Otis has long been honored by the citizens of Boston for her sympathy with all good and noble works. At her suggestion and through her efforts the anniversary of Washington's birthday is observed as a day of commemoration in her native city, and her name will always be honorably associated with this public tribute to the services and virtues of the great Patriot.

In her private life she has endeared herself to her numerous friends by many estimable traits of character. Cultivation and refinement added graces to the gifts which nature had lavished upon her ; and her kindliness of heart has a pleasant word and a kind thought for every one. These qualities combined to make her house for many years the most delightful resort for those whom she gathered around her in weekly meetings at her hospitable home.

THE TRANSLATOR.



## BOOK IX.

### HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART IN ITS RELATION TO THE EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TIMES AMONG THE GREEKS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### ART FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE TIME OF PHIDIAS.

1. THE term "history" applies more strictly to this, the second part of the work. It is in fact the history of art among the Greeks considered in reference to those external circumstances which exercised the greatest influence over the destinies of Greece. For art, being nurtured and supported by luxury, and frequently by vanity, is dependent on the times and their changes still more than the sciences, or even philosophy itself.

2. It was necessary therefore to mention the circumstances in which the Greeks from time to time found themselves; this will be done briefly, and merely with reference to the object in view. From this whole history it appears that art owed its elevation to liberty. As it is my desire to present only a history of art, the lives of artists—which have been written by many others—will have no place here. Their principal works however are mentioned, some of them being considered solely in regard to the art displayed in them, whilst others are cited and criticised in relation to the time at which they are erroneously assumed to have been wrought. For this reason I have also omitted to mention all the artists noticed by Pliny and other writers, especially when a bare statement of their names and works, unaccompanied by other facts, could yield no instruction. Neither have I enumerated all the works of which the date can be determined, but, looking solely to what might be useful, have sought to correct errors, especially the

errors of writers who exercise an influence on the system of art, and who have hitherto given confused or false ideas of it. But an accurate chronological list of the oldest Greek artists, particularly of the sculptors who flourished before Phidias and belong to the period of the most ancient style, has been introduced, partly because most of them have been omitted by later authors, who have written merely histories of the ancient artists, and partly because a catalogue of their works clearly exhibits the progress of art in its earliest stages. With this catalogue, as the earliest record which we possess, this portion of the *History of Ancient Art* begins.

3. Art was practised by Dædalus in the earliest ages, and there existed even in the time of Pausanias images in wood (1) carved by the hand of this celebrated artist, and he says that, notwithstanding their defects of proportion, there was something godlike in their aspect (2). At the same time lived Smilis, the son of Euclides of the island of Ægina, who made a Juno at Argos and another at Samos. He is probably the same person as the Skelmis in Kallimachus (3), for he was one of the most ancient artists, and the poet speaks of a wooden statue of Juno executed by him. Instead of Skelmis therefore we shall be obliged to read Smilis. One of the pupils of Dædalus was Endœus, who is said to have followed his teacher to Crete (4). In the next following age, sculptors from the isle of Rhodes appear to have flourished, for in different parts of Greece statues were erected, all of which bore the name Τελχίνιαι, the *Telchinian*, because the earliest inhabitants of this island were called Telchinians. Subsequently to this mythic period there is a wide gap in the history of artists (5).

4. But strictly speaking, the precise age of the ancient artists begins with the Spartan sculptor Gitiadas, by whom were executed different statues of bronze at Sparta, — for he lived prior to the war between the Messenians and the Spartans, which began in the ninth Olympiad, a date corresponding to the twelfth year of the building of Rome; but the mode of reckoning by Olympiads originated four hundred and seven years after the Trojan war (6). At that time the painter Bularchus made himself celebrated; among his pictures was a battle-piece which was sold for its weight in gold. Aristocles of Cydonia, in Crete, must have lived about the same time,

because he is said to have flourished before the city of Messena in Sicily changed its ancient name Zancle, and this event occurred prior to the twenty-ninth Olympiad. At Olympia there was a Hercules executed by him; the hero was represented struggling with the Amazon Antiope, who was on horseback, for her girdle.

5. Afterwards Malas, a native of Chios, his son Micciades, and his grandson Anthermus, made themselves famous. The sons of the last were Bupalus and Anthermus, in the sixtieth Olympiad, who counted artists among their progenitors as far back as the first Olympiad. Bupalus was not only a sculptor but also an architect, and the first one who represented the goddess of Fortune in a figure (7). At that time flourished also Dipœnus and Scyllis, whom Pausanias very erroneously enumerates among the scholars of Dædalus; if so, then it must be a younger Dædalus, as a sculptor of this name, a native of Sicyon, who lived after the time of Phidias, is known to us. Their pupils were Learchus of Reggio in Magna Græcia (8), Doryclydas and Dontas, both Lacedæmonians, and Tectæus and Angelio; the last two made an Apollo at Delos, which is probably the one of which many fragments, together with the base and its celebrated inscription, were still extant at the close of the preceding century on the island of Delos. If we next assume that the golden cup which was made by the sculptor Bathycles of Magnesia, and consecrated to the Apollo at Delphi by the seven wise men, was executed at this time and not earlier, then this artist, who had wrought reliefs on the throne of the colossal statue of Apollo at Amyclæ, must have flourished in the time of Solon, that is, about the forty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian lawgiver was archon in his own city.

6. In this same period are to be placed Aristomedon of Argos, Pythodorus of Thebes, and Damophon of Messena. The last made at Ægium in Achaia a Juno Lucina of wood (9), though the head, hands, and feet were of marble. There were also at Megalopolis in Arcadia wooden figures of Mercury and Venus by the same artist. Laphæus, whose Apollo executed in the antique style was at Ægira in Achaia, must be pretty near to this time.

7. Shortly after this time Dameas distinguished himself. He made a statue of Milo of Crotona, which was erected at

Elis (10). This must have occurred after the sixtieth Olympiad, as we may infer from the times of Pythagoras, and especially from the fact that, prior to the sixtieth Olympiad, no statues had been erected at Elis to athletes like Milo. About this same time Syadras and Chartas, two Spartans, were celebrated in their art. Euchirus the Corinthian was their pupil; and he was the master of Klearchus, of Reggio in Magna Græcia, under whom the celebrated Pythagoras, also a native of Reggio, studied his art (11).

8. Next followed Stomius and Somis, who flourished prior to the battle of Marathon (12), and Kallon, a native of the island Ægina, and the pupil of the above-mentioned Tectæus (13). The last of the three must however have lived to a very advanced age, because he survived Phidias; for he executed one of the three great bronze tripods, together with a figure of Proserpine under it,—that is, between the three legs,—which the Spartans caused to be placed as a gift to Apollo in his temple at Amyclæ, after the victory won by Lysander over the Athenians, near the river Ægos. This victory was obtained in the last year of the ninety-third Olympiad.

9. Some time before this Kallon of Ægina, another Kallon, a native of Elis, distinguished himself, especially by thirty-five statues in bronze, which represented the young Messenians of Sicily, together with their teacher and a flute-player, who were drowned in crossing the strait between Messena and Reggio in Magna Græcia (14). I place his age somewhat earlier, because the inscriptions on these statues were made by the celebrated orator Hippias in the time of Socrates, and therefore, as Pausanias himself remarks, they must have been placed upon them in a later age than their own. But according to the statement of this same writer, Kanachus was a contemporary of Kallon of Ægina, whereas he is said by Pliny to have flourished in the ninety-fifth Olympiad; this is probable, because he was a pupil of Polycletus.

10. Menæchmus and Soidas, of Naupactus, were contemporaries with Kallon. The latter made a Diana of ivory and gold for her temple at Kalydon; during the time of Augustus it was carried thence to Patræ. At this period also flourished Hegias, and Ageladas, the master of Polycletus, who, among other subjects, represented Kleosthenes—who won the prize in the sixty-sixth Olympiad—on a chariot at Elis. One of his

pupils, Ascarus, made a Jupiter at Elis, wearing a crown of flowers (15).

11. Before the campaign of Xerxes against the Greeks, the following sculptors were celebrated: Simon and Anaxagoras, both of Ægina, — from the hand of the latter proceeded the Jupiter which was erected at Elis by the Greeks after the battle of Plataea; Onatas, also of Ægina, who, besides many other works, made the figures of the eight heroes who came forward to cast lots for the combat with Hector, which stood at Elis (16); Dionysius of Reggio, — who made a horse on the ribs (17) of which was placed the inscription, — and Glaucus of Messena in Sicily who lived in the time of Anaxilas, the ruler of Reggio, that is, between the seventy-first and seventy-sixth Olympiads; Aristomedes and Socrates, who executed a Cybele by order of Pindar, which was placed in her temple at Thebes; Mendaus of Pæon, whose Victoria was at Elis; Glaucias of Ægina, who made a statue of King Hiero (18) standing on a chariot, which was at Elis; finally, Eladas of Argos, the master of Phidias (19).

12. Particular schools of art were founded by these artists. The most celebrated of them in Greece were at Ægina, Corinth, and Sicyon, the native land of works of art, and were of great antiquity. The school at the last place was probably founded by Dipœnus and Scyllis, who had established themselves in Sicyon, some of whose scholars I have just noticed. Aristocles, the brother of Kanachus before mentioned, and a sculptor of the same city, was after seven generations still regarded as the head of a school which had existed a long time in Sicyon.

13. The teachers of Democritus, another sculptor belonging to Sicyon, are known by name as far back as the fifth from him. Polemon wrote a treatise on the paintings in Sicyon, and an account of a portico there in which there were many works of art. Eupompus, the master of Pamphilus, whose scholar Apelles was, had so much influence that the different schools in Greece which had been for some time united under the name of the Helladic again parted, so that the schools at Athens and Sicyon, together with the Ionic school among the Asiatic Greeks, became distinct and independent schools. Pamphilus, Polyclethus, Lysippus, and Apelles, who went to Sicyon in order to perfect himself in his art under Pamphilus, gave to this school its highest lustre, and at the time of Ptolemy Phila-

delphus, king of Egypt, the best and most celebrated school of painting appears to have been in that city ; for, in the splendid shows arranged by this monarch, the paintings of the artists of Sicyon are especially and alone named.

14. Corinth, in consequence of its glorious position, had been one of the most powerful cities of Greece (20) even in the most remote times, and hence it is called by the earliest poets the *Opulent* (21). Ardices of Corinth, and Telephanes of Sicyon, are said to have been the first who, in addition to the mere outline of a figure, denoted the parts within it (22). But Strabo speaks of paintings by Kleanthes, composed of many figures, which were extant even in his time. Kleophantus of Corinth came to Italy with Tarquinius Priscus prior to the fortieth Olympiad, and first displayed to the Romans Greek art in paintings. Even in Pliny's time there were at Lanuvium an Atalanta and a Helen from his hand, and beautifully drawn.

15. If we might deduce the age of the school at Ægina from the celebrated Smilis, a native of this island, we should carry its foundation as far back as the time of Dædalus. But the notices of so many ancient statues in Greece, wrought in the Ægina style, testify that a school of art had begun in that island even in quite remote times. A certain sculptor of Ægina is known, not by his proper name, but by the appellation of the " Ægina shaper " (23).

The inhabitants of Ægina, who were Dorians, carried on an extensive trade and commerce, in consequence of which the arts made great progress among them, so that even their vessels of terra-cotta, which were probably painted, were sought for and exported. They bore as a mark the figure of a wild ram. Pausanias speaks of the commerce which they had even in the earliest ages ; and on the sea they were superior to the Athenians, who, as well as they, previously to the Persian war, had vessels of only fifty oars, and without a deck. The jealousy between them finally broke out into war, which was discontinued however when Xerxes invaded Greece. Ægina contributed greatly to the victory won by Themistocles over the Persians, and derived many advantages from it ; for the rich spoils taken from them were carried thither and sold, in consequence of which, as Herodotus remarks, it came into possession of great wealth. It sustained itself in this flourishing

condition until the eighty-eighth Olympiad, at which time its inhabitants were driven away by the Athenians because they had taken sides with the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians occupied the island with their colonies, and the Æginetæ betook themselves to Thyræa, in the territory of Argos. They did, it is true, come again into possession of their fatherland, but they could not again recover their former power. Those who have seen the coins of Ægina — the impression of which, on one side, is the head of Pallas, and on the other, the trident of Neptune — can judge whether in the drawing of the head it is possible to recognize any peculiar style of art.

16. After the fiftieth Olympiad there came a troublous time for Greece. It fell under the control of different rulers during a period of seventy years. Polycrates made himself master of Samos, Pisistratus of Athens; Kypselus transferred the sovereignty of Corinth to his son Periander, after having strengthened his power by alliances and marriages with other enemies of the freedom of their native land in Ambracia, Epidaurus, and Lesbos (24). Melanchrus and Pittacus were rulers at Lesbos; all Eubœa was subject to Timondas, and by the assistance of Pisistratus, Lygdamis became master of the island of Naxos, and Patroclus of Epidaurus. But the greater number of them had not acquired the supreme control by force or with the armed hand, but had attained their end by their powers of persuasion, and had elevated themselves by deference to the people; they acknowledged, as Pisistratus did, the authority of the laws of their fellow-citizens, even over themselves. The appellation of "tyrant" was even a term of honor, and Aristodemus, the tyrant of Megalopolis in Arcadia, acquired the epithet *χρηστός*, *an upright man*. The statues of the victors in the great games, with which Elis was filled even indeed before the flourishing period of the arts, represented so many defenders of freedom; the tyrants were obliged to allow merit to receive its recognized right, and the artist was able at all times to display his work to the gaze of the entire nation.

17. In the first edition of this *History*, I thought of referring to this period a rilievo in marble of two figures, which is in England; it represents a young athlete of the Games, of the name of Mantho, — as the furrow-like inscription on it denotes (25), — and a seated Jupiter. This period was assigned by me because in the fiftieth Olympiad artists began for the first time

to work in marble. At this time also there were few marble columns in Greece; the columns about the temple of Diana, on the promontory of Sunium, were in the time of Themistocles of white stone. But, on account of the form of the letters, it seemed as if this work could not be of later origin, though I declared myself unwilling to venture any opinion in regard to it merely from a sight of the engraving. I have since learned that this piece is to be found in the gallery of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, and that connoisseurs hold it for a modern deception. A tombstone of a person of the name of Alcman, belonging to the Giustiniani family at Venice, on which some one has wished to find the sepulchral inscription of the primeval poet Alcman, of the thirtieth Olympiad, must have been made several hundred years later. The tomb of the poet was at Sparta.

18. The most ancient gold coin now existing—believed to be of Cyrene in Africa—would likewise, according to the opinion of Father Hardouin, belong to that age. It is said to have been stamped by order of Demonax of Mantinea, who was regent of Cyrene during the minority of Battus IV., and was a contemporary of Pisistratus. Demonax is represented standing, with a band around his head from which issue rays of light, and a ram's horn over his ear. In his right hand he holds a Victoria, and in his left a sceptre. It is more credible however that this coin was stamped at a later period in commemoration of Demonax, which has been clearly proved by two numismatologists. According to the opinion of Beger and Scott, the most ancient of all coins would be the much-celebrated one with the name ΦΙΔΟ, because it is attributed to that Phido by whose orders the first coins were struck on the island of Ægina, and who therefore lived nine hundred years before the birth of Christ. But Barthelémy proves from the Bœotian symbol on the coins, and also from its beautiful impression, that it is a coin of Thebes, and was stamped in the best period of art.

19. The most ancient coins are without doubt those which were stamped by different cities in Magna Græcia, as Crotona and Sybaris,—the latter city was destroyed as early as the sixty-sixth Olympiad,—likewise Thebes and Athens, and those of some cities in Sicily, among which I have mentioned those of the city of Naxos on account of an ill-shaped Hercules with a thunder-bolt beside him. This city was founded about three

hundred and thirty years after the Trojan war, and earlier than Syracuse. The next coins after these, and of an ascertained date, are those of Gelo, king of Syracuse. A considerable interval must however have elapsed between the former and the latter, since those of Gelo were apparently stamped at a time when art was in its bloom (26).

20. When the tyrants in Greece, even those who governed Sicily mildly and conformably to her laws, had at length been destroyed, and the sons of Pisistratus had been driven away and slain, — events which happened in the sixty-seventh Olympiad, and therefore about the time when Brutus freed his native land, — the Greeks raised their heads higher than ever, and a new spirit entered into the nation. The republics, afterwards so celebrated, had hitherto been inconsiderable petty states, until the time when the Persians disturbed the Greeks in Ionia, destroyed Miletus, and carried away its inhabitants into captivity. This calamity affected the Greeks, especially the Athenians, in the strongest manner, so much so indeed, that when a few years afterwards Phrynichus represented in a tragedy the capture of Miletus, the whole audience burst into tears (27).

21. The Athenians assembled all their forces, and in conjunction with the Eretrians went to the aid of their brethren in Ionic Asia. They even formed the extraordinary resolve of attacking the Persian king in his own dominions. They advanced as far as Sardis, and took and burnt the city, in which the houses were built partly of reeds, or else had roofs of reed, in the sixty-ninth Olympiad. In the seventy-second Olympiad, that is, twenty years afterwards, when the tyrant Hipparchus had been slain, and his brother Hippias had been driven away, they won the astonishing victory of Marathon, — a victory which continues to be wonderful in all histories.

22. This victory exalted Athens above all the other cities of Greece; and as the Athenians were the first among the Greeks to become more civilized, and to lay aside their weapons, without which no Greek in the earliest ages made his appearance in public even in time of peace, so the influence and increasing power of Athens made it the principal seat of the arts and sciences in Greece, and, as Pericles said, she was the instructress of all the Greeks. Hence some one asserted that the Greeks might possess most things in common, but the Athenians alone knew the path to immortality.

23. At Crotona and Cyrene the art of medicine flourished, and music at Argos ; in Athens however all the arts and sciences were assembled. But though art flourished in this last city, still it was not neglected at Sparta, for it was practised also here even long before the time of which we speak ; insomuch that persons were sent thence to Sardis in Lydia, commissioned to buy gold there to be used on a statue of Apollo, probably in the drapery, — to say nothing of the wooden statues executed in the earliest age of art which stood in the temples of that city, nor of the statue of a Pallas in bronze, which was considered by Pausanias to be the most ancient figure in metal (28). The Gitiadas previously mentioned, a Spartan, who flourished before the Messenian war, was even celebrated not only for his art, but also for his odes. He executed for the temple of Pallas at Sparta a statue in bronze of this goddess (29). On the base of it were represented the labors of Hercules, the abduction of the daughters of Leucippus by the DioscURI, and other incidents drawn from fable ; moreover his ode to the same goddess was well known. At Amyclæ, not far from Sparta, there were two bronze tripods, — the work of the same artist, — which were placed there by the Spartans in the fourteenth Olympiad. Under one of them stood Venus, and under the other Diana, by which I understand that the cup of the tripods rested on these figures in such a manner that they stood in the centre of the three feet. Let the reader also remember Doryclydas and Dontas, the two Lacedæmonian sculptors just before mentioned, also belonging to the older period, and likewise Syadras and Chartas.

24. But let us return from Sparta to Athens, and to the history of this period. We know that, ten years after the victory at Marathon, Themistocles and Pausanias humbled the Persians at Salamis and Platæa in such a manner that terror and despair pursued them even into the heart of their kingdom, and the Greeks, in order to keep the Persians fresh in their memories at all times, allowed the temples which had been destroyed by them to remain in ruins, as memorials of the danger to which their liberty had been exposed. We now come to the most remarkable fifty years of Greece, beginning with the flight of Xerxes and reaching to the Peloponnesian war (30).

25. From this time forward all the energies of Greece seem

to be in movement, and the great endowments of the nation to display themselves more than ever. The extraordinary men and the great minds which, from the commencement of this great movement, had been forming themselves, now became prominent all at once. In the seventy-seventh Olympiad Herodotus came from Caria to Elis, and read his history before all the Greeks assembled there; not long before, Pherecydes had written the first prose compositions. Æschylus produced the first regular tragedies in an elevated style; from the date of their invention in the sixty-first Olympiad until his time they had consisted merely of dances by singing persons; and he received a prize therefor in the seventy-third Olympiad.

26. Also about this time persons began to chant the poems of Homer, and Cynæthus, at Syracuse, was the first rhapsodist, in the sixty-ninth Olympiad. The first comedies were likewise now performed by Epicharmus; and Simonides, the earliest elegiac poet, belongs among the inventors of this distinguished period. Then, for the first time, rhetoric became a science, receiving its form from Gorgias of Leontium, in Sicily. The first judicial speeches also were committed to writing in Athens by Antiphon, at the time of Socrates. Now, for the first time, philosophy was taught publicly in Athens by Anaxagoras, who opened a school in the seventy-fifth Olympiad. The Greek alphabet also had been made complete a few years previously by Simonides and Epicharmus, and the letters invented by them were used at Athens in public documents in the ninety-fourth Olympiad for the first time, after an end had been put to the rule of the thirty tyrants. These seemed to be the great preparations for the perfection to which art now advanced with mighty strides.

27. Even the misfortune which had befallen Greece was made to contribute to the promotion of art, for the havoc effected by the Persians, and the destruction of Athens, gave occasion after the victory won by Themistocles to the rebuilding of the temples and public edifices. The Greeks now began — with increased love towards their native land, for which so many brave men had suffered wounds and death, and which might now appear to be secure against any human power — to think of the embellishment of each city, and the erection of more splendid edifices and temples, by which they sought also to perpetuate the remembrance of the immortal victory at Salamis.

This was represented on the frieze of a public portico at Sparta, which was built from the spoil taken from the Persians, and hence was called the Persian porch. So I understand what Pausanias terms ἐπὶ τῶν κίονων, that is, *over the columns* of this building, but not, as commentators understand the phrase, that figures of Persians, and of other persons, together with the Persian general Mardonius, and likewise Artemisia, queen of Caria, who accompanied Xerxes, were placed upon the columns, a statue upon each column (31). These extensive preparations rendered artists indispensable, and gave them an opportunity of showing themselves to be equal to other great men. Among so many statues of the deities, the worthy men who had fought for their native land even unto death were likewise not forgotten; even those women who with their children had fled from Athens to Troëzene shared in this kind of immortality, for their statues stood in a portico in that city.

28. The most celebrated sculptors of this period were Ageladas of Argos, the master of Polyclethus; Onatas of the island of Ægina, who made the statue of Hiero, king of Syracuse, standing on a chariot, the horses of which were executed by Kalamis; and Antenor, whose name has become imperishable by the statues of the immortal friends and saviours of their country, Harmodius and Aristogiton, which were erected in the first year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, as the statues of them in bronze, which were erected to them four years subsequent to the assassination of the tyrants, had been carried away by the Persians (32). Glaucias, likewise of Ægina, made the statue of the celebrated Theagenes, who had won a thousand and three hundred garlands as the reward of the same number of victories in the games of Greece (33).

29. One of the most ancient statues of Greek art in Rome, belonging to this period of the older style, is a Muse, standing in the Barberini palace.<sup>1</sup> She holds a large lyre, as it is called, is twice as large as life, and has all the marks of so high antiquity. To judge from these characteristics it might be one of the three Muses executed by three distinguished artists anterior to the time of Phidias. One of them held two flutes, and was from the hand of Kanachus of Sicyon; the second, with a lyre, χέλυσ, was by Aristocles, the brother of Kanachus; and the third, with another kind of lyre, called βάρβιτος, was a work of

<sup>1</sup> Frontispiece, Vol. III.

Ageladas, previously mentioned. This information is given to us by Antipater in an epigram; now if he is the same with Antipater whose native land was Sidon, as we learn from another epigram, made upon a Bacchus which stood near the statue of a Piso, and therefore probably in Rome, so that we might infer his residence at Rome, it is probable that the other epigram may also apply to three Muses which were in Rome. This fact would therefore bring us nearer to the point which we wish to prove.

30. The difference between the several musical instruments which the more modern languages designate by the word "lyre" cannot be precisely stated; even the ancient authors confound *λύρα* with *χέλς*, so that the invention is attributed sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other, partly to Mercury, and partly to Apollo. This circumstance however renders it probable that *λύρα* and *χέλς*, if not one and the same instrument, were at least very similar to each other. But *λύρα* in the hand of a Muse among the Herculaneum paintings with the circumscription ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ ΑΥΡΑΝ was a kind of small lyre, and probably it is the same of which the sounding-board was originally prepared by Mercury first from the upper shell of a tortoise, and hence was called *χέλς*; and this is the form in which it is seen at the feet of the statue of Mercury in the Negroni villa. Hence Aratus calls *χέλς* the smaller lyre, probably to distinguish it from the larger lyre termed *βάρβιτος*, and not, as the scholiast of this poet supposes, because it had few stars. But the lyre of the Barberini Muse of which we are speaking is of the larger kind, and the same as that held by Apollo in another Herculaneum painting; and it appears that this instrument may be the one which was called *βάρβιτος*, and which, according to Pollux, was also named *βαρύμιτος*, that is, with large strings. Hence it was probably a kind of psalter (34). According to this conjecture, the Muse of Aristocles would have held the smaller lyre, *χέλς*, and the one executed by Ageladas the larger lyre, *βάρβιτος*, and consequently the Barberini Muse would seem to point to the latter (35). I have already spoken of the inserted eyes of this statue. Suidas, by mistake, calls the sculptor of this statue Geladas, instead of Ageladas, — an error not noticed by Küster in the latest edition of that author's works (36).

31. I do not wish to decide whether the statues of Castor

and Pollux, executed by Hegesias, which formerly stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, are the same with those which now stand in colossal grandeur on the Campidoglio, though it is certain that they were discovered on this hill (37). A certain hardness observable in that portion of these figures which is ancient, and which was characteristic of the workmanship of Hegesias, might lead to some conjecture, and we should consequently be obliged to refer these statues to the period of the more ancient style, because this artist appears to have lived prior to Phidias (38).

32. The coins also of Gelo, king of Syracuse, testify to the art of this period, and one of them, in gold, is among the most ancient existing coins in this metal. The age of the most ancient Athenian coins cannot be determined, but the style of the workmanship is enough to refute the assertion of Father Hardouin that none of them were stamped prior to the time of Philip, king of Macedon, for the impression on some of them is very ill-shaped. The most beautiful coin of Athens which I have seen is a so-called *quinarius* in gold; it is in the royal Farnese museum of the king of Sicily, and it refutes Boze's assertion, who pretends that there is not a single Athenian gold coin in existence. The name  $\text{ΙΕΡΩΝ}$  on the breast of a youthful head in the Campidoglio, which from this circumstance has been claimed to be a likeness of Hiero of Syracuse, is unquestionably modern (39).

33. The author possesses a beautiful silver coin on the obverse side of which is impressed an old bearded head, with the circumscription,  $\Theta\text{ΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ}$ , "Themistocles the Athenian"; on the reverse side, a Victoria stands upon the fore part of a vessel, with the circumscription,  $\text{ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ}$ , "Against the Persians." But this coin is manifestly spurious, and a work of modern times; the deception is betrayed partly by the drawing of the head, and partly by the form of the front part of the vessel, — the like of which is to be found on no one ancient work, — as well as through the lines of the letters, which ought necessarily to have a far more ancient look. I take the occasion to notice a four-sided piece of marble in the Negroni villa which tapers downwards, and which must formerly have supported the head of Themistocles, as proved by his name engraved into it,  $\Theta\text{ΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ Ο ΝΑΥΜΑΧΟΣ}$ , "Themistocles the sea-hero."

34. As regards chronological succession, this is also the place to mention two busts of Herodotus, in the Farnesina. On both of them the names are engraved in the true ancient Greek writing, but they have been placed there at a later period, and it is singular that there is little resemblance between them (40), except perhaps in the beard. The same remark is to be made in regard to the heads of Euripides, for the bust, of which a copy, taken from Bellori's *Portraits of Celebrated Persons*, is prefixed by Barnes to his edition of the tragedies of this poet, and which is no longer in Rome, has nothing in common with a bust in the Farnesina on which stands the ancient name of Euripides. To this head two others in the same place are perfectly similar.

## CHAPTER II.

ART FROM THE TIME OF PHIDIAS TO THE TIME OF  
ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

1. THE period in which the arts attained their greatest growth in Greece is the fifty years which immediately followed the Persian war, — according to Diodorus the Sicilian. At that time was laid a foundation for the greatness of Greece on which an enduring and splendid edifice could be erected. The philosophers and poets commenced the structure; the artists completed it; and history leads us to it through a magnificent portal. At that time the greatest orators, philosophers, and artists flourished. Among the last the most celebrated were Phidias, and his scholars Alcamenes and Agoracritus, also Polycletus, Scopas, Myron and his scholars Pythagoras and Ktesilaus.

2. It must have amazed the Greeks not less than some few who still know their poets (1) to see, a few years after the representation of a supposed perfect tragedy by Æschylus, a Sophocles make his appearance, who reached the highest limit of human powers not by degrees, but by an inconceivable flight. He produced the *Antigone*, his first tragedy, in the third year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad. Just such a bound art probably made from Ageladas to Polycletus, from the master to the pupil, and it is to be believed — though time has robbed us of the means of judging from their works — that the difference between the Hercules of Eladas and the Jupiter of Phidias, and between the Jupiter of Ageladas and the Juno of Polycletus, would be like that between the Prometheus of Æschylus and the Œdipus of Sophocles. The former, by the loftiness of his thoughts and the stateliness of his expressions, astonishes more than he affects, and in the plan of his fable — which has more of the real than of the possible — he is less a poet than a narrator. But the latter touches the heart by deeper emotions, which force their way to the soul not by the aid of words, but of pathetic images, and by giving to his story the highest

attainable degree of possibility, and by its wonderful complication and development, he fills us with continual expectation, and carries us further than we wish.

3. The happiest times for art in Greece, and especially in Athens, were the forty years in which Pericles ruled the republic, — if I may so express myself, — and during the obstinate war that preceded the Peloponnesian war, which had its beginning in the eighty-seventh Olympiad. This war is probably the only one ever carried on in the world in which art — which is very sensitive — not only suffered nothing, but even distinguished itself more than ever. It is to be regarded as the little quarrels which are wont to arise between lovers, whose affection for each other they refine and strengthen. In this war all the powers of Greece were completely and wholly developed; and as Athens and Sparta were seeking and setting in motion every imaginable means of directing a decisive preponderance to one side or the other, the talent of every one manifested itself, and the thoughts and hands of all men were employed, and the Athenians showed the greatness of their genius at that time, when they were reduced to great straits, just as wild beasts exert all their energies when beset on every side.

4. Nevertheless at all times during the war the artists looked forward to the great day when their works should be exhibited before the eyes of every Greek. For all hostilities ceased when, at the expiration of four and three years respectively, the time of the Olympic and Isthmian games drew near, and the Greeks, exasperated against each other, met together to share in the general joy at Elis or Corinth, where even they who were banished from their native land were permitted to appear, and who, in gazing upon the flower of the nation, which was seeking to distinguish itself, forgot the past, and looked not to the future.

5. In a similar manner, we find that the Lacedæmonians made a truce of forty days on account of the occurrence of a festival which was celebrated in honor of Hyacinthus (2). But in the war between the Ætolians and the Achæans, — in which the Romans participated, — the Nemæan games were not celebrated for some time. The usages at these games were so unrestrained as not to require concealment of any part of the body of the athletes, — a source of instruction from which

the artists generally profited ; for the apron about the lower part of the trunk had been done away long before this time, and Acanthus is said to have been the first who ran at Elis without an apron, in the fifteenth Olympiad. There is therefore no ground for the assertion, made by a certain author (3), that this entire nudity at the games came into use between the seventy-third and seventy-sixth Olympiads. In the war with the Lacedæmonians eight years are especially memorable ; they form a period which in regard to art may be viewed as holy ; for there is reason to believe that the temples, edifices, and works of art with which Pericles embellished his native land were constructed and executed within this term. The eighty-third Olympiad, in which Phidias flourished, falls also within this period.

6. The hostilities of the war above mentioned were settled in the second year of the eighty-third Olympiad, and, as Diodorus the Sicilian says, there was peace throughout the whole world ; it had been re-established not only between the Greeks and the Persians, but also among the Greeks themselves in the thirty years' league which the Athenians concluded with the Lacedæmonians. About the same time the Romans sent ambassadors to Athens and other Greek cities for the purpose of obtaining their laws ; and Sicily began to enjoy repose through the treaty which the Carthaginians had formed with Gelo, king of Syracuse, and in which all the Greek cities of the island joined ; and the above-mentioned historian says that at that time there was nothing seen throughout Greece but festivals and merry-makings.

7. A state of repose and joyousness among the Greeks, so general, must necessarily have had great influence upon art, and this happy state of affairs is probably the reason why Phidias is supposed to have flourished in the Olympiad mentioned. Herein we find an explanation of the meaning of Aristophanes, where he says of Peace represented as a goddess, that Phidias and she are related, *ὅπως αὐτῇ προσήκοι Φειδίας*, for in this thought—which the older writers quote as a proverbial saying without understanding it—both the ancient scholiast and the later critics with the single exception of Florence Christian imagine that they perceive something which is entirely remote from the meaning of the comic dramatist (4).

8. The death of Cimon gave at last freer scope to Pericles to

carry out his great designs. He sought to introduce wealth and superfluity into Athens by giving employment to all sorts of men. He built temples, theatres, aqueducts, and harbors, and was even extravagant in ornamenting them. The Parthenon, the Odeon, and many other buildings, are known to the whole world. At that time art began to receive life, as it were, and Pliny says that sculpture as well as painting now began (5).

9. The advance of art ensued under Pericles, as did its revival under Julius II. and Leo X. Greece was at that time, and Italy afterwards, like a fruitful soil, not exhausted, but also not neglected, which through special culture pours forth the hitherto locked-up riches of its fertility, and like a freshly ploughed fallow field, which after a soft rain exhales the sweetest fragrance. Art as it existed before Phidias cannot be brought into full comparison with it as it was prior to Michael Angelo and Raphael, but in the former as in the latter case it possessed simplicity and purity; and these qualities are susceptible of improvement in just that degree in which art has preserved itself in a natural and sound condition; in this respect it resembles the nurture of man.

10. The two greatest artists in Athens were Phidias and Parrhasius (6). The former, in conjunction with Mnesicles, built the great structure of Pericles, the Propylæum, although such a work was foreign to his profession. The latter assisted Phidias; he drew the battle of the Lapithæ with the Centaurs on the shield of the Pallas which was carved in ivory by Mus (7). This was the golden age of art, when harmony among its followers aided their labors, and the public acknowledgment of decided merit in any individual rendered jealousy powerless. Such felicity art enjoyed before and also a considerable time subsequent to this epoch. Among the older artists Thylacus and his brother Onæthus, with their sons, worked in conjunction on a Jupiter; a Mercury carrying a ram, in Ægina, was the united work of Onatas of this island, and Kalliteles. Among their successors, Xenocritus and Eubius wrought on a Hercules; Timocles and Timarchides on an Æsculapius; Menæchmus and Soidas on a Diana; Dionysius and Polycles — who was celebrated by his Muses in bronze — on a Juno; and a long list might be made of works of this kind which had more than one father. In the island of Delos there was an Isis on which three Athenian artists, Dionysodorus, Moschion, and Ladamas, sons of Adamas,

had worked, as the inscription on the statue, which is at Venice, shows. There was a Hercules at Rome, in the sixteenth century, which was the production of two artists, as an inscription that was on the statue denoted, and which I found in a copy of Pliny, published at Basle in 1525, containing manuscript notes by Fulvius Ursinus and Bartholomew Ægius, in the library of Herr von Stosch, at Florence. The inscription is as follows:—

ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΟΙ ΒΟΗΘΟΥ  
ΝΙΚΟΜΗΛΕΙΣ  
ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ

“Menodotus and Diodotus, Nicomedians, sons of Boëthus, made me.”

11. Phidias flourished, as Pliny relates, in the eighty-third Olympiad (8). There must be a reason for fixing upon this time, as I have noticed more than once in similar cases. The date at which an artist flourished must be determined either as the period in which he produced his best works, or according to the prosperous state of the times in which the so-called flourishing period occurs, and I have remarked that the present instance comes under the latter more than under the former head. I did believe that Pliny placed the bloom of Phidias in the said Olympiad because he had probably completed at that time the statue of the Olympian Jupiter; but this is a mere supposition on my part not based on any authority. It is more probable that the happy state of the times in this Olympiad determined the period at which the artist was in the height of his fame.

12. In art Phidias was the head and overseer who carried out the grand designs of Pericles; and his name is consecrated in art, because it was raised by his scholars and their successors to the highest stage of excellence. His greatest works were the statue of Pallas in the temple of the goddess at Athens, and the statue of the Olympian Jupiter at Elis, of which I shall soon speak. Both of them were of gold and ivory (9). Some idea may be formed of the splendor of the Pallas from the cost of the pure gold employed, of which mention is made by Pericles himself in a speech to the Athenians; he says that the weight of the gold amounted to forty talents. Now an Attic talent was equal to six hundred Roman dollars, or more than twelve hundred guilders (10). This gold formed the drapery

of the statue; the nude parts, as the head, arms, and feet, were carved from ivory.

13. Phidias had consecrated his art especially to gods and heroes; among the statues of the victors at Elis there was found only a single one from his hand. It represented the beautiful Pantarces — of whom the artist was enamored — in the act of fastening the fillet which was placed around the forehead of the victors in the games (11). An author of more modern times speaks of a Hercules from the hand of Phidias in a small city named Melite, in the Attic territory (12); of this statue however no other writer makes mention. The same writer also says that, in the imperial palace at Constantinople, there was remaining the head of an Apollo, who was shining as the sun, by Phidias.

14. In the same eighty-third Olympiad the five years' truce terminated, and the war broke out anew, but the operations in building were continued in Athens, and labor suffered not the slightest interruption. For in the eighty-seventh or, according to Dodwell, the eighty-fifth Olympiad, Phidias had completed the world-renowned Pallas, which was consecrated by Pericles in her temple (13). Of the statues and other works in this temple, Polemon, surnamed Periegetes, had written four books. A year previous to the dedication of the temple of Pallas, Sophocles brought upon the stage his *Œdipus*, the masterpiece of all tragedies, so that this Olympiad may be as memorable to the artist as to the scholar on account of one of the most perfect works of art.

15. The most celebrated pupils of Phidias were Alcamenes of Athens and Agoracritus of Paros. The former was regarded as next to the greatest artist of his time, and obtained the honor of making the rilievi on the posterior pediment of the temple of Jupiter at Elis, on one side of which was represented the battle of the Lapithæ with the Centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous, and on the other Theseus slaying the Centaurs with an axe. In this particular the translation of Pausanias is incorrect, for the words, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, *the things in the gables*, — which, although in the plural number, signify only one gable, — have been understood of the arched ceiling, *in ipsa testudine*, which no oblong temple such as this had, for the ceiling on the interior was flat. In a similar manner the translation of the following words in a passage just preceding the last gives a wrong

idea, καὶ αὖθις ὁ ἀετὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται, for here again an arched ceiling has been understood, *hic se rursus laqueare in angustum fastigium contrahit*, "here the fretted roof contracts itself again into a narrow point." Pausanias — after having in the first place described the race of Pelops with Hippodamia, which was wrought on the front pediment of the temple — says, "Above, in the pointed part of the gable-end, the river Alpheus was represented." This same Alcamenes was the first to make a triple Hecate, which bore the name of Ἐπιπυργιδία, probably because the crowns she wore were in the shape of towers (14).

16. One of the most celebrated works of Alcamenes was the Venus surnamed "of the gardens at Athens" (15). In the making of this statue he contended for the palm of superiority with Agoracritus; the prize was awarded to him, because in Athens Athenians decided in favor of Athenians. Agoracritus, being grieved by the decision, sold his statue — in order that it might not remain in Athens — to Rhamnus, a small place in the Attic territory, where it was considered by some to be a work of Phidias, because this artist had worked upon several pieces by Agoracritus, who was a favorite with him. The vexation of the artist was so great that he wished even the name of the statue to be changed, and he delivered it to the purchaser with the condition that it should be set up as a Nemesis. This statue was ten πῆχεις, *cubits*, high, and it held in the hand a twig of box, μέλεα, *fraxinus* (16).

17. Here the question naturally arises, How could a Venus represent a Nemesis? And yet the objection has never occurred to any one. The question flows out of the doubt whether the Venus of Agoracritus was nude or draped, and what characteristic could be common to the two deities. In regard to the former question, I answer that it must probably have been draped, because, in the earliest ages of Greece, Venus as well as the Graces was draped; indeed the Venus of Praxiteles, in the island of Cos, was draped. In respect of the characteristic, I repeat what I have shown in another place, and what is afterwards more clearly noted in reference to the statue of a Nemesis in the Albani villa, namely, that Nemesis has been represented with the left arm bent, so that with it she holds her drapery up in front of her breast, and from this bent arm the Greeks derived their customary meas-

ure of *πυγών*, a *cubit*, which was the distance from the elbow to the middle joint of the fingers. This attitude was intended to signify that Nemesis, as the Goddess of Retribution, measures and rewards good and virtuous actions with a righteous measure. We must therefore assume and believe that the Venus of Agoracritus may have had the very same attitude, though with a different significance. The raised portion of the robe in front of the breast might denote that modesty and shamefacedness which Praxiteles afterwards desired to express in his undraped Venus at Cnidus by the hands, with one of which she seeks to cover the breasts, while she holds the other before the private parts. This being supposed as probable, Agoracritus might without making any change whatever in his Venus attribute to it the name and significance of Nemesis. The twig in the right hand, which hangs by her side, would have been the sole accessory needed to render the idea of the statue complete.

18. But at last, in the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, or, according to Dodwell, eighty-fifth, and fifty years after the expedition of Xerxes against the Greeks, the fire of the Peloponnesian war broke out of the previous hostilities from an occasion given by Sicily. In this war all the Greek cities participated. A single unfortunate naval battle gave a shock to the Athenians from which they were unable to recover. In the eighty-ninth Olympiad a truce was indeed concluded for fifty years, but it was also again revoked a year afterwards, and the animosity of the parties continued until the powers of the nation were entirely exhausted. We see how rich Athens still was about this time from the tax which was imposed in the entire territory of this city, as a subsidy in the war against the Lacedæmonians, in which Athens and the Thebans were allied. The whole tax amounted to six thousand less two hundred and fifty talents.

19. In this war, not less than in the preceding, a fortunate destiny presided over art as well as over poetry, and the peace-loving Muses remained undisturbed amid the din of arms, so that both poet and artist produced at that period works of the highest excellence. Poetry was sustained and inspirited through the theatre, for the people at Athens did not permit the theatrical performances to be discontinued; they were indeed considered by them as among the necessities of life, and when the

city at a subsequent period, under the rule of the Macedonian viceroy Lachares, was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the dramatic performances served to appease the hungry cravings of the stomach. We find a notice that, notwithstanding the poverty in which Athens was at the termination of the Peloponnesian war, a certain sum of money was distributed among the citizens, — a drachm to each man, — that they might be able to see the dramatic performances. These, like the public games, were regarded as in a certain degree sacred, because they also were generally exhibited on great festivals, especially those of Bacchus; and the theatre at Athens, during the first year of this war, is just as much known by the contest of Euripides with Sophocles and Euphorion, of which the tragedy of *Medea* was the subject, — which was regarded as the best production of the first of the three, — as the Olympic games which immediately followed it are through Doræus of Rhodes, son of the celebrated Diagoras, who obtained the victory and the prize (17). Plutarch asserts that the representation of the *Bacchantes*, the *Phænissæ*, the *Ædipus*, the *Antigone*, the *Medea*, and the *Electra* cost the Athenians more than the war against the Persians in defence of their freedom. In the third year after the representation of the *Medea*, Eupolis produced his comedies, and Aristophanes his *Wasps*, in the same Olympiad. In the following Olympiad, namely the eighty-eighth, the latter brought out two other pieces, called the *Clouds* and the *Acharnenses*.

20. In the beginning of this war, art produced its greatest and most complete work, a work which has in all ages redounded to its glory, namely, the statue of the Olympian Jupiter at Elis, which Phidias, after having completed the Pallas before mentioned, undertook with the aid of another sculptor, named Kolotes, when he retired to Elis, being obliged to flee from Athens. Like the Pallas, it was composed of ivory and gold, and was sixty cubits (87 ft.) high. In after ages, when the joints in the ivory had opened, they were closed anew by Damophon, a sculptor of Messena, and in acknowledgment of the service he received from the citizens of Elis public testimonials of honor (18).<sup>1</sup> This same Olympiad — in which the Peloponnesian war began — is given by Pliny as the time in which the celebrated sculptors, Polycele-

<sup>1</sup> Plate I.





tus, Scopas, Pythagoras, Ktesilaus, and Myron, were in the fulness of their fame.

21. Polyclethus, who together with Phidias acquired the highest reputation among the artists named, worked principally in bronze, like his master, Ageladas (19). In his art he was a lofty poet, and he strove to elevate the beauty of his figures above the actual beauty of nature; hence his imagination was occupied principally with youthful figures, so that his genius probably displayed itself in the loveliness of a Bacchus and the spiritual bloom of an Apollo more than in the strength of a Hercules or the maturity of an Æsculapius. This was the reason why those who sought to find fault with his works desired more expressiveness, that is, a more emphatic rendering of the parts of his figures.

22. The grandest and most celebrated work of Polyclethus was the colossal statue of Juno of ivory and gold at Argos, and the noblest in art were two statues of youthful male figures. One of them bore the name Doryphorus, probably from the spear which it held; it was a standard of proportion to all subsequent artists (20), and Lysippus disciplined himself by studying it. The other is known under the name Diadumenus, *He who binds a ribbon around his head*; <sup>1</sup> such was the Pantarces of Phidias, at Elis (21). It is asserted that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was at Florence a statue with the name of this artist.

23. Besides many other statues by Polyclethus two figures in bronze, of moderate size, were celebrated. They represented Kanephoroi, that is, virgins who at the festivals of Ceres carried in wicker-baskets upon their heads certain holy things consecrated to Pallas, Ceres, and other deities. Two Kanephoroi, placed opposite one to the other, are found in a rilievo of terra cotta; now as the drawing of them is in the more ancient style, I have supposed that they may perhaps be a copy of those two figures in bronze, especially since the originals were carried away by Verres from the city of Messina in Sicily, and brought to Rome. As the figures by Polyclethus were very celebrated, we may reasonably believe that drawings and models were frequently taken from them; and in fact the rilievo in question, belonging to the sculptor Cavaceppi, which will appear in my *Ancient Monuments* (22), indicates

<sup>1</sup> Plate II.

the style of this period, in which there is still visible a certain hardness, especially in the disposition and folds of the drapery.

24. Also a figure of a boy, in the Barberini palace (23), who is biting the arm of another figure which is lost, might appear to be a copy of a work of Polycletus. This work represented two boys playing with bones, and it was known by the name *ἀσπραγαλίζοντες*, *the boys playing with bones*. If we wish to make a more particular application of this work, we might suppose it to denote Patroclus, the friend of Achilles, who when a boy unintentionally killed his playfellow, Klysonymus, in a dispute about a game of dice. For a long time I regarded the figure in question which with both hands carries another's arm to its mouth, as a piece difficult to be explained, and it is declared to be so in the *Preface to the Description of the Engraved Gems in the Stosch Cabinet*, until I happened to observe a play-bone in the hand of the lost figure. We see therefore that there were two boys, one of whom is biting the arm of the other to make him drop the bone from his closed hand (24).<sup>1</sup> Paralus and Xanthippus, the sons of Polycletus, did not equal their father in skill (25).

25. Scopas was a native of the island of Paros. An undraped Venus by him, which was at Rome, was preferred to the statue of the same goddess by Praxiteles. According to Vitruvius, he is said to have ornamented with works of his art the Mausoleum, that celebrated sepulchre erected by Artemisia, queen of Caria, to her husband Mausolus, whose death is placed in the one hundred and sixth Olympiad. Pliny says that he worked on the eastern side of it. But as Scopas flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and as from this point unto the building of that sepulchre there is a lapse of nearly twenty Olympiads, that is, eighty years, I am unable to make the two statements agree; and it is impossible to remove the contradiction except by supposing two sculptors of the same name (26).<sup>2</sup> A still greater contradiction was found in the notices of Scopas, which neither Salmasius nor any other writer has been able to set aside. It was occasioned by an error in the text of Pliny, who stated that in the temple of Diana at Ephesus there were thirty-six columns *cœlatæ uno a Scopâ*, "carved by one Scopas." This would be a still greater interval than the former; and besides it has not been well

<sup>1</sup> Plate III.

<sup>2</sup> Plate IV.





considered that the workmanship on columns belongs not to sculptors, but to stone-cutters. If one should read, as I have proposed in my *Ancient Monuments*, *cælatae uno e scapo*, that so many columns were cut from one piece or block, all the difficulties will be removed (27).

26. By some, the group of Niobe was ascribed to Scopas; by others, to Praxiteles, and a Greek inscription announces the latter sculptor as the artist of it. If the group of which Pliny speaks is the same which has been preserved and is now in Rome, the probability is greater in favor of Scopas, as he lived a considerable time prior to Praxiteles, whilst the lofty beauty in the conception of the heads, — of which I have before given some idea, — and the pure simplicity of the drapery, especially in the two younger daughters, lead us to infer an earlier period. But if we should assume that this work is a copy of the statues of Scopas, — inasmuch as two of the figures of the group are not from the same hand, and are in fact less deserving of admiration, and repetitions of other figures of the group are also to be found in Rome, — we shall have a close imitation of the style of the original, and our judgment may be just as correct in the latter as in the former case (28).

27. But in ancient times there was in Rome another Niobe, of the same size and probably in the same attitude, as we can perceive from a plaster-cast of a head the marble original of which has gone one knows not whither (29). This head shows characteristics of a later style, which might point to the age of Praxiteles; for while the bones of the socket of the eye and the eyebrows of the Niobe in marble are rendered with a perceptible sharpness, in the plaster-cast they are treated roundly, as on the head of the Meleager in the Belvedere (30). This mode of handling is productive of more grace, of which in sculpture Praxiteles was the father; the hair also is more elaborated than in the marble Niobe; this head therefore might be a preserved fragment of a Niobe executed by him, and to which the epigram quoted was consequently intended to apply.

28. This group should consist, in addition to Niobe and Amphion her husband, of seven sons and an equal number of daughters; but statues are missing both from sons and daughters. Two of the sons are, according to all appearance, the two celebrated Athletes, as they are called, in the Grand Ducal gallery at Florence. These two figures were considered as

sons of Niobe at the time of their discovery and while their heads, which were afterwards found, were still wanting (31). For in a rare engraving of the year 1557 I find them presented under the title *Sons of Niobe*, because, as I suppose, they were disinterred at the same time with the other statues of the group, and in precisely the same spot, — as Flaminio Vacca testifies in his account of the discoveries made in his time. The fable itself renders this probable ; for the elder sons were slain in the fields by Apollo, while they were practising horsemanship, but the younger while they were contending with each other in gymnastic sports. Art indeed furnishes a confirmation of the narrative in the similarity of style and execution between these and the other figures of the Niobe, — a similarity that is especially manifest in the heads, the execution of which resembles, even in the hair, the workmanship on the other sons of the group. The ears also, which are of the usual form, would prove them not to be two athletes of the Games ; for as they have thrown themselves upon the ground, as the Pancratiasts were wont to do, — a point in which these latter differed from common athletes, who fought standing, — those figures should also have Pancratiast ears. These struggling sons of Niobe may be called a *Symplegma*,<sup>1</sup> — that is, a couple of athletes who are twisted about each other in wrestling, — as Pliny terms one pair of athletes, executed by Kephissodotus, and another, by Heliodorus. Two figures standing near each other cannot however be designated by this name, as Gori believed, when he applied the term *Symplegma* to two small figures in bronze, male and female, standing one in front of the other behind a plough, in the museum of the Roman college.

29. To the elder sons belongs the horse, beneath which the dust that rises under a horse's step was signified, at the time of its restoration, on the stone upon which the horse rests. I have said that two of the figures could not be from the hand of one and the same master ; the assertion would apply to the aged male figure, which is habited after the manner of barbarian nations. This figure represents a tutor or governor of the children of Niobe ; and two similar figures, dressed in precisely the same way, may be seen on a rilievo in the Borghese villa which represents this very fable, and has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. Such a garb denotes foreign servants and

<sup>1</sup> Plate XI.





slaves, among whom were selected those who were intrusted with the superintendence of children ; of this class was Zopyrus, whom Pericles relinquished to Alcibiades (32).

30. In the ruins of what were once the Gardens of Sallust, in Rome, there were found some figures in rilievo, and of the size of life, which likewise depicted the story of Niobe ; and we are assured by Pirro Ligorio, who mentions the fact in his manuscripts in the Vatican library, that the execution of them was very beautiful. A rilievo in the gallery of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, in England, presents the same fable. In the catalogue of this gallery, it is stated that its weight amounts to three thousand English pounds, as if the weight determined its merit. It contains twenty figures ; among them are seven daughters and seven sons. The former are standing or lying ; some of the latter sit on horses, which are wrought in so high relief that the head and neck are entirely detached from the ground-service. Apollo and Diana are not found among the figures. Among the drawings in the museum of his Highness the Cardinal Alexander Albani, in that collection which was made by the celebrated commendator Del Pozzo, there is to be found a drawing of a rilievo representing this fable, likewise composed of twenty figures, not including the horses. This drawing I believe to have been made from that work before it was carried from Rome. According to Apollodorus, there are seven sons and as many daughters represented ; in front of them stands Niobe, attempting to shelter in her lap the youngest two, Amyclæ and Melibœa, who, according to some writers, escaped death. Five sons are on horseback, and in addition to them there are three aged male figures, who represent their tutors. In the same collection is another drawing, which exhibits a fragment of a rilievo having the same subject with three figures, one of the sons with a wound in the side, and two daughters, one of whom is so placed that her face, and consequently her anguish, is concealed by her raised arm. The same fable was wrought in relief on the ivory doors of the temple of Apollo, erected by Augustus on Mount Palatine (33).

31. Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated artists of this period, as shown by the prize which he obtained at Delphos for his statue of a Pancratiast in competition with Myron, was a native of Reggio in Magna Græcia, the Calabria of modern days, and, according to Pliny, he was the first to elaborate the

hair (34). This statement may help us to determine the age of certain statues. For in some which display great knowledge and skill we notice that not only the hair of the head, but also that of the private parts, is arranged by rows in quite small frizzled curls, precisely in the way in which the hair is executed on genuine Etruscan figures. Two such statues, which may be esteemed among the most beautiful in Rome, may be found in the hall of the Farnese palace; and yet the hair shows the formal style of execution, as proof of a system which had departed from nature. On a few other figures bearing the characteristics of the best epoch of art, we again observe but slight elaboration of the hair; examples of the kind may be found in the sons and daughters of Niobe, and also in Niobe herself. Since then Pythagoras was the first to finish the hair with greater care, and probably with more pleasing freedom, we may infer that statues of both kinds — those with the hair finished in the so-called Etruscan style, and those with the hair carelessly wrought — cannot have been made after this artist's time; consequently they must be viewed either as contemporaneous with him, or of an earlier date; and hence it is rendered probable that the group of Niobe is to be attributed to Scopas rather than to Praxiteles.

32. Among the artists of this period, Ktesilaus is less celebrated than others, and yet he was one of the three sculptors who obtained a prize for the statues of Amazons, intended for the temple of Diana at Ephesus; Praxiteles and Phidias were the other two. The critics have not noticed that in Pliny his name is sometimes written Ktesilaus, and sometimes Ktesilas. It must however be one and the same person, because in the passage where he names him Ktesilas a statue of Pericles by his hand is mentioned with high commendation (35).<sup>1</sup>

33. Among the works of Ktesilaus, the statue of a wounded man, probably a hero, was especially celebrated, "in which the spectator could perceive how much life was still remaining in him." I presume this figure to have been that of a hero, because the artist never condescended to any unworthy subject, it being his great merit, according to Pliny, "to make noble men appear still more noble." On this account also the statue of the so-called *Dying Gladiator* which is attributed by many to Ktesilaus, cannot be from his hand, because it represents a per-

<sup>1</sup> Plate V.





son of common condition, and one who had led a life of toil, as the face, one antique hand, the feet, and the soles of the feet denote (36).<sup>1</sup> The statue lies upon an oblong shield, upon which is thrown a broken horn; and about the neck of it is placed a cord, with a knot beneath the chin. This figure cannot represent a gladiator, partly because it is not found that, in good times of art, statues were erected to prize-fighters, and partly because no Greek artist of sufficient merit to execute this figure probably made gladiators, as in the flourishing period of art no gladiatorial games were known to the Greeks. It cannot therefore be a gladiator, because he bore a curved horn like the trumpets of the Romans, which, as I have mentioned, is represented as lying broken beneath him (37).

34. But here a Greek inscription informs us that the criers or heralds, *κήρυκες*, in the Olympic games at Elis, wore a cord about the neck, and blew with a trumpet. This inscription, which was on the statue of an Olympic victor, may throw more light on the Capitoline statue. This victor was also a herald, and it is said of him that he performed his office, *οὐθ' ὑποσάλπιγγων, οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων*, *neither blowing a horn, nor having a cord*; for the word *ἀναδείγματα* is explained by Hesychius to mean *ἡνίας περὶ τράχηλous*, *a cord about the neck*. Salmasius conjectures that the heralds placed this cord about the neck as a precautionary measure, lest in blowing they might accidentally rupture a vein. The commendation of the herald in the inscription amounts therefore to this, that he needed neither horn nor cord, but was able to make his unaided voice heard and understood throughout the entire assemblage of the Greeks at the Olympic games.

35. But there is a distinction to be made here between the Olympic heralds and those who were sent from one army to another, and from one city to another. It is not found that the latter carried horns for blowing. The latter usually carried a Caduceus, which Jason also took with him, as a sign of his friendly intentions when, with the sons of Phryxus and with Telamon, he landed at Colchis. Occasionally holding the Caduceus in one hand, they bore a spear in the other, as if to proffer peace or war. Hence from such heralds originated the proverb, *τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἅμα πέμπειν*, *to send at the same time the spear and the wand*; that is, to proffer peace or war.

<sup>1</sup> Frontispiece.

In the museum of the Roman college there is a vase of terra cotta on which is painted a herald with the two signs of his embassy, an undraped heroic figure, crowned with laurel, who as a traveller wears a white hat thrown back upon his shoulders; in his right hand he carries a wand, and in his left a long spear. An engraving of this vase may be found at the end of the third chapter of the *Preliminary Treatise* to my *Ancient Monuments*.

36. Occasionally the heralds, who were also called γράμματεῖς, that is, bearers of the general's orders to the army, carried a spear to which was attached a streamer, ταυρία. This fluttering band is apparently to be looked upon as an emblem of the inviolability of their persons, and probably had similar significance with the band of Apollo with which Homer represents the sceptre of the priest Chryses to have been twined. If the heralds brought back favorable news, then their spears were wreathed with twigs of laurel. From the shield of the statue under consideration we may infer that it is not a herald of the Olympic games, because, the contest in them not being one of life and death, shields were consequently not carried. Now as we know that the heralds of barbarous nations were sent on their errand furnished with flutes and a lyre, in order that they might soften the hearts of their enemies to listen to the message sent to them, we may believe that it was also customary among the Greeks to send off heralds who served as ambassadors, and especially persons who were termed κήρυκες, *criers*, furnished after the manner of the Olympic heralds with a horn, and having a cord about the neck (38); and that they were besides also armed with a shield, for the modern custom of sending trumpeters to serve as heralds seems to have descended from antiquity, and to have been preserved even to our time. In the next place, we know that Virgil says of Misenu, the herald of Hector:—

Et lituo pugnæ insignis obibat et hasta.

“Distinguished by a horn and spear he went towards the battle.”

He therefore was accustomed to carry a crooked horn and a spear. We might here inquire how and why the statue represents a wounded and dying herald. Although I am not bound to answer the question, still, as I believe that I have adduced





sufficient reasons to show that we have in it a wounded herald, I leave it to the reader's consideration whether Polyphontes, the herald of King Laius of Thebes, who was slain by Œdipus at the same time with his master, may not be represented here; or Kopreas, the herald of Eurystheus, whom the Athenians slew when he strove to drag violently the descendants of Hercules from the altar of Mercy at which they had taken refuge in their city. The latter suggestion might have some probability attached to it, as Kopreas was the most celebrated herald in mythologic history; his memory was kept fresh at Athens by annual public solemnities, for the assassination of a herald in the city was deplored there even in the time of the Emperor Adrian. As the face of the statue represents an individual, we might conjecture it to be Anthemocritus, an Athenian herald, who was slain by the Megarenses, and whose death, as Pausanias mentions, excited the anger of the gods against the city of Megara to such a degree that, notwithstanding the kind wishes of the Emperor Adrian towards it, its prosperity could not be restored.

37. Myron of Athens, or of Eleutheris in the Attic territory, was of the same school with Polyclethus. The Myron who made a statue of Ladas, a runner of Alexander the Great, cannot consequently be Myron, the scholar of Ageladas. Among the artists mentioned above as having flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, the latter is the last one whom I, according to Pliny, have placed here. He wrought principally in bronze, and his animals were not less prized than his human figures (39). Among the latter his Discobulus, or *One who throws the quoit*, was celebrated (40). Four oxen from Myron's hand stood around the altar in the fore-court of the temple of the Palatine Apollo, at Rome, built by Augustus; and who is there that does not know the epigrams upon his celebrated cow? among which are two by Anacreon (41). Some idea of her may be obtained from a beautiful cow in marble, of the size of life, which stands in the Aldobrandini villa. Pliny makes mention of the ode written by the celebrated Erinna of Lesbos, upon a sepulchral monument erected by Myron to a dragon-fly and a grasshopper (42).<sup>1</sup>

38. Joseph Scaliger has made an objection, based on these epigrams, to the time in which Pliny places Myron; he believes

<sup>1</sup> Plate VI.

that, as Erinna was the contemporary both of Anacreon and Sappho, he must be older, that is, he should be put into the sixtieth Olympiad ; consequently Pliny, having set the artist in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, has contradicted himself, if the before-mentioned epigram on Myron's cow was composed by Erinna. I am not willing to decide upon this seeming contradiction. But it might be conjectured that Myron flourished at an earlier date, partly from the statues in wood of his making, among which was a Hecate at Ægina, but yet more from the very ancient style of writing used in the inscriptions which were placed below the statues at Elis, executed by this master, — a remark which the historian makes of no inscription on statues by Phidias, Polycletus, or their contemporaries. Further, we might infer that Myron flourished at an earlier period from the fact that he placed his name, inlaid with silver letters, on the thigh of an Apollo in bronze that was at Agrigentum. Now the practice of putting letters on the figure itself was no longer customary in the time of Phidias, and it must consequently be referred back to earlier times. But we know that it was the practice in the time of Anacreon, whose contemporary Myron might, from the epigrams cited, seem to be ; for another epigram by this poet mentions a statue of Mercury, on the arm of which was an inscription that told the name of him by whose orders the statue had been erected.

39. I take the occasion to remark that Myron did not write his name on the Apollo mentioned in opposition to a public prohibition, as some writer unwarrantably asserts ; Cicero, from whom the account comes, says not a word about any prohibition. It is true that Phidias was not permitted to put his name on the statue of the Olympian Jupiter ; but we cannot therefore infer a similar restriction in regard to all other statues. We might in conclusion adduce against Pliny himself his own words in reference to the workmanship of the hair of Myron's figures : *Capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse, quam rudis antiquitas instituisset*, "He did not make the hair of the head and of the pubis better than it was wont to be done in the rude times of antiquity." From this statement it would follow that he lived near to the age in which the execution of the hair was of such a character ; otherwise he would have exerted himself not to be surpassed in this portion of art by the artists of the Olympiad indicated





by Pliny, who had a better knowledge of the execution of the hair.

40. On the other hand, I acknowledge that the praise bestowed by Pliny on Myron, *Primus hic multiplicasse varietatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polycletus*, "He seems to have been the first to introduce greater variety, being more harmonious in art than Polycletus," is opposed to the above conjecture, since he gives him the preference, in point of harmony, even before Polycletus; for if he had lived long prior to the latter, such superiority in art does not seem admissible. The passage itself does not seem to be understood, and Hardouin believes that it means to say that Myron strove to display his skill in a greater variety of forms, or rather, which he prefers, that he was the master of many statues. I believe that the word *numerosior* signifies that Myron introduced more harmony into art, and this is the signification in which the word *numerus* was used not by the ancient Romans only, for it has even at the present day the same meaning in the Italian language; thus, for example, we say, *La maestà del numero Omerico*, "The majesty of the Homeric measure." In that passage in Pliny which speaks of Antidotus, *numerosior* has precisely this signification.

41. Among the scholars of Myron, Pliny mentions one by the name of Lycius, and cites as a work of his hand a *Boy blowing a fire*. We might conceive of it as resembling the figure of a boy — as in a small group in the Farnesina palace, in which an old man has placed a whole pig upon a caldron — kneeling upon one knee, and blowing the fire under the kettle (43).

42. I conclude these reflections upon the art of Phidias and his contemporaries with the remark, that it was a period when the ancient works were less prized than the modern; immediately after the time of these artists the opposite was the case, and justly too. Hence a remark which Thucydides puts into the mouth of the ambassador from Corinth may have its application here: "In art the last, τὰ ἐπιγυγνόμενα, is always preferred."

43. An English scholar maintains that the celebrated *Deification of Homer*, in the Colonna palace at Rome, was executed between the seventy-second and ninety-fourth Olympiads, for reasons derived from the presumed manner of writing a word

on this marble which signifies time (44). If the presumption was correct, and accorded with the fact, then the work in question would be one of the oldest remnants of antiquity and of the high style of art. As he had never seen the piece, an opinion, based upon the style of the workmanship, was not to be expected; consequently he relied upon the mode of writing the aforesaid word on which so much has been written (45). But he was not aware that Fabretti had already remarked and pointed out the error, in regard to this word, of all the learned men who have written upon the work mentioned; but the word stands there as it is wont to be commonly written, namely, XPONOS (46). Consequently all conjectures to determine the age of this work fall to the ground, because they are based upon incorrect observation of the manner of writing the word. On the other hand the work has few characteristics corresponding to the time mentioned; it manifestly belongs rather to a later age, to the age of the Cæsars. The figures are not a span in length, and are consequently too small for the display of beautiful drawing; and there are rilievi remaining in which the figures are not only larger, but much more finished, and more carefully elaborated. The name of the artist, Archelaus, son of Apollonius of Priene, is on the work, it is true; but this is no proof of excellence in art; for the names of the artists are found on very bad works of the closing period of art, as I shall show hereafter. The work in question was found on the Appian Way, not far from Albano, in a place formerly called *Ad Bovillas*, but now *Alle Fraticchie*, belonging to the Colonna family, on which a villa of the Emperor Claudius formerly stood, in whose reign we are authorized to believe that it was made. The *Iliac Tablet* so called was discovered in the same place by a Canon, named Spagna, whilst engaged in hunting; from him it passed by inheritance to the Spada family, by whom it was sent as a gift to the Capitoline museum. The *Reconciliation of Hercules*, as it is called, is of the same size, the same kind of marble, and of a similar style of drawing and workmanship, and hence we may conjecture that this rilievo also was discovered on the spot mentioned above. It was in the wardrobe of the Farnese palace, and through a singular accident it fell to the lot of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, by whom it was set up in his villa.

44. In my *Ancient Monuments* I have pointed out a few of

the errors of learned men in their explanation of the *Deification of Homer*, and I now make a remark which did not then occur to me, that the two bands which hang from the quiver of Apollo down to the covering of the tripod were leather straps, as we learn from the history of Aristomenes, the celebrated general of the Messenians ; he was surprised by some Cretan archers who lay in wait for him, and tied with the straps of their quivers. The errors to which I have referred of the writers on this work are occasioned by the faulty drawing of all the engravings that have been made from it. Thus for example the Tragic Muse, beneath whom is written the word "Tragedy," is on the marble young and beautiful, but the engraving represents her as an old woman ; even the high buskins under her feet have not been noticed. No one has ever found out what it was which the two mice under the seat of Homer were nibbling. It is a roll of manuscript, and the symbolic figure of the *Batrachomyomachia*, *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, is thereby rendered still more intelligible.

## CHAPTER III.

## ART FROM THE TIME OF PHIDIAS TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. — (Continued.)

1. FROM this digression I again return to history, and to the unfortunate Peloponnesian war, which terminated in the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, but with the loss to Athens of its liberty; art likewise, as it appears, suffered great injury. The city was besieged by Lysander and, after its surrender, obliged to submit to the humiliating conditions imposed by the Spartans and their general, who ordered the harbor to be destroyed, and the great wall built by Themistocles, which united the Piræus with the city, to be demolished to the sound of music, and changed the entire form of government. The council of thirty which he established endeavored to destroy, as far as it was possible, even the seed of liberty, by the execution of the noblest citizens.

2. Whilst Athens was suffering under this oppression, Thrasybulus appeared, and became one of the deliverers of his native land. At the expiration of eight months, some of the tyrants were driven away and others were slain, and a year afterwards tranquillity was again restored in Athens by a public ordinance proclaiming oblivion of the past (1). The city indeed became prosperous again when Conon, having stirred up against Sparta the power of the Persians, at the head of a Persian fleet defeated the Lacedæmonians, went to Athens, and erected a new wall between the city and the harbor, to aid in the construction of which the Thebans sent five hundred bricklayers and stonemasons.

3. Art, whose fate had always been the same as that of Athens, now received a fresh impulse, and scholars of the former celebrated masters, Kanachus, Naucides, Dinomenes, and Patrocles, as Pliny relates, appeared in the next, the ninety-fifth Olympiad.

4. Kanachus, a native of Sicyon, and brother of Aristocles,

another celebrated sculptor, was a scholar of Polyclethus. I have before mentioned two Muses, wrought by the two brothers, together with a third one by Ageladas, the master of Polyclethus; all the three have been specially characterized in a Greek epigram, cited above (2). (Book IX. ch. 1.) But it does not therefore follow that these statues were executed at the same time, though we might assume without fear of contradiction that the master and his pupil exhibited their works at one and the same time. Although Pausanias mentions Kanachus as a pupil of Polyclethus, still in another passage he seems to hold him to be much earlier. In this passage, where he speaks of a Diana by Menæchmus and Soidas, composed of ivory and gold, he adds, that it might be inferred from this statue that the masters of it could not have lived much later than Kanachus of Sicyon and Kallon of Ægina, from which it would seem as if he was speaking of a far earlier period than that in which, according to Pliny, Kanachus flourished.

5. But we might conjecture that Pausanias was not thinking of the epoch in which Kanachus actually flourished, but of his opinion, formed from an examination of the artist's style, which, as Cicero teaches us, was hard and stiff, that is, it resembled the style of the works of the older artists. The lesson which we may derive from this criticism is, that Kanachus, notwithstanding he was a pupil of Polyclethus, whose figures, as Cicero observes in the same passage, were more beautiful than those of Kanachus, either did not attain to the perfection of his master, or from caprice adhered to the hard manner of previous artists, so that his figures appeared to have greater antiquity than really belonged to them; consequently that the style of art at one and the same epoch must have been different. The Barberini Muse, mentioned above, will show what idea we may attach to the style of Kanachus (3).

6. Kanachus is especially celebrated for a statue of Apollo Philesius, that is, the *The Kissing* or *Kissed*. Among the statues from his hand I mention two similar statues of Apollo, composed of gold and ivory, and executed by him at Milesia and Thebes, because they bore something upon their heads which Pausanias terms *πόλον*, — a word not understood by his commentators. It was probably a Nimbus, or the circle with which we are accustomed to surround the heads of saints,

and it was given especially to figures of this deity as an attribute of the Sun, even in the most remote times. For we see the Sun thus painted, together with the Moon, standing on a chariot on a vase of terra cotta in the Vatican library, an engraving of which has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. This picture also explains the definition, hitherto not understood, which Hesychius gives of the word πόλος; he says, it is κύκλος καὶ τόπος κορυφῆς κυκλοειδῆς ἢ ἄζων, *it is a ring and circular figure on the head, or wheel*; instead of τόπος, we must substitute τύπος, as every one will perceive. A Nimbus of such a kind was probably also placed on the head of the first statue of Fortune (4), executed by the afore-mentioned Bupalus, at Smyrna, and on the head of a Pallas in wood by Endæus, one of the most ancient artists.

7. Naucydes of Argos placed near the celebrated Juno of Polycletus his statue of Hebe, which like the former was composed of gold and ivory (5). Pausanias does not mention the attribute by which she was distinguished; but we can represent her to our imaginations with the cup in her hand in which she offered Ambrosia to the gods, just as we see her, the Goddess of Youth, depicted on a celebrated beautiful gem, and on two other gems of the former Stosch museum, only with this difference, the figures on the gems are naked, whilst the statue seems to have been draped (6).<sup>1</sup>

8. Not many works of Dinomenes are known, and Pliny notices only the statues of an athlete and of Protesilaus. The latter was, as it is known, the first of the Greeks to spring upon the Trojan shore, and he was slain by Hector; and the figure of him was probably distinguished by a disk or quoit, because he excelled all others in skill in throwing it; on this account a quoit lies at his feet on a rilievo whereon his death is represented.

9. Patrocles, the fourth of the celebrated sculptors of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, was distinguished especially for his statues of celebrated athletes. In conjunction with Kanachus he executed thirty-one statues of bronze, which stood in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were erected in honor of the leaders of the thirty-one Greek cities which shared in the victory obtained by Lysander over the Athenian fleet at the mouth of the river Ægos, and were present at the battle. Artists less celebrated

<sup>1</sup> Plate VII.





than they working in co-operation with them executed in the same place and in bronze different divinities, which after the aforesaid naval battle were placed in the same temple by Lysander, together with a statue of himself, crowned by Neptune.

10. Not long afterwards, namely, in the one hundredth Olympiad, affairs in Greece took another shape, and the order of the states was changed by Epaminondas, the greatest of all the Greeks, who made Thebes, his birthplace, which had previously seemed a small city, greater and more powerful than Athens or Sparta, though the Spartans had been for a brief period, namely, thirty years, masters as it were of Greece. Fear immediately brought these two cities into harmony, and they formed an alliance in the one hundred and second Olympiad.

11. This peace, by which repose was in a short time restored throughout Greece, was brought about by the king of Persia, who, in the Olympiad just mentioned, sent ambassadors to the Greeks, inviting them to unite in a general alliance, and to lay aside their internal dissensions. The whole nation gave heed to his intermediation, and peace was concluded among all the Greek cities with the single exception of Thebes, which did not join in it. The restoration of tranquillity in Greece at this time is probably the reason why Pliny places in the one hundred and second Olympiad the flourishing period of Polycles, Kephissodotus, Leochares, and Hypatodorus. Bryaxis and Timotheus were contemporary with them; of works by the former, there were a celebrated Apollo at Daphne, near Antioch, and five colossal statues of deities at Rhodes; by the latter, a Diana in the palace of the Cæsars, at Rome.

12. Of the brothers Polycles and Dionysius, sons of the sculptor Timarchides, each wrought a statue of Juno, and both of them were afterwards set up in the temple of the goddess within the porch of Octavia. Kephissodotus was honored by his works, as well as by the marriage of the celebrated Phocion with his sister. Leochares displayed his skill in the statue of the beautiful Autolycus, who, even whilst a boy, had been a victor in the Pancratium, and in whose honor Xenophon wrote his *Banquet* (7). He also made the beautiful Ganymedes, whom the eagle had seized in the gentlest manner, seeming as if fearful lest it might do him harm even through his clothing (8).<sup>1</sup>

13. The same period forms the commencement of the closing

<sup>1</sup> Plate VIII.

epoch of the great men of Greece, and the age of her last heroes, philosophers, finest writers, and greatest orators. Xenophon and Plato were then in the prime of their years, and Demosthenes followed them, speaking with irresistible eloquence for his native land.

14. But the tranquillity of Greece was of short duration. A new war broke out between Thebes and Sparta, in which all the Greeks participated; Athens sided with Sparta. It terminated with the battle of Mantinea, in which the Greeks fought against each other in greater numbers than ever before, and Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans, here lost his glorious life after the victory was won.

This victory again and immediately gave peace to entire Greece, which was concluded in the second year of the one hundred and fourth Olympiad. The general repose in Greece at this time, and especially the happy condition of the Athenians, are unquestionably the reasons which induced Pliny, in this case also, to decide upon the same Olympiad as the flourishing period of Praxiteles, Pamphilus, Euphranor, and other artists (9).

15. Praxiteles, in and with whom the second, the beautiful, style of art begins, worked both in bronze and marble, but he is more celebrated by his works in the latter than in the former, as Pliny states, and yet he mentions more works in bronze than in marble. The whole world speaks of his Satyr, the *πρῆξις* *The Praised*,<sup>1</sup> of his Cupid at Thespis, and his Venus at Cnidus (10). Many of his statues indeed were known to the ancients by their epithets; thus if any one named the Sauroctonos, that is, *The Lizard-killer*,<sup>2</sup> it was understood that an Apollo by Praxiteles was meant (11). This statue, to judge from the order in which it is mentioned, must have been of bronze. It probably represented Apollo in his condition as herdsman when he served Admetus, king of Thessaly, as a punishment for having slain with his arrows Steropes, one of Vulcan's journeymen; this event occurred in his earliest youth. When therefore Pliny says, *Fecit et puberem Apollinem subrepenti lacertæ cominus sagitta insidiantem*, "And he made an Apollo of manly age, with an arrow in his hand, watching a lizard creeping near," it seems to me that instead of *puberem* we ought to read *impuberem*, "not yet arrived at maturity."

<sup>1</sup> Plate IX.

<sup>2</sup> Plate X.





16. The first argument is derived from the meaning of the word *puber*, and from the conformation of the figures of Apollo. *Puber*, as it is well known, properly signifies a lad who is on the verge of adolescence, and in whom this age begins to show itself by the appearance of down upon the chin and pubis (12); but *impuer* denotes one in whom no trace of this kind is yet visible. No indication of hair either on one part or the other is visible in figures of Apollo, although most of them have a full manly growth, as for example the Apollo in the Belvedere, for in him as in other youthful deities we see expressed an image of perpetual youth, and of the springtime of life, as we have shown in our reflections on them in the first part of this *History*. In this sense there is consequently not a single Apollo which can be called *puber*; all are *impueres*.

17. My second argument against the usual reading is drawn from Martial's description of the statue of which we speak, for he terms this Apollo a boy:

Ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertæ  
Parce; cupit digitis illa perire tuis.

"Spare, O cunning boy, the lizard creeping towards thee; she wishes to die by thy hand."

My third argument I derive from the three figures, still preserved, which represent Apollo in this way, of which the one in marble, in the Borghese villa, although it has the size of a youth, still shows the age of a boy, and must therefore be termed an Apollo *impuer*. A small figure of this Sauroctonos Apollo is also found in the aforesaid villa, and in both cases the trunk of the tree on which the lizard creeps is preserved. The third of the figures mentioned, which ornaments the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, is three feet and a half high, and is not only the most beautiful figure in bronze which has been preserved entirely uninjured, but it may be regarded as actually the workmanship of Praxiteles (13). It was dug out uninjured, the arms only, which lay near the figure itself, being detached. The diadem which encircles the head of this Apollo is inlaid with silver. The engraving of the figure which I have given in my *Ancient Monuments* is from the Borghese statue, because the shaft of the other with the lizard on it has not been preserved (14). Another statue by this artist would also deserve mention if it were now in Rome and in the Norcia; now

Picchini, mansion, as stated by Francis Schott in his *Travels in Italy*. It is said to be "Good Fortune," *Bonus Eventus*, with a mirror in the right hand, and a garland of wheat-ears in the left.

18. Some writers have pretended that Praxiteles was a native of Magna Græcia, and that he received the right of Roman citizenship; but they have, in their great ignorance of the circumstances of the time, confounded Pasiteles with him. Riccoboni was, I believe, the first to make the mistake, and others followed him. Pasiteles lived in the time of Cicero, and he executed a silver carving in which he represented the celebrated Roscius as his nurse saw him in his cradle with a snake twined around him (15); his name must therefore be substituted for that of Praxiteles in the passage cited. Another carver of figures was the Praxiteles of whom Theocritus makes mention.

19. The sons of the celebrated Praxiteles followed their father in the practice of art, and Pausanias speaks of statues of the goddess Enyo and of Kadmus, which they executed in common. One of them was named Kephissodorus, and he was the master of a *Symplegma*, or a pair wrestling together, at Ephesus (16). The two athletes in the Tribune of the Grand Ducal gallery at Florence deserve to be regarded as the workmanship either of Kephissodorus or Heliodorus (17), who also executed a similar pair of athletes.<sup>1</sup> Another son of Praxiteles was named Pamphilus (18).

20. What Praxiteles was in sculpture, Pamphilus of Sicyon, the master of Apelles, Euphranor, Zeuxis, Nicias, and Parrhasius, were in painting, which now first attained perfection in these artists, since Zeuxis and his teacher Apollodorus are mentioned as the first to introduce light and shade into their pictures (19). Pliny indeed says expressly, that painting did not acquire shape until a few years prior to the time of which we speak. Pamphilus may be compared in certain respects with Guido in modern times, not relatively to their skill, but to their regard for art; for the latter was the first to hold his work at a high price, his predecessors, especially the Caracci, having been poorly paid, as an instance of which I may mention the fifty Roman dollars which Augustine Caracci received for *The Last Supper of Saint Jerome*, and a similar sum reluctantly given to Domenichino for a representation of the same subject.

<sup>1</sup> Plate XI.





The whole world recognizes the immortal merit of these pictures.

21. Pamphilus elevated his art in the estimation of the public by taking no pupils for a shorter term than ten years, and he required not less than a talent for his instruction, a sum which he received also from Apelles and Melanthus (20). Hence it happened that only young persons of wealth and free birth could devote themselves to painting, for among the Greeks generally no bondman was permitted to learn the art of drawing. What celebrity the pictures by Pamphilus won during his lifetime we may infer from that work which represented the Heraclidæ or the posterity of Hercules coming with branches of olive in their hands to seek protection and aid from the Athenians, for the poet Aristophanes, who lived at the same time, introduces it in a comparison.

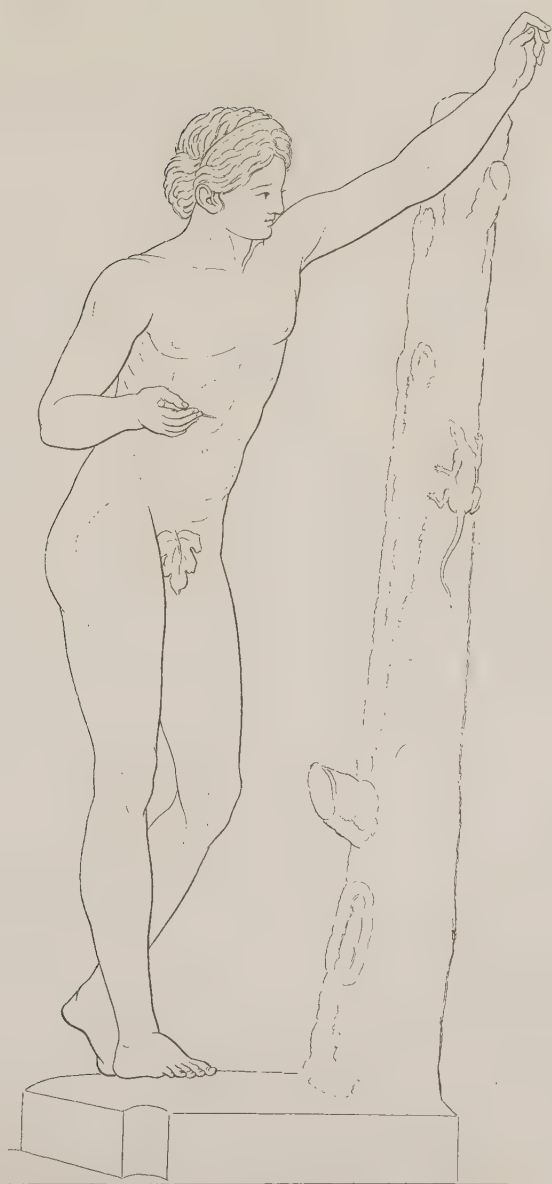
22. The high degree of estimation in which painting was held increased at the same time the prices of pictures. Mnason, tyrant of Elatea, in the territory of Locris, paid to the celebrated Aristides, who was contemporary with Apelles, ten minæ for each one of the hundred figures introduced in the representation of a battle with the Persians: ten minæ are equal to one hundred Spanish dollars. He also gave to the painter Asclepiodorus, of the same period, three hundred minæ (\$3,000) for each figure of the twelve superior deities in a picture. The painter Theomnestus received from the same ruler three hundred minæ for each heroic figure. In subsequent times and under the Romans, Lucullus purchased for two talents<sup>1</sup> a picture which represented the celebrated beauty Glycera, sitting and with a garland in her hand, although it was only a copy from the original by Pausias. The celebrated Hortensius paid for a painting by Kydias, the subject of which was the Argonauts, one hundred and forty-four thousand sesterces, that is, fourteen thousand four hundred guilders (\$6,048). But all these prices were surpassed by the eighty talents (\$94,380) which Julius Cæsar paid for two pictures by Timomarchus, one of which represented Ajax, and the other Medea.

23. Euphranor was not only a painter but also a sculptor, and he is celebrated as being the first to represent heroes worthily, and in his figures he surpassed his predecessors in painting in the attention which he paid to proportion or, as

<sup>1</sup> If an Attic talent, \$2,359 Spanish.

Pliny terms it, symmetry ; but he made them too slender and thin, and formed the heads larger than usual. In his drawing science appears to have predominated over beauty of forms, for the writer just mentioned says that he rendered the bones and joints large, *articulisque grandior* ; and the painter himself leads us to infer that his figures were less pleasing than those of Parrhasius from his remark upon the *Theseus* of this artist, a subject which he himself had also painted : " His, he said, was brought up on roses, but mine was nourished with meat." This remark cannot, as Dati thinks, be understood of the coloring of the pictures. But what Pliny states in regard to the large heads and strongly rendered limbs of this painter was also, as he informed us, a characteristic of the figures of Zeuxis, of which I have already treated in detail in another portion of this *History* (Book V. ch. 4). Among his statues the Paris was especially celebrated ; in this figure he had endeavored to embody at one and the same time the judge of beauty of the three goddesses, the lover of Helen, and the slayer of Achilles (21).

24. Parrhasius of Ephesus was the first to give to the heads of figures a more pleasing character and greater grace, combined with more elegance in the hair ; prior to his time they had a hard and severe expression. His great excellence consisted in the roundness of a beautiful outline, and in light and shade ; in these points he was acknowledged to surpass the ancient painters. But in knowledge of the muscles and bones, and especially in what we term anatomy, he was not equal to himself, and inferior to others : *Minor tamen videtur, sibi comparatus, in mediis corporibus exprimendis* ; so, I believe, must this criticism of Pliny be understood. The exceedingly shallow Florentine, Carlo Dati, mentioned above, who prates a great deal about nothing, translates this sentence as he found it : *Sembrò egli di gran lunga inferiore, in paragon di sè stesso, nell'esprimere i mezzi delle figure*, " He seemed, when compared with himself, far inferior in rendering the middle portions of his figures." In various parts of his book he boasts of having made a free translation of the remarks of ancient writers, yet in this passage, which he did not understand, he adheres to the literal meaning (22). The price paid for the paintings of Parrhasius will prove the estimation in which they were held, for Tiberius paid sixty thousand sesterces, in German money three thousand thalers (\$2,178), for a picture which represented the





superior, Archigallus, of the emasculated priests of Diana at Ephesus, and therefore probably expressed the equivocal beauty of the male sex.

25. Aristotle objected to the pictures of Zeuxis that they were deficient in *ἦθος*, *ethos* (23). Some of his commentators have not touched upon this censure, and others have not understood it; Francis Junius frankly acknowledges himself to be among the latter; but Castelvetro gets into a puzzle about coloring, with which he wishes to explain it. But this criticism of Aristotle can, on the one hand, be understood of the expression in its stricter sense, because *ethos*, when applied to the human figure, would have to be translated by *vultus*, countenance, and denotes expression in the face, the look and movements of the face. Compare with the criticism in question the reply made by Nicomachus, also a celebrated painter, to some one who was finding fault with the Helen of Zeuxis: "Take my eyes and she will seem to you a goddess." From this remark it seems to follow that beauty was the portion of Zeuxis in art. If now we examine the two criticisms by each other, it becomes very probable from that of Aristotle that Zeuxis sacrificed to beauty a portion of expression, and that, as it was his intention to give to his figures the utmost beauty of form, they consequently for this very reason seemed inexpressive. For the expression in the face of the least emotion or passion disturbs the features, and may be unfavorable to pure beauty.

26. But, on the other hand, Aristotle may also have wished to find fault with the paintings of Zeuxis for being deficient in movement and action, a meaning which is also contained in the word *ethos*; for the same objection has been raised by Malvasia, and by those who think like him, against some figures of Raphael; and the adjective *ἠθικόν* is used in this sense by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (24). But the reason which governed Zeuxis may on either supposition be the same, namely, the intention of seeking and depicting beauty in its highest degree. Qualities the opposite of those to which objection was made must however have been displayed in his *Penelope*, for in this picture, according to Pliny, he painted *mores*, manners; now it is evident that the historian copied the criticism of a Greek, and translated *ethos* by the word most commonly used without clearly defining his ideas, if indeed he had any on the subject (25). Count Caylus, in giving the characteristics of the ancient

painters, quotes the passage, but without stopping to explain it; he would probably however have been of my opinion if he had compared Pliny's remark with the criticism by Aristotle. The explanation which I offer is illustrated by another passage in Pliny, in which he evidently understands the word ἦθος, in the plural ἦθη, to signify expression; he says of the painter Aristides: *Is omnium primus animum pinxit, et sensus hominis expressit quæ vocant Græci ethe*, "He was the first to paint the emotions, and to express the passions, which the Greeks term ethe." What he was in painting Lysias was in eloquence, to whom Dionysius ascribes ῥητορίαν, the most perfect representation of the emotions and passions of men.

27. The knowledge of art possessed by Nicias had won for him so great esteem that Praxiteles, having been asked which of his own statues he should most value, replied those of which the models had been retouched and improved by Nicias; this is the meaning which I attach to what Pliny says of him. The Florentine (26) already quoted thinks that the historian is speaking of a *polish* given by Nicias to his statues, and quotes a passage from Seneca which relates to the veneering of other stones with rare kinds of marble, which has absolutely no bearing on the subject, notwithstanding the word *circumlitio* is found in it (27). Polish is given to statues by strong arms and strong workmen, who know nothing further; and generally when the sculptor has made his figure in complete resemblance to his model and withdraws his hand, no further alterations are admissible. But the friend of the sculptor, if acquainted with art, can be of assistance to him in his model; and I believe that *circumlitio* signifies the act of going over a model and retouching it, which is done with a modelling-stick. As, in making such improvements, clay is laid on and smoothed off here and there, which is termed *linere*, and as the models of Praxiteles required only imperceptible alterations, the process is designated by a word which signifies a gentle stroking. Hardouin is altogether in the wrong in believing that Nicias painted the statues of Praxiteles with very thin colors, which communicated to them a greater degree of lustre.

28. The remark of Pausanias in regard to Nicias, Νικίας ζῶα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, *Nicias was the best painter of animals of his age*, is not to be limited to beasts alone, but must be understood of figures generally, and of human figures espe-

cially, for from the word ζῶα is derived the general appellation of painters, ζωγράφος. This is true of many other passages in ancient authors where the word ζῶα is used in reference to works of art, as for example in Dio Chrysostom, who, in speaking of gold and silver beakers, says that they were usually ornamented with embossed work, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ζῶα ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ ἔχειν, and, still further, animals were wrought around them on the outside; here also ζῶα is not to be understood only of figures of animals as it is translated, but to be rendered by figures generally. A single passage from Philemon, in Athenæus, is decisive on this point; for the poet, in speaking of a statue in a temple at Samos with which some one had fallen in love, calls it ζῶον, and Athenæus adds that the statue, ἄγαλμα, was the work of Ktesicles. But the diminutive of this word, ζώδια, seems to have a different character, signifying animals, grotesques, and ornaments. When therefore Hesychius says, λύδος εἰς τὰ ζώδια, the Parian marble for animals, he probably wishes to intimate that the Parian marble is the most suitable for such fine work, which is actually the case.

29. The picture which Nicias seems to have valued the most highly was the Homeric *Necromantia*. It represented the principal incident in that Book of the Odyssey which is entitled Νεκρομαντεία, that is, the conversation of Ulysses in hell with the blind soothsayer Tiresias. For this piece the artist refused sixty talents (\$70,740), which were offered him, and, as he had acquired great wealth, he preferred to send it as a gift to Athens, the city of his birth. Prior to Nicias, Polygnotus had twice painted the same fable, and in the same place, at Delphi; in the Albani villa it is found represented in a rilievo, which I have published in my *Ancient Monuments*.

30. But still the best poets and artists who became celebrated in this period had sprung from the stock which had been planted in the soil of proud freedom, and the customs of the people encouraged the utmost fineness and the highest degree of mental cultivation in works of the intellect and of art. In the choicest language, with the greatest rhythm and harmony of measure, with refined manners and a fine Attic wit, Menander, the friend of Epicurus, appeared upon the stage, at once to delight, to teach, and to censure, — the first one to whom the Comic Grace had manifested herself in her loveliest shape of beauty. From the inestimable fragments

which time has spared to us of more than a hundred of his lost comedies, to say nothing of the testimony of writers on the point, we may, when we consider the indisputable connection between poetry and art, and the influence of one upon the other, form some idea also of the beauties of the works of art which Apelles and Lysippus invested with grace.









## BOOK X.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART IN ITS RELATION TO  
THE EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TIMES  
AMONG THE GREEKS (*continued*).

## CHAPTER I.

## ART IN THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

1. THIS period, especially celebrated for the perfection to which painting attained, was finally followed by the epoch of the highest refinement in art and of the last great artists, whereby the reigns of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors were rendered memorable and immortal. The external state of affairs in Greece contributed more than anything else to this result.

2. After the Greeks and especially the Athenians had utterly exhausted themselves by their jealousies and obstinate internal wars, Philip, king of Macedon, gained the superiority over them, and Alexander, his successor, caused himself to be proclaimed head and general-in-chief of the Greeks; but in fact he was master of Greece. When the form of government was changed, the relationship of art was likewise changed. Hitherto its support had been based upon freedom; in the future it was going to depend upon luxury and munificence. To this cause, and to the fine judgment of Alexander the Great, Plutarch ascribes the flourishing state of art during his reign.

3. Under the rule of Alexander the Great, the Greeks enjoyed the sweetness of disarmed freedom without tasting its bitterness, in some humiliation, but in harmony. The jealousy which had enfeebled them was now almost extinguished, and it left to them, as when jealous rage subsides in love, repose and a proud remembrance of their former greatness; for though the Macedonians, the enemies of their freedom, from

whose land it was once impossible to obtain even a useful slave, had become their superiors, still they were satisfied in having stripped Freedom merely of her weapons. Alexander in Persia, where he was seeking adventures and new kingdoms, and Antipater, his vice-regent in Macedon, were satisfied in seeing tranquillity prevail among the Greeks, to whom, after the destruction of Thebes, but little cause of discontent was given.

4. In this state of repose the Greeks surrendered themselves to the indolence and love of pleasure to which they were naturally inclined, and even Sparta departed from its strictness. Indolence filled the schools of the philosophers and rhetoricians, who increased in number and assumed airs of greater consequence, while pleasure gave occupation to the poets and artists, who, in conformity with the taste of their time, sought to give a soft and pleasing character to their productions, as the people in their effeminacy desired the gratification of the senses.

5. As this period was the most fruitful of any in artists and works of art, it consequently requires more circumstantial consideration; but in conformity with our plan we shall confine our attention here, as we have done elsewhere, to statements which teach at the same time something essential in art, and shall omit other details not bearing directly upon the object we have in view. From this time forth we shall have occasion in the *History of Art* to notice also artists who became celebrated by figures engraved by them on gems; and the rare and valuable kinds of stones which were carried to Greece from the conquered kingdoms of Persia seem to have produced in this particular branch of art a greater number of artists than ever before. These therefore, together with the sculptors and painters, will also become the subject of comment.

6. Among sculptors the most celebrated was Lysippus, who worked in bronze, and who alone had the privilege of making the likeness of Alexander, I mean in metal. Pliny places the epoch in which he flourished in the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad. In fixing on this date he probably had in view, as he had done before in the case of Phidias and Praxiteles, the peaceful state of affairs then existing. For in the first year of that Olympiad, after Alexander had returned to Babylon, peace prevailed almost throughout the world. At that time ambassadors from numerous nations went to Babylon, the capital of the

Persian kingdom, and presented themselves to the conqueror of Asia, some to congratulate him on his good fortune, some to carry him gifts, and others still to ratify treaties and alliances which had been made.

7. Lysippus pursued the path to perfection in his art which the greatest men of all classes have always followed ; this path is the one which leads to the source itself, which goes back to the fountain-head in order to find truth, pure and unmingled. The source and fountain-head in art is Nature herself, who, as in all other things so also here, may be lost amidst rules, principles, and precepts, and be beyond our power to recognize. The remark of Cicero, that art is a more correct guide than nature, may be regarded as true in one point of view, and false in another. Nothing removes an artist farther from nature than a system and a rigid adherence to it, and this was partly the cause of a certain degree of hardness which continued to be observable in most works of art before Lysippus. He sought to imitate Nature herself, and followed his predecessors only so far as they had attained her, or wisely elevated themselves above her. He has the reputation of having copied her more than his predecessors did. He proceeded as philosophy and medicine have done in our times ; he began where art began. Philosophy now proceeds on experiment, and infers nothing more than what the eye sees and the compass measures ; man began there first.

8. From the previous remarks we may conclude that since in art there was much that was ideal, that is, as the preceding great masters sought to create the highest and most beautiful, and had made for themselves an image thereof which was elevated above nature, nature had been gradually forsaken, and could therefore no longer be clearly recognized in all its parts. Lysippus led art back to the observation and imitation of nature, consisting principally in the study of what we term anatomy (1).

9. Of the works of Lysippus not one probably has been preserved ; indeed we can hardly hope for any discovery to be made even in the future, because they were of bronze ; for it cannot be proved that he was the artist of the four beautiful bronze horses which stand over the entrance to the church of Saint Mark, in Venice. The loss of the works of this artist is an indescribable one, even in consideration of their number ;

for though it may appear incredible that the hands of a single artist could produce six hundred and ten figures in bronze, which was asserted in Pliny's time (2), still it will always seem as though the equestrian statues of the twenty-one of Alexander's horse-guard who fell in the battle near the river Granicus, and which Metellus carried from the city of Dium in Macedonia to Rome, where they were set up on the porch of Metellus, were works that might have occupied the entire life of a single individual (3).<sup>1</sup>

10. I cannot in this place pass by in silence a statue of Hercules in marble which stands in the Grand Ducal palace, Pitti palace so called, at Florence, on the socle of which may be read engraved, ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (4), *Lysippus made*. It would not however deserve mention if an inexperienced writer had not commended it as a genuine work of that artist. I reject the author's opinion not because I do not hold the inscription to be really antique, — inasmuch as it was found upon the statue when it was excavated from Mount Palatine, as Flaminio Vacca testifies, — but because it is known that such deceptions were practised by the ancients themselves (5), of which I have adduced examples in the third part of the fourth chapter of this *History* (Book VIII. ch. 1), and a similar remark has already been made on the inscription in question by the Marquis Maffei. But it is proved to be an impossibility that this figure was the work of Lysippus, partly by the silence of authors in regard to statues in marble from his hands, and partly by the statue itself, which cannot be considered worthy of Lysippus (6).

11. But the kind fate which still continued to watch over the arts, even during their destruction, has preserved for the admiration of the whole world, after the loss of countless works executed at this time when art was in its highest bloom, the most precious monument, the statue of Laocoön, as a proof of the truth of the accounts which describe the splendor of so many masterpieces that have perished; we say at this time, on the supposition that the artists of it lived in the reign of Alexander the Great, which cannot be proved, though the perfection of the work renders it probable, for Pliny mentions it as a work which must be preferred to all others, whether of painting or sculpture (7). The artists are Agesander, Polydorus, and Atheno-

<sup>1</sup> Plate XII.





dorus, of Rhodes. Of these the third, and probably also the second, was the son of the first. For the inscription on the base of a statue in the Albani villa shows that Athenodorus of Rhodes was a son of Agesander, and the statue of Laocoön renders it probable that Polydorus was also a son of Agesander, because, on the contrary supposition, it cannot be conceived how three artists, I will not say could share, but how they could agree in work on one and the same statue, as Laocoön, the father, is a far more important and honorable figure than his two sons. Consequently Agesander probably executed the father, and his two sons the figures of the sons of Laocoön (8).

12. The statue of Laocoön formerly stood in the house of the Emperor Titus, and there it was discovered, not, as Nardini and others allege, in the so-called Seven Halls, which served as the water-reservoirs for the baths, but in the arch of a hall which appears to have been a portion of the Emperor's baths; and through this discovery we learn the precise locality of the Emperor's residence, as it was connected with the baths. Here stood the Laocoön in a large niche at the end of the hall, which was embellished with paintings; one of them, wrongly styled *Coriolanus*, is still remaining beneath the cornice (9).

13. Pliny states that the three figures composing the group of Laocoön were cut from a single block, for such appeared to him to be the fact, because no joint was observable, not that none existed, since the lapse of two thousand years has finally revealed a joint so nice as to be almost imperceptible. We consequently see that the elder of the two sons was not wrought out of the same block of marble as that from which the father and younger son were cut. Michael Angelo thought of restoring the right arm of Laocoön, which is wanting, and has been replaced by one in terra cotta, and wrought it out roughly in marble, but never finished it; hence it lies underneath the statue.

14. This arm, around which the serpents are twined, was to have been held in a bent position across the head of the statue. It may have been the intention of Michael Angelo, in this approximation of the arm to the head, to render the idea of suffering in Laocoön, from which the remainder of the figure is free, stronger by two combined ideas, and through the repeated folds of the serpents to place the greatest pain there, the ex-

pression of which the ancient artist has balanced with the propriety and beauty which should be the predominant traits of the figure. But it seems as if the arm, bent over and across the head, would divide the principal attention, demanded by the head, as the eye would be attracted at the same time to the convolutions of the serpents about the arm. For this reason Bernini extended the arm when he restored it in terra cotta, for the purpose of leaving the head of the figure free, and of bringing no other part near its upper portion. The two steps below the square block on which the principal figure sits, appear to indicate the steps to the altar where the event happened which is here represented.

15. Among the many thousand productions of the most celebrated artists which have been brought to Rome from all parts of Greece, this statue was esteemed as the highest effort of art ; it therefore certainly deserves so much the greater attention and admiration from later posterity, which is unable to produce anything worthy of being compared with it even remotely. The wise man finds it an inexhaustible subject of inquiry, and the artist of instruction, and both may rest satisfied that though the eye discovers somewhat in this image, yet far more remains undiscovered, and that the understanding of the master was much loftier even than his work.

16. Laocoön is a statue representing a man in extreme suffering who is striving to collect the conscious strength of his soul to bear it. While the muscles are swelling and the nerves are straining with torture, the determined spirit is visible in the turgid forehead, the chest is distended by the obstructed breath and the suppressed outburst of feeling, in order that he may retain and keep within himself the pain which tortures him. The indrawn anxious sigh and the inhaled breath exhaust the belly, and make the sides hollow to such a degree that we are almost able to see the movements of the entrails. But his own suffering seems to distress him less than that of his children, who turn their faces to their father and shriek for aid ; the father's feelings are visible in the sorrowful eyes, and his pity seems to float on them in a dim vapor. The expression of the face is complaining, but not screaming ; the eyes are turned for help to a higher power. The mouth is full of sorrow, and the sunken under lip is heavy with the same feeling ; but in the upper lip, which is drawn upwards, this expression is mingled with one of

pain, which, with an emotion of indignation at unmerited, unworthy suffering, rises to the nose, swells it, and manifests itself in the dilated and upward-drawn nostrils. The struggle between the pain and the suppression of the feelings is rendered with great knowledge as concentrated in one point below the forehead; for whilst the pain elevates the eyebrows, resistance to it presses the fleshy parts above the eyes downward and towards the upper eyelid, so that it is almost entirely covered by the overhanging skin. As the artist could not make nature more beautiful, he has sought to exhibit it more developed, more strained, more powerful; in the parts where the greatest pain is placed he shows us the greatest beauty. The left side, into which the serpent with furious bite discharges its poison, appears to suffer the most violently from its greater sensibility in consequence of its vicinity to the heart; and this part of the body may be termed a miracle of art. It seems as though he wishes to raise his legs, that he may flee from his distress; no part is in repose; even the touches of the chisel are so managed as to suggest a benumbed skin.

17. As this work is composed of two pieces, and not formed of a single block, which Pliny asserts of the group in the Baths of Titus, objections have been adduced against its genuineness; it is maintained that the present Laocoön is not the ancient one so celebrated. Pirro Ligorio is one of the doubters, and, as fragments of feet and serpents larger than nature were found in his time, he would have us believe that the genuine antique Laocoön was much larger than the one now existing; this being presupposed, he makes it out that the fragments mentioned are far more beautiful than the statue in the Belvedere; this may be found in his own writing in his manuscripts in the Vatican library. Others also have brought forward the trifling objection in regard to the two blocks, not reflecting that the joint was not visible formerly as at present. The pretension of Ligorio however is deserving of notice only on account of a mutilated head larger than life found among the fragments behind the Farnese palace, in which we can still discover a resemblance with the head of the Laocoön, and which probably belongs to the feet and serpents mentioned above. This mutilated head has with other fragments been transferred to Naples. I cannot refrain from remarking that a rilievo is to be found at San Ildefonso, the pleasure-palace of the king of Spain, which

represents Laocoön together with his two sons, and a winged Cupid hovering over them, as though he would come to their assistance.

18. Pyrgoteles flourished at the same epoch, and was contemporary with Lysippus. He was an engraver on gems, and like the latter artist enjoyed the special privilege of making the likeness of Alexander the Great. Two gems bearing his name are known; on one of them it is suspicious, and on the other it is undoubtedly the work of a more modern engraver, done for deception. A small bust is cut on the first gem, which is an agate-onyx, somewhat larger than half of the print of it by Picart, and which was made known among the engraved gems published by the Baron von Stosch (10). This bust is not in the cabinet of the king of Prussia, as Natter asserts, but in the hands of the Count von Schönborn, who transmitted to Rome, to the Cardinal Alexander Albani, an impression of the writing, and especially of the name of the artist; the writing was recognized as ancient. But on examination of an impression from it in wax, which was in the Florentine museum at Florence, and of the engraved print, doubts occurred to my mind. The first is in regard to the name Pyrgoteles itself, which is in the nominative case; this is contrary to the usage of the ancient gem-engravers, who put their names in the genitive case on their work, so that, instead of ΠΥΡΓΟΤΕΛΗΣ, we ought to have ΠΥΡΓΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ (11). My second doubt arose from the image itself, which resembles not an Alexander, but a Hercules. The likeness is evident not only from the whiskers, which, falling down from the temples, cover a portion of the cheeks, — an arrangement of the hair not to be found in a single likeness of this king, — but also in the hair upon the forehead, which is short and curly after the manner of Hercules's hair, while on the contrary the hair on heads of Alexander rises with a negligent grandeur from the forehead, and forming a short curve falls down again upon the forehead, after the manner of the upper hair of Jupiter. Moreover it is covered with a lion's skin, which is altogether unusual with heads of Alexander; and it is represented in great sorrow, and lamenting or sighing with open mouth. This circumstance has not been observed by those who wish to find in it a likeness of Alexander, for such an aspect might notwithstanding have been interpreted by the affliction of Alexander at the

death of Hephæstion. But the sadness expressed here can also be explained more pertinently in connection with Hercules and the grief which seized him when he recovered his senses after the frenzy in which he had slain his own children by Megara, and with painful regret lamented his fearful act, for in this manner had Nicæarchus represented him.

19. The second gem, on which is a head supposed to be that of Phocion, is cut in relief, and an engraving of it has been published also by Von Stosch. But neither he nor Bellori had seen it; both had formed an opinion upon it merely from a cast, which was taken from a bad impression in sealing-wax; for the gem itself was in the mansion of Count Castiglione, and the privilege could not be obtained of taking it to Rome for the purpose of procuring a correct cast of it in sulphur. The present possessor of it is the Cardinal Alexander Albani, and I am able to form an opinion upon it because I have it before me (12).

20. The figure on it represents an aged man without a beard; on one side is the name ΦΩΚΙΩΝΟC, *Of Phocion*; but on the lower edge of the bust we read ΠΥΡΓΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, *Pyrgoteles made*. The head is antique, and the former name, Phocion, is probably also ancient. But it must denote the artist; it cannot mean the celebrated Phocion; inasmuch as the names of the divinities were not usually placed beneath the likenesses of them, so also it was not customary to distinguish by their names the heads of illustrious persons. The name of the individual is found on some heads in marble and bronze in the Herculaneum museum, as, for instance, the word ZEYΣ under a head of Jupiter in the older style, on a bronze coin of the city of Locri, in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja, at Naples. But on Greek engraved gems we rarely read the name either of a divinity or of other figures, as I have already remarked in the third chapter of the first part (13). (Book III. ch. 4.)

21. But in the second name the deception becomes apparent from the different forms of the letters in the two circumscriptions, because in one the Sigma is round, that is, shaped thus, C, and in the other it has sharp angles, that is, has its usual form, Σ. Besides, the Epsilon is of a round shape, Θ. Now this form of the letter was not known at the time of Alexander the Great; and finally it is unusual, as we have pre-

viously remarked, to read the name of a gem-engraver in the nominative case, and with the addition of the word ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. One might however bring forward, as an instance to the contrary, a mutilated intaglio gem of the Vettori museum at Rome, on which are to be seen two legs cased in armor, with the circumscription, ΚΟΙΝΤΟC ΑΛΕΞΑ . . ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, that is, *Quintus, son of Alexander, made*. But this is probably the sole inscription of the kind on engraved gems, and it points to a later date, in which artists strove to obtain through their names that consideration which could not be conceded to their merit. This fact is illustrated among other instances by a small tombstone in the Capitoline museum, executed in the worst times of art, on which above the small figure of a warrior is seen the name of the artist, engraved in the following manner, in imitation of the ancient form :—

ΕΥΤΤΥΧΗC ΒΕΙΤΤΝΕΥC  
ΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΗC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

“Eutyches, the Bithynian, was the artist.”

22. After this notice of the most celebrated sculptors and gem-engravers who lived in the reign of Alexander the Great, I shall briefly touch upon certain painters, in reference however only to those points which have either been omitted by other more modern writers, or have not been well understood.

23. Pliny remarks of Apelles in terms of commendation, that he did not suffer a day to pass, *ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem*, — a remark of which readers have generally had no clear idea (14). He means to say that Apelles drew something every day, that is, something in addition to his usual work, either from nature, or even, as we may conjecture, after the works of the older masters, and this meaning is indicated by the word *lineam*. The remark, if understood of his occupation generally, as it usually is, would be deficient in point, for what artist is there in the world who does not do each day at least so much as may amount to a line? Or what kind of praise would it be to say with Bayle, that he used his brush every day (15)?

24. Pliny says of Aristides, the contemporary of Apelles, *Is omnium primus animum pinxit, et sensus hominis expressit, quæ*





*vocant Græci ἦθη; item perturbationes; durior paulo in coloribus*; “He was the first to paint the soul, and to express the emotions, ἦθη, as the Greeks term them; also the passions; but he was a little harder in his coloring.” If the first clause of this criticism is correct, the meaning of it cannot be said to be well expressed; but it might have no other signification than this, that Aristides was the first who had directed his attention exclusively to expression, especially of strong emotions, insomuch that he neglected his coloring, which was hard (16).<sup>1</sup>

25. Protogenes, of the island of Rhodes, who likewise gave celebrity to this period, is said to have painted ships until his fiftieth year. We are not to understand this remark of paintings representing only ships, but it was said he painted ships, that is, he decorated the outside of them with paintings in the manner practised even at the present day. The Pope has in his pay a painter whose special occupation it is to paint galleys (17). The Satyr or young Faun of Protogenes, in which the artist wished to express careless confidence, stood leaning against a pillar, with two flutes in his hand, and was called *Anapauomenos*, “The Reposing,” on account of his posture; the other arm was probably placed upon his head, as in the statue of Hercules which represents him resting from his labors, with the explanatory title, *Anapauomenos* (18).

26. Nicomachus, also a celebrated painter of this time, I mention here for no other reason than that he was according to Pliny the first who represented Ulysses with the usual pointed hat. Consequently not one of the engraved gems, to say nothing of the rilievi in marble, which represent him thus, could have been executed prior to his time.

27. In connection with the remarks just made upon art, and upon the works of these artists, some consideration is justly due to a few likenesses of Alexander the Great which have escaped destruction, since he acquired the title of the Great not less in art than by his wonderful undertakings. No portraits, whether of divinities, heroes, or other celebrated men, have equal claims with his to a place in the history of art; for he is to be considered as a portion of it, because he was from his own impulses the greatest promoter of art that the world has ever seen, and all the artists of his time shared his munificence.

<sup>1</sup> Plate XIII.

His encouragement of art is indeed a more legitimate cause of renown to him than all the trophies erected to his conquests, than all the monuments of his marches through countless kingdoms; for he divides the glory with no one, it belongs to himself alone and to his own discernment, and the severest judge of human actions cannot dim its lustre by any censure.

28. It is impossible to maintain that the existing portraits of Alexander were executed in his time; still less possible is it to form any conjecture in regard to the artists. We know that both Lysippus and Pyrgoteles had the privilege of making his likeness, the one in bronze, the other on gems; but the name of the artist who enjoyed the same privilege of making his image in marble is not stated; there was no sculptor of the age however who had attained equal celebrity with Lysippus.

29. Of heads of Alexander three are pre-eminent. The largest is in the Grand Ducal gallery, at Florence; the second, in the Capitoline museum; and the third, which was in the museum of the queen of Sweden, is now at San Ildefonso, in Spain. It is known that Alexander carried his head a little inclined to one shoulder, and therefore all portraits of him are represented with the look directed upward, — a circumstance which has been noticed in a Greek epigram on a statue of him executed by Lysippus. A statue of Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was likewise represented with the eyes turned upwards.

30. The disposition of the hair is peculiar to heads of Alexander; among all the images of heroes there is nothing like it; it resembles that of Jupiter, for whose son he wished to pass; that is, as I have mentioned in the first part of this *History* (Book V. ch. 5, § 11), the hair is stroked upwards, then forms a curve, and falls down again in several portions on each side. Now as Lysippus represented him with the attributes of Jupiter, it becomes probable that he may have introduced also into his aspect some resemblance to the deity; and the point of resemblance might be in the arrangement of the hair, — an example which was probably afterwards imitated by other sculptors.

31. If we are scantily provided with heads of Alexander, we are still more so with statues. There is, it is true, in the Al-

bani villa an heroic statue above the size of life, the head of which, covered with a helmet, is a likeness of Alexander ; but the head does not belong to the statue ; and the same remark holds good in regard to statues out of Rome, with which I am not acquainted, to which the name of Alexander is given on account of the head. The only genuine statue of the size of life is probably the one which belongs to the Marquis Rondinini, at Rome (19), for the head, which is without helmet, has never been detached from the body, and has remained uninjured to such a degree that not only the nose has received no damage, — a good fortune that very few heads have had, — but even the skin has not been in the slightest degree corroded. In this statue Alexander is represented heroically, that is perfectly nude ; the right elbow is supported on the right thigh, consequently he stands in a bent position. The hair is arranged also on this head as on the heads before noticed, so that there is not the least difference even in the parting of it from that of the heads in the Capitoline museum and at Florence (20).

32. As the artists justly regarded Alexander as their hero, so also they selected the subjects of their representations from his history, even as they did from the history of the gods and heroes, which is the proper province of art. Among all the kings and celebrated men of authentic history, Alexander is the only one who obtained the privilege of being represented in rilievi of which the subjects are contained in his own history ; for in its incidents it resembles heroic fable, and is therefore poetical ; it was consequently also conformable to art, which loves the extraordinary, and was moreover not less familiar to all than the tales concerning Achilles and Ulysses.

33. When I speak of rilievi I understand those which, like other works of a similar kind, were executed as significant or allegorical representations, and were introduced into buildings or sepulchral monuments, and I exclude public structures on which the emperors caused their own history to be figured. Notwithstanding the poetic and pictorial character of the events of Alexander's life, as noticed above, and the probability that many of those incidents were subjects for painters even after his own age, still we find a representation only of his interview with Diogenes, which shows the latter lying in his tub of burnt clay, and receiving the other beneath the walls of Corinth.

This piece, which is in the Albani villa, has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*.

34. We should have either an incorrect idea, or none at all, of the face of Demosthenes, the greatest orator of his own and all times, whose statue stood at Athens, and whose portraits in bronze and marble were erected in numberless places, if two small busts of him in bronze had not been found among the discoveries at Herculaneum. In size they are less than life; on the socle of the smaller the name of the celebrated orator is engraved in Greek letters (21). Both these heads wear a beard, and have no similarity with a bust without a beard, wrought in relief, and bearing the same name, which was found at Tarragona, in Spain, and published by Fulvius Ursinus, Bellori, and others, as the likeness of Demosthenes; it must consequently represent another person.

35. Although we had reason to believe that the likeness of Demosthenes had been preserved only in the two busts found in Herculaneum, and that no trace of it was to be discovered on any monument in Rome, yet in January, 1768, there came to light a cast in gypsum which had been formed at some earlier period upon a small, but probably lost, work of terra cotta in relief (22). It is about sixteen inches in height, and represents Demosthenes in advanced age, so that the head has a perfect similarity with the busts. He is sitting on a square stone, half nude; his head is bent, and he is in deep thought. In his left hand, which rests on the stone, he holds a scroll; with his right he grasps his knee; on the stone is the name ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ, and under it the word ΕΠΙΒΩΜΙΟΣ, — a word of rare use among the ancient writers. It is applied to what is lying or sitting on an altar. In Pollux, *ἐπιβώμιον μέλος* signifies a song which was sung at the altar. The stone in this case represents an altar, *βωμός*, the very altar in the sacred and inviolable temple of Neptune on the island Kalauria, not far from the coast of Træzene, to which Demosthenes had fled from Athens to save himself from the pursuit of Antipater, vice-regent of Macedonia, and wherein he died in his sixty-second year from poison, which he carried concealed in a finger-ring, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemy. In this plaster-cast therefore we have Demosthenes represented sitting on an altar, and of the precise age in which he terminated his life, and in the sad and desperate circumstances which forced him to

quit the world. From the shape of the letters of the inscription compared with the strokes of the name on the Herculeum bust, it is probable that the whole figure may be more ancient than the heads. At a proper time I intend to publish an engraving of it. In the enclosure, *περίβολω*, of the temple of Neptune above mentioned, the tomb of this celebrated man was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias.

## CHAPTER II.

## ART UNDER THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

1. ALEXANDER THE GREAT, whose death not less than his life is a memorable epoch in the history of art, died in the flower of his age in the first year of the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad; and in a few years after his death, in the one hundred and twentieth Olympiad, Pliny says that art was at an end. I will not inquire whether this statement is as correct as the assertion of Tacitus that, after the battle of Actium, Rome ceased to produce any more great men, or as the fact which we know, that after the death of Augustus the Roman language and eloquence suddenly deteriorated. We might believe that perhaps Pliny had Athens especially in view in making this remark, — a point upon which I shall touch hereafter, — for the subsequent portion of this *History* will prove the contrary in regard to Greek art generally.

2. After the death of Alexander the Great, rebellions and bloody wars arose in the kingdoms which he had conquered, as well as in Macedonia itself, under his immediate successors, — all of whom had died off about the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad, — and continued to rage even under their successors and sons. Greece suffered more in a brief period from the hostile armies by which it was continually overrun, from the almost annual change of government, and the heavy taxes by which its means were exhausted, than from all the previous internal wars of its states among themselves.

3. The spirit of freedom awoke among the Athenians after Alexander's death, and they made a final attempt to withdraw themselves from the mild sway of the Macedonians, and incited other cities to take up arms against Antipater. But after obtaining some advantages they were defeated at Lamia, and compelled to submit to peace on rigorous conditions, by which

they were obliged to defray the expenses of the war besides paying a large sum of money, and to receive a garrison into the harbor of Munychia. Even those Athenians who had escaped from the battle just mentioned were everywhere sought out by Macedonian emissaries, and torn with violence from the temples in which they had taken refuge, and a portion of the citizens were transported to Thrace. In this manner the freedom of Athens came to an end. Polysperchon, Antipater's successor in the regency of Macedonia, made a proclamation shortly afterwards in which he proffered to all the Greeks their former constitution and a government of their own. But his promise was not fulfilled; in Athens the contrary even took place, for the harbors of the city continued by advice of Phocion to be occupied by Macedonian soldiers.

4. The loss of freedom, from which art had as it were received its life, was necessarily followed by its decline and fall on the very spot where liberty had once eminently flourished. Kassander, son of Antipater and king of Macedonia, after having removed from his path the entire family of Alexander the Great, appointed the celebrated Demetrius Phalereus regent of Athens, who for ten full years was able to secure its entire devotion to his will, and the city became once more as populous as it had ever been. From the three hundred and sixty statues in bronze, among which were many in chariots and on horse, that were erected to him by his fellow-citizens during the space of a year, we should infer that wealthy citizens and artists constituted the majority of the inhabitants of Athens.

5. This form of government continued until Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, king of Syria, defeated Kassander and conquered Macedonia. This subversion of affairs was felt also in Athens, for the city was obliged to surrender to the fortunate conqueror; the regent became a fugitive, and took refuge in Egypt, where he found protection with Ptolemy the First. This event occurred in the one hundred and eighteenth Olympiad. He had scarcely left Athens before the fickle and ungrateful people threw down all the statues of him, and caused them to be melted; even his name was obliterated in all places.

6. On the other hand the Athenians showed themselves extravagant in their demonstrations of honor to Demetrius Poliorcetes; a public ordinance was passed relative to the

golden statues which the city desired to erect to this their new master, and his father, Antigonus. We may infer that statues made really of gold are here meant from a similar ordinance of the city of Sigæum, in the land of Troy, in regard to a golden equestrian statue which it was intended to erect in that place to this same Antigonus. But even this costly adulation proved injurious to truth and industry in art, and it would seem as if the flowers rather than the fruits of art were sought for, as according to Pliny the reign of flowers was unknown to the Greeks until after the death of Alexander the Great.

7. The abject adulation of the Athenians found no favor with Demetrius Poliorcetes, who treated them with the contempt they deserved. In consequence thereof they revolted against him after the death of his father, Antigonus, who fell in battle at Ipsus, and Lachares set himself up as chief of the city. In resentment of their perfidy Demetrius expelled Lachares, fortified the Museum, and introduced a garrison into it. Under such circumstances it seemed to them as if they were reduced to actual bondage. In the times immediately subsequent, Athens, once the most powerful of the cities of Greece, had declined so much that when it formed an alliance with Thebes against the Lacedæmonians, and, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war, a general tax was laid throughout the whole Athenian territory upon property of all kinds, upon houses, and farms, and ready money, still two hundred and fifty talents were wanting to make up the required sum of six thousand talents. This state of impoverishment occurred only a few years after the time when they erected to one individual some hundred statues of bronze, — a work which could not be effected at the present day in all Christendom. In this exhausted condition of Athens, in which commerce and trade, the sources of wealth, were dried up, artists found themselves obliged to forsake their most distinguished seat and seek their fortunes elsewhere ; and art itself abandoned Greece, if I may so express myself, for some time, and went into Asia and Egypt. This decline in the flourishing state of art is to be understood of new artists who became eminent ; for those who, like Lysippus, Apelles, and Protogenes, had survived the period in question, are reckoned as belonging to the age in which they flourished. The great change in art for the worse which ensued on Alexander's death is manifested also in the language

and style of composition of the Greeks ; for from this time forward most of their works are written in the common dialect so called, which was never at any time or in any place the dialect of the people ; it was the language of the learned, just as Latin is at the present day.

8. But, before we consider the reception of Greek art and its destiny in lands wherein it had never previously been exercised, the reader may form some opinion in regard to it from two works which were produced prior to its departure from its native soil. These are a coin of Antigonus the First, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, which indisputably belongs to this period, and the great group of the Farnese Bull, so called. I shall take the occasion to speak of the portraits of the celebrated Pyrrhus, as they are wrongly named.

9. The coin of which I speak, and which belongs to me, has been explained in my *Ancient Monuments*. A bad drawing of it, and an explanation equally bad, had been previously published in another work (1), wherein the ivy-leaves encircling the head were represented as rushes, and it was therefore supposed to be a Neptune, and the Apollo on the reverse, sitting on a boat, was transformed into an armed Venus. In my explanation I have inferred the head to be that of the god Pan, as I have also mentioned in the fourth chapter of the first part of this *History* (Book V. ch. 1) ; but an Apollo on the bow of a ship, with a dolphin beneath it, may have reference to his surname, *Δελφίνιος*, because he changed himself into a dolphin when he guided to the island of Delos a Cretan ship, freighted with its first colonists. Apollo is also named *Πόντιος* by Euripides, that is the Sea-god who drives his sea-horse over the waves of the sea. Now as the Athenians ascribed the victory of Marathon to the god Pan, the present coin may have been struck in commemoration of a victory obtained at sea which Antigonus believed that he had obtained through the conjoint aid of Pan and Apollo. The coin is of the size of the engraving which represents it, and, as one of the most beautiful Greek coins, justly deserves mention here as a worthy memorial of the time of which we speak ; the impression on it is very much raised.

10. We may probably attribute also to this time the great work consisting of many figures, executed by Apollonius and Tauriscus from a single block of marble, in the Farnese palace, and known under the name of the Farnese Bull. I assume

this date as the probable one, because Pliny, who has left no information as to the age when these two artists lived, sets this point as the limit within which the most celebrated artists flourished. The story represented by the work is known. Amphion and Zethus, in order to avenge their mother Antiope whom Lycus, their father, had dismissed that he might marry Dirce, are tying the latter to a bull, that she may thus be horribly dragged along the ground.

11. Pliny informs us that this work was carried from the island of Rhodes to Rome, and he mentions the birthplace only of Tauriscus, the city of Tralles, in Sicily. He states at the same time that the inscription which tells their names and that of their father, Artemidorus, also notices their master, Menecrates, but in such a manner that it is left doubtful which of the two the artists acknowledged as their real father, him from whom they had received life, or him by whom they had been instructed in art. The inscription is no longer extant, but the most conspicuous place on which it could have been engraved is the trunk of a tree which serves as a support to the statue of Zethus ; but most of the shaft, as well as the greater portion of the figures themselves, is new.

12. The contrary has been asserted by more than one writer from a misunderstanding, as I presume, of the account given by Vasari. He says, it is true, that this work was wrought from a single block, and was not pieced, *in un sasso solo, e senza pezzi* ; but he intended to say what examination shows to be the case, that it was anciently without pieces, not that when disinterred after its discovery no portion of it was found wanting, though some persons have attempted to draw this inference from his words. The same reason, and a want of skill in distinguishing the new from the old and the Greek workmanship from the additions, produced the crude opinion of a writer that this work is unworthy of a Greek artist, and that we must look upon it as a production of a Roman school (2).

13. The restorations made by a certain Battista Bianchi, of Milan, in the style of his time, — that is, without the least knowledge of antiquity, — are, on the figure of Dirce who is tied to the bull, the head and bust as low as the navel, together with both arms, and on that of Antiope also the head and arms. Of the figures of Amphion and Zethus, merely the trunks and one leg of each are ancient ; the heads appear to

have been modelled by the restorer after a head of Caracalla. The legs of the bull are modern, as is also the rope, though a certain traveller, ignorant of the fact, has thought it deserving of the utmost attention (3).

14. The remaining antique portions of the group, as for example the standing figure of Antiope, with the exception of the head and arms, and the seated boy, who is terrified at the punishment of Dirce, and who cannot be intended for Lycus, her husband, as James Gronow supposes, will undeceive those who have the feeling to appreciate the beauty by which the ancient works of art commend themselves, and justify the honorable mention which Pliny makes of the artists. The great dexterity and delicacy with which the artist handled the chisel are seen in the accessories, and the cover of the wicker-basket *cista mystica*, which is surrounded by a wreath of ivy, and which is placed beneath Dirce to indicate that she is a Bacchante, is finished in such a manner, and so delicately elaborated that it would seem as though the work had been done by some one who in this particular alone wished to exhibit a proof of his skill (4).

15. In the Borghese villa, on the front side of the palace, there is a rilievo, composed of three figures, which represents Antiope standing between her two sons, as shown by the names placed over each figure. Amphion holds a lyre, and Zethus as a shepherd wears a round hat thrown backwards upon his shoulders, after the manner of travellers. The mother seems to be entreating her sons for vengeance upon Dirce. This piece has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*, and I have given a particular explanation of it in the fifth chapter of the first portion of this *History* (Book VIII. ch. 4). In the Albani villa there is a representation of the same scene, perfectly similar to the above with the exception that the names are wanting.

16. There are coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes and King Pyrrhus on which the impressions are most beautiful. On the reverse of most of the former there is a Neptune, executed in the finest manner; and those of Pyrrhus have either a head of Jupiter of the noblest conception, or a beautiful bearded head. Sometimes the former, and sometimes the latter, is taken for the likeness of Pyrrhus (5). Besides the coins of King Pyrrhus a statue clothed in armor, above the size of life, which was

formerly in the Massimi palace, and now stands in the Campidoglio (6), and two heads wrought in relief, which are perfectly similar to the head of the statue, would deserve our special consideration as monuments of art belonging to this age if either the former or the latter were truly likenesses of Pyrrhus, for which they are generally held. One of these heads, of marble, is in the Farnese palace; the other, of porphyry, is in the Ludovisi villa (7); a third similar head is the one which Fulvius Ursinus has published as a likeness of this king. In conformity to the received opinion, Gori has given the name of Pyrrhus to a similar head engraved on a gem in the Grand Ducal museum, at Florence.

17. In refutation of this appellation it is sufficient to mention that the heads in question, as well as the Capitoline statue, have a thick curled beard; now not only Pyrrhus but the other successors of Alexander had the chin shaved; consequently no head with a beard can represent this king. My remark, that the face on coins of Pyrrhus has a smooth chin, was made by Pignorius before me, and Athenæus testifies the same thing of the other Greek kings of his time, and it is what we ourselves see on their coins. On the sole, very rare, large gold coin of Pyrrhus in the Grand Ducal gallery, at Florence, the chin is overgrown with quite short hairs.

18. Now, since the application of the name of Pyrrhus to this statue is not admissible for the reasons mentioned, it might be supposed to represent a Mars, as the head is evidently an ideal. But even this opinion cannot stand, for the images of Mars whether in marble or on coins always show him without beard. I am therefore of opinion that this statue, the head of which bears more resemblance to Jupiter than to other gods, may represent the martial Jupiter, Ἀρείος, who also bears the surname of Στρατήτιος, *The Leader of Armies*, especially as coats of mail were given to other gods besides, as to Bacchus on an altar in the Albani villa, and to an Etruscan Mercury of bronze in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, both of which have been previously mentioned. Since however the hair of the head as well as of the beard differs from the customary arrangement of the hair of Jupiter, and the head of our statue is more like that of Agamemnon on the large sepulchral urn in the Hamilton museum, on which is represented the dispute between him and Achilles in regard to Briseis, it appears to me the most probable

explanation that Agamemnon is figured here, especially as we know that he had a temple at Sparta, and was worshipped there under the surname of Ζεύς, Jupiter, the same title which Gorgias gave also to Xerxes, and Oppian to the Emperor Commodus.

19. The base together with the inscription of a statue of Jupiter, Οὔριος, *Who brings good Winds*, is still to be found at Chalcedon on the Black Sea, for when the statues were carried off the bases were left behind. The figure may have been the work of that Philo whose statue of Hephæstion, Alexander's favorite, was very much esteemed.

20. The image of the celebrated comic poet Menander, published by Fulvius Ursinus, is no longer in Rome, and Scaliger mistakes when he says that the head of it stood over an inscription which recorded the years of his birth and death. This head probably was never so placed. The inscription now stands in the library of the Camaldulenses monks of St. Gregory, on Mt. Cœlius in Rome (8).

21. In the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani there is a celebrated small rilievo which represents the *Reconciliation of Hercules* and his *Apotheosis*. According to the opinion of the learned Father Corsini it must have been executed not long after the above-mentioned coin of Antigonus. He believes himself justified in making this inference, especially from the admirable drawing and workmanship of it; and he ascribes it to a period anterior to that when Greece was subjected to the Romans by Quintus Flaminius. His opinion would not have been so wholly favorable if he had seen the work itself, and had not decided merely from an engraving which was made from it under the direction of Bianchini. The drawing of the engraving is quite tolerable, but the marble itself does not convey the idea of so flourishing a period of art. If my plan allowed me to enter into learned investigations going beyond the boundaries of art, I should have various remarks to make upon the work in question, and upon a full explanation of it. I will merely remark here that the figure of the deified Hercules is represented with one arm placed on the head for the purpose of expressing the repose to which the hero had attained, and the position explained the inscription placed near the figure, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΑΟΜΕΝΟΣ; it should be written ΑΝΑΠΑΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ, *The Reposing Hercules*. This was the manner in

which the ancient artists sought to express in standing or seated figures partly repose, and partly a soft, effeminate character. This is its signification in a limited degree in different statues of Apollo and Bacchus, and in a standing Hermaphrodite in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. We see also in the celebrated torso of a Hercules in the Belvedere, by Apollonius, that the left arm was placed upon the head, — a position that confirms the idea which I have given of this work. Whatever other remarks I may have to offer upon the work mentioned above will be found in my *Ancient Monuments*.

22. After all the free cities of Greece had become enfeebled, and been humiliated by the loss of their liberty, as I have related, art of course found neither support nor encouragement in its native land. It lay forgotten, as it were, in the midst of its citizens, and according to all appearance would have utterly perished in Greece. Under such circumstances it was invited to Egypt by the Ptolemies, and to Asia by the Seleucidæ, and by them so honored and rewarded that it seemingly acquired fresh vigor on a new soil.

23. The greatest patrons of forsaken Greek art were the Greek kings of Egypt, the successors of Alexander the Great; and Ptolemy Soter, the first of the name, received with a welcome not only Greek artists but also other deserving persons who had abandoned their native land. Among the latter was Demetrius Phalereus, who was compelled to flee from Athens where he had been ruler for a considerable length of time, as I have mentioned; and among the former Apelles, the head of Greek art. This king and his successors were the richest and most powerful of all those who had divided among themselves the conquests of Alexander the Great. They maintained — if we may trust the authority of Appian of Alexandria — an army of two hundred thousand infantry, and thirty thousand cavalry; they had three hundred elephants equipped for war, and two thousand war-chariots. Their navy was not less powerful; the same author speaks of twelve hundred vessels having three and five banks of oars.

24. Under Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second of these Greek kings, Alexandria became almost what Athens had been; for the greatest scholars and poets, forsaking their fatherland, found good fortune there. Here Euclides of Megara taught geometry; here Theocritus, the poet of tenderness, sang Doric

pastorals; and Kallimachus praised the gods with a learned tongue. The magnificent show which this king made at Alexandria enables us to form some idea of the great number of Greek artists in Egypt, for hundreds of statues were carried about in it which were not probably borrowed from the temples; and in a large tent, erected specially for the festival, lay a hundred different animals in marble, executed by the most distinguished artists. But of all the artists there not one is known to us by name except Satyrius, who cut in crystal a likeness of Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

25. Under the first Ptolemies works displaying the finest Greek art appear to have been executed, wrought from Egyptian stones, that is, basalt and porphyry. Of these, with the exception of two figures, there remain only fragments, which are wonderful in regard to workmanship, and far exceed all efforts of modern skill. Neither the workmanship nor the style of the drawing allows us to ascribe such works to the age of the Emperors, who, as rulers of Egypt, caused such stones to be transported to Rome, but neither could they have been executed prior to the time of the Ptolemies, for it is not to be believed that the Greeks carried Egyptian stones to Greece. Pausanias moreover mentions no statue either of basalt or porphyry.

26. My opinion in regard to works in basalt is based upon two heads, which may be regarded as the highest limit of art in a stone of steel-like hardness. The one which I possess is of blackish basalt, but it lacks the chin, together with the cheek-bones and nose. The other, somewhat larger than life, is of greenish basalt, and perfectly preserved even to the nose. It was once in the Verospi family, but is now in the museum of the knight of Breteuil, ambassador plenipotentiary at Rome from the Order of Malta.

This head which, like the former, represents a beautiful young man, was formerly, as we can see, mortised into the shoulders of a statue, and, as it has Pancratiast ears, we may believe that we see in it the likeness of a victor in the great Greek games whose statue had been erected at Alexandria, his native place.

27. This statue cannot have represented one of those victors whose name was given to the Olympiad in which they had obtained the prize, because that honor, the highest in the gift of

the people, was bestowed only upon those who had won the victory in the chariot-race, that is, those who had been victors in the stadium (9). Under the first Ptolemies, four winners of this highest prize were from Alexandria, Perigenes in the one hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, Ammonius in the one hundred and thirtieth, Demetrius in the one hundred and thirty-seventh, and Krates in the one hundred and forty-first. As the head of which we speak represents an athlete or Pancratiast of Alexandria, and Kleoxenus of Alexandria obtained the victory in the one hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad (10) as competitor in the Olympic games, and Phædimus from the same city, as a Pancratiast, in the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, it may be a likeness of either. Now since the city of Alexandria, in imitation of other Greek cities, probably showed particular honor, and erected a statue, to the citizen who first won a victory as an athlete in the Olympic games, such a statue would also have been an object of note in the place, and it is likely that when Claudius carried the first statues of porphyry to Rome, as I have mentioned, he carried off at the same time the very statue of basalt of which we now speak.

28. For the reasons adduced, I believe that the other mutilated head of blackish basalt, of which the chin, cheek-bones, and nose are wanting, and which is executed in a style entirely similar to the other, only more artistically in the hair, likewise represents an Alexandrian conqueror in the Olympic games. The ears however are different from those, being of the usual shape; consequently the statue to which this head belonged would not represent a victorious athlete, but a conqueror in the chariot-race, and one of the first four Alexandrian victors.

29. In the second and fourth chapters of this *History* (Books II. ch. 4, and VIII. ch. 1), I have already made mention of works of Greek art in porphyry, and I now touch upon them here only because they may partly be considered as works of this era, — which are at the present day exceedingly rare, — and also because they were anciently less numerous than those of marble, the extreme hardness of the stone rendering the working of it uncommonly difficult. The statues of porphyry now in Rome, and which were brought from Egypt by the Emperor Claudius and only by him, as Pliny states, were

probably executed by the first and best artists who went from Greece to Alexandria. A beautiful stump of a Pallas stands on the ascent to the Campidoglio (11); a Pallas with a marble head is in the Medici villa (12); and the most beautiful statue not only in porphyry, but one may even say among the most beautiful of antiquity, is a presumed Muse larger than life in the Borghese villa; it is called by others a Juno on account of the diadem which it wears; the drapery is a prodigy of art (13). Statues of porphyry however were wrought also in Rome, as a bust having a coat of mail in the Farnese palace shows, which is merely roughed out, not finished. It was found in the Campus Martius, at Rome, as Pirro Ligorio relates in his manuscripts in the Vatican library. Several statues of captive kings, wrought from this stone, may be found in the Borghese and Medici villas and elsewhere which were probably executed in Rome itself.

30. The Alexandrine coins were celebrated for the beauty of their impression, insomuch that the coins of Athens compared with them appeared to be coarsely and unskilfully executed; in fact most of the Athenian coins belong either to the earliest times, or have a bad impression.

31. From these works I infer that the Greek art of this age in Egypt had not yet been spoilt by the corrupt taste which disheartened and debased the Greek poetic art at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, generating a pestilence termed *pedantry*, which afterwards broke out among the Romans, and also in the last century spread through all Europe. Kallimachus and Nicander, members of the so-called *Pleiades* or seven-starred constellation of poets at Alexandria, strove to appear rather as learned men than as poets, and the latter, still more than the former, delights only in old, strange, unusual words and expressions, collected even from the lowest dialects of all the different Greek nations; Lycophron in particular preferred to seem possessed rather than inspired, and to be understood with labor and pain rather than to please. He is also to be considered the first poet who sported with anagrams (14). Other poets constructed with their verses altars, flutes, axes, and eggs; even Theocritus lowered himself by punning. But it is astonishing that the commonest rules of the language were very frequently violated by Apollonius Rhodius, one of the same *Pleiades*.

32. Remarks like these, though apparently foreign to my plan, always lead to certain general conjectures. When a poet like Lycophron receives the applause of his court and of his age, we do not form the most favorable impression of the prevailing taste of the time; the destinies of art and learning have generally been very much alike, and gone hand in hand. In the last century a scandalous malady raged in Italy as well as in all other lands, which filled the brains of the learned with noxious vapors, and stirred their blood into a feverish excitement, producing bombast and overstrained witticisms in the style of writing; at the same time a similar disease broke out also among the artists. Joseph Arpino, Bernini, and Borromini deserted nature and antiquity in painting, sculpture, and architecture, just as Marino and others did in poetry.

33. The Seleucidæ, the immediate successors of Alexander in the Asiatic territories, — so named from Seleucus the founder of the kingdom, — welcomed not less warmly than the Ptolemies the art which was emigrating from Greece, and likewise protected and fostered the artists who for a long time previously flourished among the Greeks in Asia Minor, and had attained so great excellence as to dispute the superiority with those who had remained behind in Greece. But art did not attain equal celebrity here with the Greek art recently transplanted into Egypt, probably because Seleucia, the newly founded capital to which these kings, deserting Babylon, had removed their residence, and thus located the seat of government in the heart of Asia, was too remote from the rest of the Greeks. The consequences of the separation were the same then as we see them at the present day; the artists who leave Rome, the modern seat of art, gradually decline and degenerate because their intellect and imagination are deprived of nourishment and beautiful images. Egypt on the contrary maintained from Alexandria by sea, and through commerce and trade, free communication with the Greeks, and artists could receive in a short time from Greece whatever they needed; but there were no such facilities for reaching Seleucia. That the remoteness of the seat of government of the Seleucidæ, and its distance from the sea and consequently from the Greeks, may have been the cause of the less progress of Greek art in those regions, is probable from the brilliancy with which in subsequent times art flourished at the courts of the kings of Bithynia and Per-

gamus, very limited states of Ionic Asia, — of which I shall hereafter speak. Among the artists who distinguished themselves at the court of the first Seleucidæ, Hermocles of Rhodes is known to us by the statue of the beautiful Kombabus.

34. The era of Greek art under the immediate successors of Alexander the Great, which has hitherto formed the subject of discussion, terminates in the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad, in which those kings — namely Ptolemy the First of Egypt, Seleucus of Syria, Lysimachus of Thrace, and Ptolemy Keraunus of Macedonia — had died, as I have mentioned above. In the following Olympiad, the one hundred and twenty-fifth, it happened that an alliance, formed by a few inconsiderable cities in Greece, became the occasion remotely of a new and different state of things there, through which art was at last again aroused from its sleep. The Greeks learned at that time a fact which experience teaches to be of frequent occurrence in human affairs, that when an evil increases to such a degree as to become extreme it contains within itself the germ of safety, just as the string of the violin when broken by too strong tension gives place to another string, which is tightened with more precaution and harmoniously attuned.

35. The ancient system of government in Greece, which had lost much of its former lustre, had been so far changed through the preponderance of the Macedonians, that even in Sparta, in which it had continued unaltered until this time, a duration of four hundred years, it received another form after the battle of Leuctra. When the Spartan king Kleomenes had been obliged on account of his despotic views to flee from his native land to Egypt, the administration of the government was intrusted to the Ephori alone; these officers were however slain more than once in riots that occurred at different times. After the death of Kleomenes, the people proceeded anew to choose a king, and next to Agesipolis, who was still a child, the highest dignity was awarded to Lysurgus, whose forefathers were not of royal blood; this advantage was secured by giving a talent to each Ephorus. When however his bribery became known, he likewise was obliged to flee; but finally he was recalled. These events happened in the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad. Not long afterwards, and subsequently to the death of the king, Pelops, several tyrants established themselves in Sparta, the

last of whom, Nabis, governed with absolute despotism, and defended the city by foreigners.

36. Disorder ruled in the once celebrated city of Thebes, and Athens lay in a state of utter inactivity ; hence, as no saviour of freedom was present, tyrants established themselves everywhere, aided by the support of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia (15). Under these circumstances three or four cities, scarcely known in history, undertook to withdraw themselves from the rule of the Macedonians : this event occurred, as I have already stated, in the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad. The enterprise was successful ; of the tyrants who had established themselves among them, some were driven away, others were slain. The alliance of these cities being deemed of no consequence, the parties to it remained undisturbed, but it was the foundation and origin of the celebrated Achæan league. Many large cities, even Athens itself, which had not ventured to attempt such an enterprise, were ashamed, and sought with similar courage the restoration of their freedom. Finally all Achæa entered into a league, and new laws were enacted and a particular form of government established ; and when the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians from jealousy opposed the Achæans, Aratus and Philopœmen, the last heroes of Greece, and the former only in the twentieth year of his age, became their leaders, and the courageous defenders of freedom, in the one hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad (16).

37. The jealousy which existed between the Achæans and Ætolians broke out at last into open and bitter war ; and the hostility of the two parties to each other became so extreme that they began to exercise their rage even upon works of art. The Ætolians were the first to perpetrate such mischief. When they marched without opposition into Dios, a Macedonian city, from which the inhabitants had fled, they demolished the walls, and pulled down houses ; fire was set to the porches of temples and the covered galleries around them, and all the statues were knocked to pieces. They committed similar outrages in the temple of Jupiter at Dodona in Epirus, where they consumed the galleries by fire, shattered the statues, and razed the temple itself to the ground ; and Polybius mentions in a speech of an Acarnanian ambassador many other temples which were plundered by them. Even the territory of Elis, which on ac-

count of the public games held there had hitherto been spared by hostile parties, and enjoyed the privileges of a neutral ground, was ravaged like other territories by the Ætolians.

38. But the Macedonians under King Philip, and the Achæans, exercised the right of retaliation almost in the same way at Thermæ, the capital city of the Ætolians; they however spared the statues and likenesses of the deities. But when Philip marched a second time into Thermæ, he overthrew those statues which he had previously allowed to stand. At the siege of the city of Pergamus moreover he vented his fury upon the temples, destroying them together with the statues in them in such a manner that even the stones themselves were broken into fragments, lest they might serve again in the restoration of the buildings. Diodorus imputes the blame of this act to the king of Bithynia, though this is probably an error. In the city above mentioned there was a celebrated statue of Æsculapius, executed by an artist named Philomachus, sometimes called Phyromachus. At the beginning of this war Athens had remained tranquil, because it was utterly dependent on the Macedonians and the king of Egypt. Through this inactivity however its citizens had lost all their influence and respect among the Greeks; and when they deserted the Macedonians, Philip marched into their territory, burnt the Academy in front of the city, plundered the temples in the vicinity, and did not spare even the tombs. As the Achæans would not assent to his designs against Sparta and the tyrant Nabis, he marched anew into the Attic territory, destroyed the temples which he had previously plundered, broke statues into fragments, and even caused the stones to be shattered, that they might not be used again in the rebuilding of the temples. The Athenians were impelled, principally by the perpetration of barbarities of this kind, to pass an ordinance against Philip by which all statues of him as well as of all persons of his family of both sexes should be thrown down and destroyed, and the places wherein any inscriptions had been erected in his honor were proclaimed unholy and infamous. In the war against Antiochus king of Syria, the consul Manius Acilius, after his victory at Thermopylæ, gave orders to destroy the temple of the Itonic Pallas in which there stood a statue of this king. The Romans also, who had hitherto spared the temples in an enemy's country, now

began to exercise the right of retaliation in their way, they plundered the temples in the island of Bacchium, which lies opposite to Phocæa, and carried away the statues. These were the circumstances in which Greece found itself placed in the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad.

## CHAPTER III.

## ART UNDER THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. — (Continued.)

1. At the time when art lay prostrate in Greece, and the works of art were abused in the most frightful manner, it was flourishing among the refugee Greeks in Sicily, but still more under the kings of Bithynia and Pergamus. No particular account, it is true, of the blooming state of art in Sicily about this time is to be found in ancient writers, but we can infer it from the beautiful impressions on the coins of this island. The cities founded there by Doric colonists, of which the principal was Syracuse, seem to have desired to dispute the palm of excellence in beautiful coins with those which the Ionians had planted, among which Leontium was one of the most prominent.

2. I am speaking, as I have already said, of the times of the immediate successors of Alexander the Great until the conquest of Syracuse by the Romans, in which Sicily, so richly endowed by nature, seemed the victim of a sad fate ; and in this respect it is a matter of astonishment that, during the wars which incessantly harassed the island, even the germ of art did not utterly perish. It is familiar to all that art flourished in more ancient times under Gelo, Hiero, and the elder and younger Dionysius, kings in Syracuse, and that all the cities of Sicily were filled with works of art, insomuch that the doors of the temple of Pallas at Syracuse, which were made of wrought gold and carved ivory, were considered superior to all works of the kind.

3. But even in the subsequent melancholy and troubled times previously mentioned, great artists must still have continued to flourish in Syracuse notwithstanding the continual wars, especially with the Carthaginians. The coins of King Agathocles in gold and silver, of extraordinary beauty and

of different sizes, commonly representing on one side a head of Proserpine, and on the other a Victoria placing a helmet on a trophy, which consists of weapons suspended from the trunk of a tree, prove that such was the case during the first Punic war. Now as tyranny and art nowhere harmonize, it must of course appear remarkable that they should have agreed in this instance, and under the most terrible tyrants. It therefore seems credible that an innate fondness for art may have attached Agathocles to artists, since in his youth he had been a potter, that is to say had learned, as I believe, the art of making and painting vases of burnt clay, and consequently had been instructed in drawing. He caused a painting to be made of a cavalry-fight in which he had been engaged, and to be hung up in the above-mentioned temple of Pallas, at Syracuse. This picture was very much esteemed, and was one of the things which Marcellus when he plundered the city left undisturbed, in order to gain the good-will of the citizens (1).

4. Hiero the Second, a citizen of Syracuse, was unanimously elected successor of Agathocles, and proclaimed as king, in the one hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad. His history therefore still touches on the times of the immediate successors of Alexander the Great, and falls within the first Punic war, which began in the last year of the one hundred and twenty-eighth Olympiad. The great preparations on water and land which Hiero made in order to put Sicily in a state of security, and the tranquillity which it enjoyed under his government, gave to art new life. Of the sumptuous projects executed by him we have an instance among other great works in the vessel, renowned in all ancient times, which he caused to be built; it had twenty banks of oars on each side, and more resembled a palace than a ship. There were aqueducts, gardens, baths, temples in it, and the floor of one room was of mosaic, or inlaid with small stones, which represented the entire Iliad; the whole was completed by three hundred artists in twelve months. He sent to the Roman people at the time when Hannibal was everywhere victorious a fleet laden with grain, and a golden Victoria which weighed three hundred and twenty pounds. This gift the senate accepted, although of the forty golden dishes brought by the ambassadors of the city of Naples it retained only one, notwithstanding its extreme necessity, and that one the lightest; but the golden cups sent by the city of Pæstum, in Lucania, were returned

with thanks to the ambassadors. I introduce these statements as notes which in a certain sense belong to the history of art at this period ; for these cups, besides their worth as gold, probably derived additional value from their workmanship.

This fortunate ruler ended his glorious life after a reign of seventy years in the ninetieth year of his age, and the one hundred and forty-first Olympiad. In the first year of the following Olympiad, when Hieronymus, the unworthy son and successor of Hiero, together with all his family, was murdered, and the leading men of Syracuse took to arms, the city was besieged and taken by Marcellus, as it will be related hereafter.

5. Not long after the time of Agathocles, a coin of the city of Segesta, in Sicily, was stamped which merits attention, not so much from the art displayed in it, as from its rarity and chronological interest. On one side is a female head representing Segesta, the daughter of Hippotes of Troy, from whom the city derived its name. On the other side is a dog together with three wheat-cars, emblematic of the fertility of the soil. The dog is an image of the river Krimisus, who transformed himself into a dog in order to enjoy Segesta, who had been sent hither by her father to save her life. For when Neptune did not receive from Laomedon the wages which he and Apollo had earned by the erection of the walls of Troy, he sent a terrible monster against the city, to whose rage, as the oracle of Apollo declared, the virgin daughters of the most distinguished families of the city must be exposed. The most remarkable point about this coin is that it bears the two names Egesta and Segesta. The siege of this city by the Carthaginians was raised by Caius Duilius in the one hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad, and nineteen years afterwards the Carthaginians were driven by Caius Lutatius Catulus from Sicily ; the island then became a Roman province, with the exception of the kingdom of Hiero. In this province however some cities, among which Segesta is named, were left in full enjoyment of their freedom. The nineteen years mentioned are designated on the coin by  $\Xi$ IB, if we separate this number into its component parts, for  $\Xi$  or Z is seven, and IB is twelve ; if undivided the number should be written IC. I am of the opinion that the inhabitants of Segesta may have wished to commemorate on this coin the interval which elapsed from the raising of the siege until the conquest of the island, in which their freedom had been unexpectedly con-

firmed to them, and that at this time they may have changed the name Egesta into Segesta.

6. Among the patrons and protectors of the arts of this period Attalus the Second (2), and his son and successor, Eumenes the Second, kings of Pergamus, are to be placed in the first rank. These two rulers, whose prudence and love for their subjects have made them immortal, formed from a small territory a powerful kingdom, and left behind them treasures which were termed treasures of Attalus, in order to describe great wealth. By their liberality they endeavored to win the attachment of the Greeks, and Attalus even built for the philosopher Lacydes, the head of the more modern Academic sect, a garden near the Academy outside of Athens in order that he might live and teach in it undisturbedly. Among the cities to which he had done kindness, Sicyon manifested its gratitude by erecting to him a colossal statue on the public square of the city, near an Apollo. Eumenes endeared himself not less to the Greeks, insomuch that most of the cities of the Peloponnesus erected columns in his honor (3).

7. In connection with the great projects which have for their end the welfare of a country, the first care of these kings was to extend their aid to knowledge, and to give it nurture ; for this purpose a large collection of books was formed at Pergamus which was intended for public use, so that Pliny is doubtful whether it or the one at Alexandria was the first instituted with this view (4). A jealousy in collecting the best manuscripts arose between the scholars of Pergamus and those of Alexandria, and the feeling was carried so far that spurious manuscripts were forged at the former place under the false names of old writers, and the learned men at the latter place rivalled Pergamus in this sort of deception. When Ptolemy Philadelphus, likewise from jealousy, prohibited the exportation of papyrus from Egypt, the art of preparing sheepskins for writing was invented at Pergamus (5).

8. These kings, uniting a love of the sciences with a great fondness for art, procured celebrated books from Greece. There was at Pergamus the renowned pair of Athletes from the hand of Kephissodorus, the son of Praxiteles ; and among paintings Ajax struck by a thunderbolt, by Apollodorus, that is, Ajax after having saved himself on a rock when shipwrecked, and even in this situation defying the gods in the words, " I will escape even

in despite of the gods." Ajax is represented in such a manner on an engraved gem. Pictures of this kind were purchased at a regal price, as Pliny notices in regard to the figure of a sick man by the celebrated Aristides for which Attacus paid a hundred talents.

9. Of the artists who flourished at the court of these kings Pliny gives the names of four sculptors, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratoniceus, and Antigonus; the writings of the last upon his art were formerly much esteemed. He remarks that the celebrated victory of these two kings over the Gauls in Mysia had been painted by many artists. He also makes mention of Sosus of Pergamus, who excelled in mosaic work, and who represented on a mosaic pavement, with nothing but small stones, the rubbish which is collected by sweeping; hence the work was named ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, *The Unswept House*. On the same pavement, and probably in its centre, was a figure of a dove drinking from a cup; its shadow is thrown upon the water; other doves upon its edge are sunning and scratching themselves. In another place I shall bring forward my objections to the opinion of those who believe that a mosaic, discovered in Adrian's villa, below Tivoli, and of which the subject is the same, is the very piece of which Pliny makes mention, and that the Emperor Adrian caused it to be brought from Pergamus to his villa.

10. The spurious manuscripts under the names of celebrated men of which I have just spoken, which made their appearance in Pergamus at this time, induce me to believe that the very same fraud may have been practised in art, and that artists may have then begun to execute statues also under the names of the great sculptors of preceding ages. For not only works of sculpture which are still extant, and which have been already noticed by me (Book X. ch. 1), but also those of which Phædrus makes mention, falsely bore the names of those artists. It is also probable that at that date the age of the copyists began, and that from their hands proceeded the great number of statues of young Satyrs which have been preserved to us, all similar to one another, and which are regarded as copies of the celebrated Satyr of Praxiteles. I omit many other figures which likewise are apparently executed after one and the same model, as for example the two figures of Silenus holding a young Bacchus in his arms, in the Ruspoli palace, which are similar to the more celebrated Silenus in the Borghese villa, and also different

figures of the Apollo Sauroctonos, as copies of the one which came from the hand of Praxiteles, and was so celebrated under that epithet. The numerous figures of Venus, each one having the attitude of the Venus of the same artist, are well known to all; and how many statues of Apollo are there with the right arm resting on the head and a swan at the feet (6)?

11. Having thus narrated the favorable circumstances in which Greek art was situated in Sicily, and under the kings of Pergamus, while it had languished in Greece amidst the constant interpal wars by which the country was harassed, I return again to the affairs of the Greeks, among whom we behold art once more reviving after the cessation of hostilities.

12. As both parties had become enfeebled by the war above mentioned, the Ætolians sought for aid in their struggle with the Achæans, and called upon the Romans for assistance, who then for the first time set foot on Grecian soil. But the Achæans, who had espoused the party of the Macedonians, won a victory under their general, Philopœmen, over the Ætolians and their ally, and the Romans, becoming better acquainted with the state of affairs, withdrew from those who had sought their aid and joined themselves to the Achæans, who with their assistance conquered Corinth, and defeated Philip, king of Macedonia. The result of this victory was a celebrated peace in which the king submitted to the terms of the Romans, by which he abandoned all the places which he had conquered in Greece, and withdrew his garrisons from all points; and it was required that these conditions should be fulfilled before the time of the Isthmian games. Under these circumstances the Romans assumed a kindly feeling in regard to the freedom of another people, and the pro-consul, Quintus Flaminius, in the thirty-third year of his age, had the honor of declaring the Greeks a free people, by whom he was almost worshipped.

13. This event happened in the fourth year of the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, being one hundred and ninety-four years before the Christian era; and when Pliny informs us that the arts began in the one hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad to flourish anew, it is probable that he intended not this, but the one hundred and forty-fifth. For in the one hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad the Romans were in Greece as enemies; now the arts can never thrive unless under a peculiarly favorable aspect of affairs. Soon afterwards the Greeks received

from Paulus Æmilius a confirmation of their freedom. The period in which the arts lay prostrate in Greece probably resembled the interval from Raphael and Michael Angelo to the Caracci. At that time art fell in the Roman School itself into great barbarism, and even those artists, as Vasari and Zuccheri, who wrote of art, seemed struck with blindness. The pictures of the two greatest masters in art were in their full splendor, and executed in the presence of those who, as their works show, had never examined them with attention, and who do not appear to have studied a single antique statue. The elder Caracci of Bologna was the first one whose eyes were reopened.

14. Among the sculptors who made themselves celebrated during the restoration of the arts in Greece are Antæus, Kallistratus, Polycles, the artist of the beautiful *Hermaphrodite*, Athenæus, Kallixenus, Pythocles, Pythias, Timocles, and Metrodorus, the painter and philosopher, but whom Pliny enumerates among the preceding artists. This is the last era of Greek art properly so called.

The beautiful *Hermaphrodite* in the Borghese villa might be looked upon as the work of Polycles. Another is in the Grand Ducal gallery at Florence, and the third lies in the cellars of the above-mentioned villa.

15. In this period, I believe, must be placed Apollonius, son of Nestor of Athens, and master of the so-called Torso in the Belvedere, that is, of the stump of a reposing and deified Hercules. At least this artist must have lived some time after Alexander the Great, for the form of the letter omega,  $\omega$ , in his name, on the base of the Torso, is not to be found prior to the age of Alexander; it is first seen on the coins of the Syrian kings, and therefore is not so modern as Montfaucon and many others believe. Beside these coins, the most ancient public work of a definite age on which the omega appears thus shaped is a beautiful large bronze vase, fluted on the outer surface, in the Capitoline museum, which, according to the inscription on its rim, had been sent as a gift by Mithridates Eupator, the last and the celebrated king of Pontus, to a Gymnasium, which was named Eupatoristæ, after him (7). It was customary to ornament these places with such vases. Besides the inscription in large dotted letters (8) which the vessel shows, we also read on it in smaller letters the words  $\epsilonὐφρα διασώζει$ , which have not hitherto been understood, and which probably

mean εὐφάλαρον διασώζε, *keep it bright and shining* (9). The word is one which is used in speaking of bright horse-trappings. The motto is written in the Greek letters which are used at the present day in the current writing of the language, and is the very oldest trace of them. It is probably still more ancient than the line of Euripides in similar letters which was found on the wall of a house in Herculaneum, —

“Ὡς ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ.

“Since one wise counsel is better than many hands.”

16. Abused and mutilated to the utmost, and without head, arms, or legs, as this statue is, it shows itself even now to those who have the power to look deeply into the secrets of art with all the splendor of its former beauty. The artist has presented in this Hercules a lofty ideal of a body elevated above nature, and a shape at the full development of manhood, such as it might be if exalted to the degree of divine sufficiency. He appears here purified from the dross of humanity, and after having attained immortality and a seat among the gods (10); for he is represented without need of human nourishment, or further use of his powers. No veins are visible, and the belly is made only to enjoy, not to receive, and to be full without being filled. The right arm was placed over the head (11), as we are able to determine from the position of the fragment which remains, for the purpose of representing him in repose after all his toils, — this attitude indicating repose. The same position is given to a Hercules on a large marble cup, and likewise on the well-known rilievo of the *Propitiation and Deification of Hercules*; in this case the position is accompanied with the additional notice, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ, *The Reposing Hercules*; both these works are to be found in the Albani villa. In this position, with the head turned upwards, his face probably had a pleased expression as he meditated with satisfaction on the great deeds which he had achieved; this feeling even the back seems to indicate, which is bent, as if the hero was absorbed in lofty reflections (12). In that powerfully developed chest we behold in imagination the breast against which the giant Geryon was squeezed (13), and in the length and strength of the thighs we recognize the unwearied hero who pursued and overtook the brazen-footed stag, and travelled through countless lands even to the very confines of the world.

17. The artist may admire in the outlines of this body the perpetual flowing of one form into another, and the undulating lines which rise and fall like waves, and become swallowed up in one another. He will find that no copyist can be sure of correctness, since the undulating movement which he thinks he is following turns imperceptibly away, and leads both the hand and eye astray by taking another direction. The bones appear covered with a fatty skin, the muscles are full without superfluity, and no other statue can be found which shows so well balanced a plumpness; we might indeed say that this Hercules seems to be the production of an earlier period of art even more than the Apollo (14). In the superb collection of drawings belonging to the Cardinal Alexander Albani are to be found the studies of the greatest artists from this torso; but compared with the original they are like a feebly reflected light. Apollonius, the artist of this work, is not known to writers (15).

18. The characteristics of the mutilated Hercules which I have thus pointed out cannot be questioned if we compare them with those of other statues of the same hero, especially with the celebrated Farnese Hercules executed by Glycon, of Athens. In this statue he is, it is true, represented in repose, but it is repose in the midst of his labors, and with distended veins and strained muscles, which are raised by their contractile power beyond their usual bulk, so that we see him here resting, apparently in a heated and breathless state, after a toilsome journey to the garden of the Hesperides, the apples from which he holds in his hand. Glycon in this figure has shown himself not less a poet than Apollonius in that, since he has raised himself above the common forms of humanity in the muscles, which lie like compressed hills; for it was his intention to express in them the rapid contractile power of their fibres, and to draw their ends together, after the manner of a bow. This Hercules requires to be thus studied with profound reflection, in order that the poetic spirit of the artist may not be mistaken for extravagance, and ideal strength for bold exaggeration; for he who was capable of executing so beautiful a work might surely be supposed competent to represent the view which I have taken of it. Among other points upon which I have already touched in regard to this Hercules (Book VI. ch. 5), the reader may remember the proportion of the head to the body, the reasons of which have been pointed out; at the same time I refer him

to the bronze statue of Hercules in the Campidoglio, the head of which seems to be proportionately smaller even than this. Of the sculptor, Glycon, we have no account remaining; and the author of *Reflexions upon Poetry and Painting* mistakes when he asserts that Pliny speaks with especial praise of the statue of the Farnese Hercules; he mentions neither it nor Glycon who executed it. Further, we can infer from the inscription of his name nothing except that this work by him appears to be not more ancient than the Hercules of Apollonius, for the omega in his name has precisely the same form.

19. There was in the Massimi house at Rome, as late as the close of the preceding century, a stump of a Hercules, others say of Æsculapius, by Apollonius, as the inscription on it showed. In the tenth volume, page 224, of the manuscripts of Pirro Ligorio in the royal Farnese library at Naples, I find that this fragment was discovered in the Baths of Agrippa, near the Pantheon, and that the celebrated architect, Sangallo, was the possessor of it. It must have been a valuable fragment, because the Emperor Trajan Decius, who caused it to be placed there, put an inscription on it for the especial purpose of publishing its removal. This circumstance is related by the same writer, who also adduces the inscription itself. It is not known what has become of this fragment (16).

20. The torso of Hercules just mentioned appears to be one of the last perfect works which art produced in Greece before the loss of its freedom. For, from the time Greece was converted into a Roman province until the time of the Roman triumvirate, we find no mention of any celebrated Greek artist. The Greeks lost their freedom some forty years after they were declared by Quintus Flaminius a free people. The causes of the loss may be found in the disturbances excited by the leaders of the Achæan league, but still more in the jealousy with which the league was regarded by the Romans. The Romans, having defeated Perseus in Macedonia, became masters of his kingdom, and they were in constant apprehension of this alliance among the Greeks, even as the latter were distrustful of the power of their dangerous neighbor. Now as the Romans had through Metellus striven in vain to enter into a good understanding with the Greeks,—as the Roman historians inform us,—Lucius Mummius came, defeated the Greeks at Corinth, captured the city as the head of the Achæan league,

and destroyed it to the sound of trumpets. This event happened in the one hundred and fifty-sixth Olympiad, in the same year in which Carthage was destroyed.

21. Through the pillage of Corinth works of art were for the first time brought from Greece itself to Rome; by means of them the triumphal entrance of Mummius into the city was rendered splendid and memorable. Pliny believes the celebrated *Bacchus* of Aristides to have been the first picture brought from Greece to Rome at that time. The most ancient and the wooden statues were left in the destroyed city; among them was a gilded *Bacchus*, whose face was painted of a red color, a *Bellerophon* of wood, with the extremities of marble, likewise a wooden *Hercules*, which was held to be a work of *Dædalus*. Everything else however which appeared to the Romans to have any value was carried away, even the vessels of bronze which stood within the seats of the theatre for the purpose of increasing the sound of the voice. Justly therefore are the Romans censured by Polybius, who is otherwise their great eulogist, for thus pillaging conquered cities. But the Isthmian games, which it was customary to celebrate at Corinth, were not discontinued in consequence of the destruction of the city; the Greeks assembled every four years in the usual place as well after as before this event, and the city of Sicyon superintended the preparations for them. •

22. Fabretti appears inclined to believe that two statues in the Carpegna house, at Rome, — from which a *Marcus Aurelius* and a *Septimius Severus* were made by putting upon them strange heads, — are of the number of those statues which Mummius brought from Greece, because the words *M. MVM-MIVS. COS.* were on the base of both of them, notwithstanding the Mummius before mentioned was named *Lucius*. But those who understand art find in them a workmanship of much later date; the armor also manifestly points to figures of the Emperors. But the original bases were probably lost, since we see a restoration of new feet with new bases without any inscription, and made of one block.

23. Such was the multitude of statues and pictures with which every city and place in Greece was filled, that the pillage of which I have spoken would ultimately have been borne with patience; but the Greeks must have been discouraged from any expenditure on public works of art, since they would be

henceforward exposed to the cupidity of their conquerors ; and in fact Greece now became an object of constant pillage by the Romans. Marcus Scaurus, when ædile, took all the pictures from the temples and public buildings of the city of Sicyon in payment of back-standing debts to Rome, and they served to decorate the sumptuous theatre which he caused to be erected in the space of a few days. From Ambracia, the residence of the kings of Epirus, all the statues were carried to Rome ; among them were the nine Muses, which were placed in the temple of the Hercules of the Muses ; and even pictures with the walls on which they were painted were sent out of Greece, as Muræna and Varro, during their ædileship, did with the pictures at Sparta. In the reign of Caligula it was thought too hazardous to undertake the removal of an *Atalanta* and *Helena* at Lanuvium, in Latium (17). Metellus, after his victory over Perseus, the last king of Macedon, carried away an incredible number of statues ; among them were the equestrian statues in bronze from the hand of Lysippus himself, which Alexander caused to be erected in commemoration of those who perished in the battle of the Granicus ; with them he embellished the portico which he built. Other equestrian statues in bronze were also set up in the Capitol by the conqueror. We can consequently imagine that artists, especially the sculptors and architects, had but few opportunities to display their skill. But notwithstanding statues were still, as it appears, always erected to the victors in the Olympic games at Elis ; the last one of whom any notice is found was named Mnesibulus ; he obtained the prize in the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad, at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

24. The temples, edifices, and statues which were erected in Greece at this period were executed principally at the expense of certain kings in Syria, Egypt, and others. A statue was erected at Delos to Queen Laodice, daughter of King Seleucus and wife of Perseus, for her generosity to the inhabitants of the island, and to the temple of Apollo thereon. The base, on which is an inscription that relates the circumstance, may be found among the Arundelian marbles. Antiochus IV., of Syria, caused several statues to be placed around the altar of Apollo in this same temple.

25. Antiochus Epiphanor, king of Syria, caused a Roman architect, Cossutius by name, to be sent from Rome to Athens

to complete the temple of the Olympian Jupiter which had remained in an unfinished state since the time of Pisistratus. This act might seem to be a proof of the scarcity of skilful artists in the former seat of art, but it may also be viewed as one of courtesy and flattery towards the Romans. With the same intention, Ariobarzanes, Philopator II., of Cappadocia, in the time of Pompey, in whose presence he admitted his son as co-regent, appears to have employed two Roman architects, Caius Stallius, and his brother Marcus, together with a Greek, Menalippus, when he rebuilt for the Athenians at his own expense the Odeon, which had been partly pulled down by Aristion, the general of Mithridates, during the siege of the city by Sylla (18).

26. But Greek art would not take root in Egypt. The climate did not seem congenial to it, and it lost amid the splendor of the courts of the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies much of its grandeur and true significance. In Magna Græcia, where it together with the philosophy of Pythagoras and Zeno of Elea had flourished in so many free and powerful cities, its utter downfall ensued, and it finally became entirely extinguished through the arms and barbarism of the Romans.

27. In Asia and at the court of the kings of Syria, Greek art reminds us of the light of a lamp which, before it goes out from lack of fuel, flashes up first into a bright flame, and is then totally extinguished. Antiochus IV., the younger son of Antiochus the Great, who succeeded his elder brother Seleucus IV. in the government, loved repose, and sought to pass his time pleasantly. Art and conversation with artists were his chief occupations, and he gave commissions for works not for himself alone, but also for the Greeks. He not only put a roof to the temple of Jupiter at Athens which had remained uncovered, but he also had it gilded; moreover he caused the inner surface of the walls to be overlaid with gilded plates, and erected in it a statue of the deity of the size of the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias. The interior of the temple of the Olympian Jupiter at Athens, the only one, as the ancients say, which was consonant with the greatness of Jupiter, was completed by him in a magnificent style, and the temple of Apollo at Delos was ornamented with a great number of altars and statues; he even built for the city of Tegea a superb theatre of marble.

28. The art of the Greeks in Syria appears to have died with

this king : for when, after the battle of Magnesia (19), the range of Mount Taurus was set as a boundary to the dominions of the Syrian kings, and they were compelled to relinquish all their possessions in Phrygia and Ionic Asia, intercourse with the Greeks was almost entirely cut off, and the country on the other side of the mountains was not the place to support a school of Greek artists. The power of the country was also very much reduced by the revolt of Arsaces, who, in the one hundred and forty-second Olympiad became the founder of the kingdom of Parthia. Even the kings of Syria themselves gradually adopted the customs of the Persians or Medes, and, instead of the Greek diadem worn by their predecessors in the kingdom, they wore a cylindrical Persian cap, which was termed by the Greeks *κίθαρις*; in fact, this cap is found stamped on some of their coins as a symbol of royal dignity.

29. Lucius Scipio, after his victory over Antiochus the Great, of which we have made mention, brought an incredible number of statues to Rome, in the one hundred and forty-seventh Olympiad. The coins of the successors of the art-loving king of Syria are witnesses of its decline, and a silver coin of King Philip, the twenty-third in succession reckoning from Seleucus, affords clear proof that art had withdrawn itself from the court of these kings, for it seems hardly possible that the head of this prince, and the seated Jupiter on the reverse, can have been executed by Greeks. In general the impressions on the coins of almost all the Seleucidæ are worse than those of the smallest Greek cities, and we see barbarism both in the drawing and the impressions on the coins of the Parthian kings, notwithstanding they bear a Greek inscription of which the writing has a certain degree of elegance. But nevertheless they are undoubtedly the work of Greek artists, for the Parthian kings wished to have the credit of being great friends to the Greeks, and they placed this title even on their coins. We shall have less reason to be astonished at this decline if we reflect that the Greek language in Syria had degenerated so much that the name of the city of Samosata, in Comagena, can scarcely be recognized as written on its coins.

30. Art and learning had flourished in Egypt under the first three Ptolemies, who carefully preserved the works even of Egyptian art. Ptolemy Evergetes is said to have brought to Egypt, after his victory over Antiochus Theos, king in Syria,

twenty-five hundred statues, among which were many that had been carried away from Egypt by Cambyzes. The hundred architects whom his son and successor Philopator sent together with countless gifts to Rhodes, which had suffered severely by an earthquake, testify to the multitude of architects at his court. But all the successors of Evergetes were unworthy princes, who vented the violence of their passions on their kingdom and their own blood, and the utmost disorder prevailed in Egypt. Under Lathyrus, the fifth king after Evergetes, Thebes was stripped of its splendor and almost utterly destroyed; this was the beginning of the destruction of so many monuments of Egyptian art, — a destruction attributed by Pausanias to Ptolemy Philometor (20).

31. Although Greek art had lost in Egypt much of its original brilliancy, still it had sustained itself until the time of Ptolemy Physcon, the seventh king, and the father of the last-mentioned king, Philometor. Under this tyrant, and during the fearful vengeance which after his flight from Alexandria and his return to it he executed upon the city, the greater portion of the learned men and artists deserted the kingdom, and betook themselves to Greece. Hence this city boasted that the arts had emigrated from her, and had gone anew to Greece and other foreign lands (21). Some of these artists went to Messene, and in the Gymnasium of that city there were three statues, Mercury, Hercules, and Theseus, executed by them. Physcon rendered the second year of his reign, which falls within the one hundred and fifty-eighth Olympiad, memorable by these acts of cruelty. Nevertheless, in the time of the Cæsars and afterwards, there was no lack of men in Alexandria who taught philosophy, and to whom crowds resorted for instruction. Of the head of Ptolemy Auletes on an engraved gem — which is a misnomer — I have already spoken in the fourth chapter of the first part of this *History* (Book V. ch. 5).

32. As Greek art had now fallen in its native land, and also in the foreign kingdoms in which it had sought protection and nurture, it together with Greek literature was now fostered by the Romans, who were beginning to renounce some of their rude ways; even the populace of Rome gazed with pleasure upon the works of Greek art. There were as yet no Greek artists in Rome; hence when the ædile, Caius Claudius Pulcher, was decorating the forum for spectacles with which he enter-

tained the people during four days, and wished to make also an exhibition of statues, he borrowed for the purpose for some time, among other figures, a copy from Praxiteles, and then returned it to its possessor.

33. Art consequently resumed its seat anew in Greece, and began to flourish. Even the Romans encouraged it among the Greeks; and the noblest Romans caused statues for their country-seats to be executed in Athens, as we know from Cicero, for whose Tusculanum — country-seat near Tusculum — Atticus provided some, among which were Hermæ of Pentelic marble with heads of bronze. The sumptuous habits introduced into Rome were a source of support to artists even in the provinces, for by the laws it was allowable not only to erect temples in honor of the names of the proconsuls and prætors, but even to dedicate temples to them personally in the countries in which they held offices, of which the Greeks, although apparently guaranteed in their liberty, were forced to contribute the expense. Pompey had temples in every province. This abuse increased still more under the Cæsars, and Herod built at Cæsarea a temple to Augustus in which his statue was placed, of the size and in the likeness of the Olympian Jupiter, together with the goddess Roma, who was figured like the Juno at Argos. At length however the Romans began to entertain an affection for Greece, and they sought to promote her glory even by erecting edifices there at their own expense; among other Appius, the father of the infamous Clodius, is known to have built about this time a Portico at Eleusis; and Cicero appears to have seriously entertained the plan of building a new gate to the Academy at Athens, and communicates his intention to his friend, Atticus. Similar good fortune seems to have attended art in Syracuse even after the last conquest of it, and the city must have continued to maintain a great number of excellent artists, because Verres, who sought out the most beautiful works of every kind in all places, had vases executed especially at Syracuse. He established a workshop in the ancient palace of the kings, where for eight entire months every artist was employed, some in drawing, some in casting, and others still in engraving vases. No other metal than gold was used in these works.

34. I will not maintain that the beautiful head in the gallery of the Marquis Rondinini, which is claimed to be a like-

ness of the elder Cato, was made at this period. But although there is only a probability that it may represent that individual, still it is remarkable on account of the almost inimitable skill displayed in it, and of its preservation. With the exception of one other head of precisely the same style, and manifestly from the hand of the same master, and which is equally well preserved, and another, full bust, in the possession of the same lover of antiquities, it may be asserted, that it would not be easy to find anything more perfect than it, especially among heads of ancient known individuals (22).

35. The repose which the arts had for some time enjoyed in Greece was disturbed anew by the war between the Romans and Mithridates, king of Pontus, in which the Athenians espoused the party of the latter. Of the large islands in the *Ægean* Sea over which they formerly held rule, they had retained only the single small island of *Delos*; and even this they had lost within a short time; but it was again placed under their authority by *Archelaus*, the general of *Mithridates*. *Athens* was distracted by parties, and at that time *Aristion*, an *Epicurean* philosopher, had established himself as ruler, and, being supported by foreign power in the position which he had assumed, he caused to be put to death all citizens who were friendly disposed to the Romans. When *Archelaus* was besieged in *Athens* by *Sylla* at the beginning of the war, the city suffered the extremity of misery; the scarcity of food was so great that at last the skins and hides of animals were eaten; indeed after its surrender human flesh was found prepared. By the orders of *Sylla* the whole *Piræus*, together with the arsenal and all other public buildings intended for naval purposes, was utterly destroyed; *Athens* in its actual condition, compared with what *Athens* formerly was, resembled, as the ancients say, a cast-out dead body. This dictator carried away from the temple of the *Olympian Jupiter* even the columns, and caused them together with the library of the *Apellikon* to be transported to *Rome*. Without doubt many statues were also taken away, since he sent to *Rome* a *Pallas* from *Alalkomenæ*.

36. The sad fate of *Athens* spread fear and horror throughout *Greece*, as *Sylla* really intended. At this time not one of the festive *Olympic* games, except the horse-races, was celebrated at *Elis*, — an omission which had never before occurred;

the celebration of them had been transferred by Sylla to Rome. This event occurred in the one hundred and seventy-fifth Olympiad. Leander Alberti speaks of the upper half of a statue of Sylla which was said to have been at Casoli, in the district of Volterra, in Tuscany. The Romans made no scruple of putting their names upon the statues of ancient celebrated Greeks, just as if the statues had been erected in honor of themselves, in order to leave a memorial of themselves. Taking advantage of this impoverishment of the city, they appear to have also purchased works of art from its citizens, and those which Cicero collected at Athens, by means of Atticus, for his country-houses, were probably obtained in this way; he even sent over to his friend drawings of the decorative designs which he required. This, I think, must be the meaning of the word "typus," although such an understanding of it has never occurred to any one. We might at the same time understand it as applying also to the size of the pieces which he thought of collecting, as Cicero desired his friend to send him a list of the pictures in his country-seat in Epirus, named Amaltheion, that he might have similar ones painted in his villa at Arpinum, and he promised to send in return a catalogue of the pictures in his own country-house.

37. In the other provinces of Greece sad traces of disorder were everywhere visible. Thebes, that celebrated city, which had again recovered from its devastation by Alexander, was now with the exception of a few temples in the old burgh a solitude and a waste. Sparta, which in the wars between Pompey and Cæsar still had its kings, and ruled the adjacent territory, was stripped of its inhabitants, and of Mycenæ there remained only the name. Three of the richest and most celebrated temples of Greece, that of Apollo at Delphi, of Æsculapius at Epidarus, and of Jupiter at Elis, were pillaged by Sylla, and Plutarch says that in his day all Greece could hardly furnish three thousand armed men, the same number which the single city of Megara sent to the army which fought the battle of Platæa against the Persians.

38. Magna Græcia and Sicily were placed about this time in circumstances equally deplorable. The calamity of the former was occasioned principally by the general outbreak against all Pythagoreans; fire was set to their schools in all the cities there, and the most distinguished men, if they acknowledged

themselves in favor of the doctrines of Pythagoras, were either put to death or banished. Of the many powerful and celebrated cities that existed at the commencement of the Roman monarchy, Taranto, Brindisi, and Reggio were the only ones now remaining in a flourishing condition. In the first there were a celebrated Europa, seated on a bull, and the statue of a young Satyr, in the temple of Vesta; at Reggio, there was a highly prized Venus of marble. The inhabitants of Crotona, whose walls had a circuit of twelve miles and enclosed a million of souls, were reduced in the second Punic war to twenty thousand. Shortly before the war with Perseus king of Macedonia, the Censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus caused the celebrated temple of Juno Lacinia, not far distant from the city mentioned, to be unroofed, and the marble slabs with which it was covered to be carried to Rome for the purpose of covering with them the temple of Fortuna Equestris; but, when it became known in Rome whence he had taken them, he was obliged to send them back again.

39. In Sicily, from the promontory of Lilybæum to that of Pachinum, that is, from one end to the other of the eastern side of the island, could be seen at this time only the ruins of once flourishing cities. But Syracuse was regarded even now as a Greek city, and when Marcellus after his conquest of it surveyed it from a lofty place he could not refrain from tears of joy. Even the Greek language began to fall into disuse in the Greek cities of Italy, for Livy relates that shortly before the wars with Perseus, that is, in the five hundred and seventy-second year of the city of Rome, the Roman Senate granted permission to the city of Cumæ to make use of the Roman language in public business, and to proclaim goods for sale in Latin: this I look upon rather as a command than as a permission.

## BOOK XI.

## GREEK ART AMONG THE ROMANS.

## CHAPTER I.

## UNDER THE REPUBLIC.

1. IN this sad state of affairs in Greece the arts sought protection in Rome, where at that time the youth were instructed not only in the Greek language, and in the different branches of knowledge of this nation, but also in art itself, as we know that the celebrated Paulus Æmilius caused his sons, among whom was the younger Scipio, to be instructed in art by sculptors and painters.

2. Here I should have to adduce as works of this time, according to the common opinion, the heads of Scipio and a supposed silver shield in the museum of the king of France, on which some one has wished to find a representation of the contenance of Scipio. I have noticed the most known of these heads in my *Ancient Monuments*, in the remarks upon a copper-plate engraving of the head in greenish basalt in the Rospigliosi palace which has given the name to all the others, because it was dug out of the ruins of the villa of the elder Scipio Africanus, at Liternum. This same likeness is also found in the Herculaneum museum, and like the heads in marble is marked by a crucial wound on the skull, though it has not been noticed either in the engraving or the explanation (1). I moreover remarked in my work above mentioned that these heads are entirely shaved, and therefore Faber, in the portraits of celebrated men by Fulvius Ursinus, declares himself in favor of the elder Scipio, because Pliny relates that Scipio Africanus shaved himself every day, although the younger Scipio is meant in the passage. In order to reconcile this statement with the place on which the first of these heads was found, he omits the

word *sequens*, by which Pliny on another occasion designates this very Scipio. Notwithstanding even Faber ought to have known that, according to Pliny, the elder Scipio wore long hair.

3. All the presumed heads of Scipio would therefore be portraits rather of the younger than of the elder. But a doubt in regard to the correctness of this opinion might arise from the wound on the head of which I have spoken ; for we do not know that the younger Scipio had been wounded in that manner, whereas the elder was fatally wounded in his eighteenth year in the battle against Hannibal on the Po, when he saved the life of his father, who was general of the Romans (2). It will not be strange however if we are obliged to remain in doubt which of the two Scipios the heads in question represent, since it appears that even in Cicero's time the true portraits of these celebrated men were not known. For he relates that in his time the name of Scipio (3) was placed under an equestrian statue in bronze which Metellus had brought from Macedonia, and caused to be set up with other such statues in the Capitol.

4. In regard to the subject of the picture on the supposed shield, I have not the slightest idea that it is a representation of the continence of the elder Scipio ; my reasons for this opinion are presented in the *Investigation of Allegory*, and in the Preface to the *Ancient Monuments*. I am of the opinion however that the artist has depicted here the restoration of Briseis to Achilles, and the reconciliation between him and Agamemnon (4).

5. But at that time and prior to the Triumvirate Grecian art was, it is true, prized and honored by the Romans as a consequence of a love for it which had been excited among them, but still it could not be particularly promoted and encouraged (5), because their habits of life were frugal, and a great degree of merit still continued to be attached to poverty. But when the equality which existed between the citizens was destroyed by the preponderance of some among them who sought to crush and suppress by power, by pomp, and by gifts the republican spirit in others, then arose the Triumvirate, or the alliance between three persons, who ruled according to their own will. Of these Sylla, a member of the first Triumvirate, is the first one who ruled Rome despotically, and he erected sumptuous edifices at

his own expense, as other citizens had done before him ; and as he had devastated Athens, the seat of the arts, he was a promoter of them in Rome (6). The temple of Fortune which he erected at Præneste surpassed every edifice hitherto built by the citizens, and from what remains of it we can judge even at the present day of its size and consequently of its splendor.

6. This temple was erected on the slope of the mountain on which the modern Palestrina is situated. This city is built on the ruins of the temple itself, though it does not however extend so far as these. The ascent of the hill, which is somewhat steep, to the proper temple was made by seven terraces, whose large and spacious platforms rest on long walls, built of square blocks of stone, with the exception of the lowest, which is made of polished bricks and ornamented with niches. On the uppermost and lowest platforms were contained ponds and magnificent water-works, the remains of which are visible even at the present day. The fourth platform was the first outer court of the temple, and there still remains a large fragment with half-columns of the front side of it ; the market-place of modern Palestrina is on the space in front. In the pavement of this hall lay the mosaic of which I am now about to speak ; it was carried away from this place, and relaid in the castle, so called, of the Barberini family at Palestrina, where it serves again as a pavement. This castle was the highest platform of the temple ; and here stood the proper temple of Fortune.

7. Now as Sylla caused the first mosaic to be executed in this place that had been made in Italy, — according to the statement of Pliny, — it is probable that the above-mentioned large fragment which has been preserved may be a work of that time. Those writers therefore who ascribe this work to the Emperor Adrian, contrary to the express statement of the historian, have no other ground than their supposed explanation of it (7). Hitherto it had been assumed to represent the *Arrival in Egypt of Alexander the Great* ; but, as it has been usual to seek for actual historic facts in all ancient works, it could not be understood why Sylla should order that event to be represented rather than anything else ; according to this opinion we ought to have here a picture of some passage in the Dictator's own history. On this supposition it appeared to Barthelemy that the easiest way of explaining the work would be to assume that it is to be ascribed not to Sylla but to Adrian, and that the latter may have wished

to perpetuate his voyage into Egypt by an enduring picture of this kind. But if it should be a representation drawn from fabulous history and from Homer? since it can be shown that artists seldom employed themselves upon incidents posterior to the return of Ulysses to Ithaca, with which the mythological cycle ended.

8. One might propose the adventures of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt; this suggestion is at least applicable to several incidents in the picture. Menelaus might be the hero who is drinking from a horn; and the female figure here who has poured something into the horn would be Polydamna; in her hand she holds a *Sympulum*, a ladle; this vessel has hitherto not been recognized by any one. We might say she is giving him Nephenthe to drink, of which Helen also had received some from her. Helen, in order to conceal her flight with Menelaus from Theoclymenes, king of Egypt, who was in love with her, caused a feigned account of the death of her husband to be brought to her, and then alleged that, as he had died upon the sea, she must show to him also on the sea the last honors; the ceremonies, as she pretended, were to be the same as at an actual burial, the empty bed of the deceased being borne, etc., etc. This seems to be the meaning of the oblong box which is carried by four persons, like a coffin on a bier; and Helen might be the female sitting on the earth in front of the bearers. The king gave her a ship equipped for this purpose, which is also in the picture, and lies by the shore. In the mean time he ordered his subjects to celebrate in anticipation his approaching marriage with Helen with joyful bridal songs; this incident might be represented by the figures who are drinking and frolicking in an open arbor. Hitherto no one has been able to ascertain what the word signifies which stands under ΣΑΥΡΟΣ, *sauros* near a lizard, because some of the little stones of which the word was composed have been displaced. It means ΠΗΧΥΑΙΟΣ, *pechuaïos*, and is the adjective of πηχὺς; this word also designates a measure of a foot and a half. We must therefore read *Sauros pechuaïos*, a lizard a foot and a half long; and of this very length is the animal represented (8). This mosaic is not of the finest kind; still more finely executed is a smaller piece in the Barberini palace at Rome, which was likewise discovered in a pavement of that temple. It represents the *Abduction of Europa*, and on the upper part of it we see her companions standing terrified on the sea-shore, and her father, Agenor, running in consternation towards them.

9. The reception in Rome of the Greek arts was promoted principally by a love of display, and especially of display even in the dwellings of the Roman citizens; in a few years it had increased so much that the house of Lepidus, who was consul the year following the death of Sylla, the Dictator, although at that time it was considered the handsomest, could hardly in thirty years therefrom be ranked as the hundredth. The dwelling-houses formerly had only one story, and, as Varro and the appearances in most of the houses at Pompeii testify, enclosed a court, termed by the Romans *cavædium*, and by the Greeks αἶλῆ; but now they had assumed another form; many stories were ranged one above another, having their corridors and long suites of chambers expensively decorated, and consequently the hands of many hundred artists were occupied. The notorious Clodius sold his house for more than fourteen millions of gulden (\$5,880,000).

10. Finally, of the many Romans who were distinguished for their magnificence in the latter days of the republic, no one surpassed Julius Cæsar either in splendor or in love for art. He made large collections of engraved gems, ivory figures, and works in bronze, as well as of the paintings of ancient masters, and gave employment to artists on the great works which he constructed in his second consulship. He caused a splendid Forum to be built in Rome, and even at that time embellished cities not only in Italy, France, and Spain, but also in Greece, with public buildings erected at his own cost (9). Among the colonies which he sent to occupy destroyed or depopulated cities went also one to Corinth; and he caused this city to be again rebuilt on its ruins, from which were dug at that time works of art that once belonged to the destroyed city, as I have mentioned in the first chapter of the first portion of this *History* (Book I. ch. 2). A large and beautiful statue of Neptune, which together with a Juno, so called, was excavated about twelve years ago at Corinth, was probably executed either in the time of Julius Cæsar or not long afterwards. The style of the workmanship also points about to this time, and from it, though still more from the shape of the letters in a Greek inscription on the head of a dolphin at the feet of the statue, it can be proved that it was not made before the destruction of the city. The inscription tells that the statue was erected by Publius Licinius Priscus, a priest of Neptune. It is as follows:—

II. ΑΙΚΙΝΙΟC  
ΠΡΕΙΚΚΟC  
ΙΕΡΕΥC . . . . .

The name of the person who caused a statue to be made was occasionally placed upon it together with the name of the artist. Pausanias mentions that some one from Corinth, after it was rebuilt, erected at Elis, near the temple of Jupiter, a statue of Alexander the Great under the figure of a Jupiter.

11. In different museums there are found heads which bear the name of Cæsar ; not a single one however wholly resembles the heads on his coins (10). The most skilful connoisseur of antiquities, the most exalted Cardinal Alexander Albani, doubts whether we possess any genuine heads of Cæsar. But at all events it is a great folly to pretend that a bust in the museum of the Cardinal Polignac is the *only* likeness, and that this is a copy from life (11). It deserves to be mentioned, that a Roman lady in her will directed her husband to have a statue of gold, of a hundred pounds' weight, erected to Cæsar in the Capitol.

12. Among the numerous prisoners who were captured and brought to Rome, especially in the latter victories of Lucullus, Pompey, and afterwards of Augustus, from every portion of the globe in which the Greeks had settled, were very many artists ; in the course of time they were manumitted and then exercised their art. One of these is Gnaïos or Cneius, the master of the above-mentioned (Book VII. ch. 1) wonderfully beautiful head of Hercules in the Strozzi museum at Rome ; he probably adopted the Roman name of him from whom he had received his freedom, and he was probably a freedman of the great Pompey, as he is frequently mentioned only by his surname Cneius. Another artist of the time, an engraver of gems, would be Agathangelus, if the head on a beautiful carnelian with his name represents Sextus Pompey, son of the great Pompey, of whom I shall take occasion to speak when noticing the statue of his father. Alcamenes, who has placed his name on a small rilievo in the Albani villa, was called Quintus Lollius after his master of this name who was probably the Lollius celebrated during the government of Augustus. A still more celebrated artist, and a contemporary of Zopyrus, was Evander of Athens, a sculptor, whose models in terra cotta were very much esteemed. He went from his native land to Alexandria with the triumvir Marcus Antonius, and was

brought by Augustus to Rome with other captives. He made a head for the statue of Diana which stood in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, and which was from the hand of a distinguished and more ancient sculptor, Timotheus, a contemporary of Scopas; the former head had probably been injured. Horace speaks of cups in terra cotta modelled by Evander, which many understood to mean vases belonging to the ancient king, Evander; Bentley however shows the true sense of the passage.

13. But art was practised in Rome not by Greek freedmen alone, but also by celebrated artists who resorted thither from Greece; among the latter Arcesilaus and Pasiteles are pre-eminently distinguished. Arcesilaus was a friend of the celebrated Lucullus, and a higher price was paid even by other artists for his models than for the finished works of other masters. He executed a Venus for Julius Cæsar, which was taken out of his hands and set up before it had received the last finish. Pasiteles, a native of Magna Græcia, won by his art the citizenship of Rome. He wrought principally on relieved or embossed works in silver; among them Cicero speaks of one relating to the celebrated comedian Q. Roscius, who was represented as his nurse saw him in his cradle with a serpent twined around him. Of his statues a Jupiter in ivory was celebrated, and the five books which he wrote upon the works to be found in the world were esteemed (12).

14. At the same period, as I believe, two Athenian sculptors, Kriton and Nicolaus, arrived in Rome; their names are to be seen engraved in the following manner on a basket, borne on the head of a Karyatid, larger than life:—

ΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ  
ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ  
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΕΠΟΙ  
ΟΤΗ.

“ Kriton and Nicolaus, Athenians, made.”

This Karyatid, together with another and the stump of a third, was discovered, in the year 1766, in a vineyard belonging to the Strozzi family, on the ancient Appian Way, distant about two miles from the gate of St. Sebastian, and on the other side of the celebrated tomb of Cæcilia Metella, wife of the rich Cræsus.

Now as this road was occupied on both side by tombs, some of which were connected with pleasure-gardens and small villas, and we know this to have been the case with the tomb of Herod Atticus from the inscriptions on it still existing, it is consequently probable that these figures embellished either the tomb of some wealthy Roman, — of which we have now no knowledge, — or his villa, which was connected with the tomb. I draw a presumptive conclusion particularly from the locality on which they were discovered, and probably also from the style of the workmanship, that they belong to the time of which we are now speaking. Since these statues served as Karyatides, of which there must have been four, or an even number, to support the cornice of a room either in the tomb itself or in the villa connected with it, we may conjecture that they were made for the place where they stood, and not brought hither from abroad. But tombs of such magnificence, and provided with such statues, appear not to have been erected before this time, — I speak of statues of this kind, — for the likenesses of deceased persons were set up in tombs even in earlier times, as we learn in regard to the statue of Ennius, which was placed in the tomb of the Scipios, on this very Appian Way. In regard to the style, I observe in the heads a certain trivial sweetness, together with blunt and round parts, which would have been kept sharper, more emphatic and expressive in an earlier age of art, which the form of the letters in the inscription might lead us to infer.

15. Art however had not entirely departed from Greece, although it had begun to languish. Love of country still retained there some celebrated masters ; among them at the time of Pompey the Great was Zopyrus, a worker in silver, like Pasiteles (13). That he may have worked in Greece is a conjecture founded on the following notice. Pliny mentions among the works of Zopyrus two silver embossed cups, and even gives the price at which they were estimated. On one of them the Areopagites were represented, and on the other the *Judgment of Orestes*, when before the Areopagus. The Cardinal Neri Corsini has in his possession a silver cup, about a palm (8.73 inches) in height, on which the latter fable is wrought in relief, and which we might attribute to this Zopyrus. As it was found during the popedom of Benedict XIV. in the harbor of the ancient city of Antium by the workmen employed in cleaning it out, it is credible that

this vase was not wrought at Rome, but has been brought hither from some other place, and therefore probably from Greece, and by some accident had fallen into the harbor, in which it had remained. The *Judgment* is wrought with uncommon elegance in small figures round the cup, in correspondence with the fable, according to which Pallas made the votes of the judges of an equal number, for the purpose of acquitting the accused, — it being a rule in this as well as other courts that an equality of votes decided in favor of the accused. She throws something into a vase which stands upon a table, precisely in the way in which she is represented on a fragment of a rilievo in the Giustiniani palace. For the first time an engraving of this cup was published by me in my *Ancient Monuments*, in which I have described and explained it, and shown that the form of it is similar to that of the cup of Nestor in Homer. For the embossed portion is an outer case; the cup itself is smooth, and not chased, and can be drawn out and replaced within its outer and embossed covering, into which it fits so accurately that no one who was unaware of this double arrangement could easily discover it. Hereby we have an explanation of what in Homer is called ἀμφίθετος φιάλη, also ἀμφικύπελλον δέπας, a cup enclosed within another cup. Even the ancients have not been able to agree as to the shape of this Homeric cup, as we see from Athenæus, and the learned moderns have been still less able to understand it.

16. This Zopyrus and Pasiteles appear to have exercised their art principally in representing mythologic and heroic history on their works in silver, as Mentor did, one of their more ancient predecessors in the same department of art, — as we learn from Propertius: —

Argumenta magis sunt Mentoris addita formæ;  
At Myos exiguum flectit acanthus iter (14).

“Mentor with form a storied charm combines,  
But Mys the acanthus’ slender tendrils twines.”

He terms such figures *argumenta*, — an expression which in the passage quoted, and wherever it is applied to such works, has probably not been clearly understood. He distinguishes this nobler department of art from the more humble work in flowers and leaves, and especially in ornaments, in which Mys had obtained the prize. The poet denotes the latter in a peculiar way, namely, by chased acanthus leaves.

The celebrated painter Timomachus, a Byzantine, appears also to have remained in Greece. In the time of Julius Cæsar, in which Pliny places him, he must have been of great age, for two of his valuable pictures, the Ajax and the Medea, which Cæsar put up in the temple that he erected to Venus, had already been in others' hands, and were purchased by him for eighty talents (\$23,232) (15). Before the temple stood an equestrian statue of Cæsar himself; and as it appears from a passage in Statius that the horse was from the hand of the celebrated Lysippus, it therefore must have been brought from Greece.

17. Formerly I classed the sculptor Strongylion among the artists of the age of Julius Cæsar (16), but I committed a mistake in so doing, having been led into error by a passage in Pliny in which he speaks of a boy child of this artist whom Brutus loved. I supposed that he meant a figure and likeness of the loved youth which the artist had copied from life. I suffered myself to be misled by Farnabius and others in their remarks upon Martial, by whom the figure of this boy is mentioned. It was however only a figure in bronze which Brutus loved, and which has hence received the surname of this celebrated Roman. It must have been a very small figure, as we may infer from the words of Martial. Some one who saw the beautiful Amazon of marble, in the Mattei villa, was reminded of the celebrated Amazon of Strongylion, surnamed Εἰκνημος, *She of the Beautiful Legs*, which Nero carried with himself wherever he went, and it was a question whether they might not perchance be the same. The Amazon of Strongylion however was in *bronze*, and not in *marble*, and moreover it must have been a figure of middling size.

18. Besides the silver cup above mentioned, which probably belongs to this age, there are two statues of captive kings, — one on each side of the Roma in the Campidoglio (17), — and probably also the reputed statue of Pompey in the Spada palace (18), which are to be regarded as indisputable works of artists of this period. The two former beautiful statues in black marble represent Thracian kings, of those Thracians who were called Scordisci, and who, as Florus relates, were captured by Marcus Licinius Lucullus, brother of Lucullus the Magnificent. Being exasperated by their perfidy, he caused the hands of both of them to be cut off (19), just as the statues represent

them; of one the hands are cut off above the elbow; of the other above the wrists. They are consequently similar to the statues of captives in the mausoleum of Osymandyas, king of Egypt, which were without hands, like twenty colossal statues in wood (20) in the city of Sais in this same kingdom. In the same manner the Carthaginians mutilated those whom they found on board of two vessels captured by them in the harbor of Syracuse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, when in Sicily, caused all deserters from Roman garrisons to be treated in a similar manner.

19. The statue of Pompey in the Spada palace is regarded as the one which stood in the Curia (senate-house) near his theatre, and in front of which Cæsar was assassinated. It was not indeed found in the place on which it formerly stood, for the market-place called *Campo de' Fiori*, and the Chancery (21) lie between that spot and the street where it was discovered. We know from Suetonius that Augustus removed the statue in question to another place. I remember that some one questioned how it happened that the senate was assembled in public deliberation near the theatre of Pompey. Casaubon explains this circumstance from Appian, who says that when plays were performed in this theatre it was customary for the senate to assemble in one of Pompey's buildings, near the theatre; but the day on which Cæsar was murdered was a festival Anna of Perenna.

20. However often I examine this likeness I am surprised to see it wholly nude, that is to say, represented *heroically*, or in the form of deified emperors, which must have appeared extraordinary to the Romans also in regard to a private person like Pompey. We may infer at least from this circumstance that it cannot be a statue which was erected to him after his death, because his faction was utterly destroyed. I even believe that this is the sole instance in which the statue of a Roman citizen of the days of the republic has been heroically represented, for Pliny informs us that it was customary among the Greeks to represent their celebrated men nude, whilst on the contrary the statues of Romans, especially of warriors, were represented in armor or with a coat of mail.

21. From these considerations a doubt might suggest itself in regard to the correctness of the name bestowed upon this statue, although it is based on the comparison of the head

with that on some few and very rare coins of Pompey the Great in our possession. I cannot however refrain from mentioning that I am unable to find in the statue the characteristic which Plutarch notices in the portrait-figures of this celebrated man, namely, ἀναστολή τῆς κόμης, that he wore his hair smoothed upwards from the forehead, like Alexander the Great, whereas it is smoothed downwards over the forehead, as on the coins of his son Sextus. Hence I am surprised how Spanheim, when he produces a rare coin of Pompey with the hair smoothed downward, could believe that he exhibited here ἀναστολήν τῆς κόμης, against all appearance, and translate it *exsurgens capillitium*, "hair standing up" (22).

22. The likeness of Sextus Pompeius, the elder son of Pompey the Great, engraved on a gem bearing the name of the artist, deserves mention in this place not less than the statue of Pompey himself. The stone is the most beautiful sort of carnelian; it was found at the beginning of the present century not far from the tomb of Cæcilia Metella; when found, it was set in a gold ring weighing an ounce; and, although the beauty of the stone needed no borrowed lustre, still a thin leaf of gold was placed beneath it, as I have already noticed in another place. The name of the artist, — otherwise unknown, — Agathangelus, that is, *A Messenger of Joyful Tidings*, is as usual put in the genitive, but not written conformably to Greek orthography. Instead of ΑΓΑΘΑΝΓΕΛΟΥ, it should be written ΑΓΑΘΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ, because the N before the Γ is changed into another gamma (Γ). Such a mode of writing is found however, and not rarely, in similar cases; and I can adduce here from the celebrated mosaic at Palestrina the word ΑΥΝΞ (the *wild beast* of this name), which should be written ΑΥΓΞ, because Ξ is compounded of Γ and Σ; also, from ancient inscriptions, the word ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΝ, instead of ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΝ; and the learned Henry Stevens remarks that in an ancient manuscript the word ἄγγελος is particularly written ἄνγελος. The name given to the head is evidently correct, as we may see from a rare gold coin of Sextus Pompey about the head of which stand the abbreviated words, MAG. PIVS. IMP. ITER. that is, *Magnus Pius Imperator iterum*. On the reverse are stamped two small heads, one of which is the likeness of Pompey the Great, the other represents his grandson, the son of Sextus. Around them we read, PRAEF. CLASS. ET.

ORAE. MARIT. EX. S. C., *By decree of the Senate, Admiral of the Fleets and Superintendent of the Coasts.* Forty scudi (dollars) were paid for this coin. The chin and cheeks of the head on the gem are covered with short hairs, as when a person passes many days without being shaved. This may probably be a sign of his sorrow for the death of his father, even as Augustus, after the destruction of the three legions of Varus in Germany, did not allow himself to be shaved. This valuable stone is in the possession of the Duchess Ligniville Calabritto, at Naples.<sup>1</sup>

23. It would seem to me wholly superfluous to make any mention of the so-called statue of Caius Marius in the Capitoline museum, if, in the latest description of the statues in this collection, it had not again been put forward as a likeness of that celebrated man. Even Faber, who usually does not make many scruples about *baptizing*, had already shown that this statue cannot represent Marius, because there is a case for writings at the foot of it as an attribute of a senator or a learned man, but not of Marius, who could not be regarded as a senator, and was far from having any erudition. Notwithstanding in the work above mentioned this statue is again presented with the name of Marius confidently affixed to it, though with the exception of what Cicero and Plutarch say of his grim aspect we cannot have any idea of his face from any other memorial; for the coins which have been made known hitherto, and cited by authors as his, are all counterfeit and false. The name of Marius has been given by Fulvio Orsini to a head on an engraved gem because it conformed to the idea of such a face; and equally as ungrounded are the names of the heads in the Barberini palace, and in the Ludovisi villa, and likewise of a statue in the Negroni villa, which are cited in the explanations of the Capitoline museum as supposed proofs of the correct naming of the above-mentioned statue in the Campidoglio. Of the supposed trophy of Marius I shall speak in reference to art under the Emperor Domitian. The appellation of Marius which has been given to the Capitoline statue was engendered in the brains of the same ignorant men who bestowed upon another statue there the name of Cicero (23); at the same time a wart has been inserted quite visibly into the cheek to signify a pea, *cicer*, in allusion to the name,

<sup>1</sup> Plate XIV.





Cicero. But the most laughable circumstance of all is, that the name of this celebrated man has been confidently engraved upon the base.

24. The genuine head of Cicero, with the ancient name at the lower end of the bust, was probably made not long after this date. It is in the Mattei palace. Although the letters may not appear nice enough for those times, still we must distinguish the public inscriptions, which were engraved by workmen specially employed for the purpose, from a name placed by the sculptor himself upon his work, for we cannot expect that he would copy letters with particular elegance. I must caution the reader that the nose, the upper and lower lips, and the chin of this head are modern restorations (24). The most beautiful head of the younger Brutus that is to be found in Rome is probably the one in the possession of the Marquis of Rondinini (25).

25. If a beautiful statue above the size of life in the Pamfili villa really represented the noted Publius Clodius, the great enemy of Cicero, as it is given out in some books, the order of time would require me to speak of it here. It is a figure in female drapery; the breasts are quite flat, and the hair is in short locks. These two facts, especially the latter, which is not usual with women, are the grounds of the name. It is understood to be Clodius in disguise, as when he introduced himself clandestinely in a woman's dress among those engaged in the secret worship of the goddess Bona, — which no one of the male sex was permitted to witness, — in order to get access to Pompeia, the wife of Julius Cæsar. We must acknowledge however that this baptismal name, although learned and well contrived, has no foundation. The beautiful Phædra with Hippolytus, in the Ludovisi villa, wears her hair in short locks in precisely the same manner.

## CHAPTER II.

## UNDER THE ROMAN CÆSARS.

1. WHEN Rome and the Roman dominions acknowledged at last a single ruler in their monarchs, the arts established themselves in this city as their central point ; and the best masters turned themselves in this direction because there was little opportunity in Greece for employment and work. Athens together with other cities was deprived by Augustus of its special privileges because they had taken part with Antony. The Athenians were dispossessed of Eretria and the island of Ægina, and though they erected a temple to Augustus, of which the Doric portal is still remaining, we do not find that they were regarded more graciously. Towards the close of his rule they attempted a revolution, but were soon reduced to obedience.

2. The decline of the arts in the cities of Greece is visible in the coins, and most clearly in the largest of them, made of bronze, which we call *medallions* ; for those which have a Greek circumscription are all of a worse impression than those with Roman letters ; so that if fifty scudi (dollars) are occasionally paid for a rare Latin medallion, the Greek are generally not to be valued at more than ten dollars.

3. Augustus, who is styled by Livy the builder and restorer of all temples, was even in this way a promoter of the arts, and, as Horace says, *veteres revocavit artes*, “recalled the ancient arts” (1). He purchased beautiful statues of the deities, with which he ornamented the squares and even the streets of Rome, and he placed the statues of all the distinguished Romans who had aggrandized their native land — represented as triumphing — in the portico of his forum, and those which were already there were again repaired ; even the statue of Æneas was included among them. From an inscription found in the tomb of Livia it appears that he appointed a superintendent over these or over other statues.

4. One of the statues of Roman heroes which Augustus placed in his forum might, according to the common opinion, be the statue called Quintus Cincinnatus, which was formerly in the Montalto villa, afterwards Negroni, and now stands at Versailles (2). This is an entirely nude male figure in the act of tying a shoe upon the right foot ; the left foot is bare ; the other shoe lies near it. Behind and at the feet of the statue is a large ploughshare ; this appears to have been the principal ground of the name bestowed ; for Quintus Cincinnatus, it is well known, was taken from the plough and made Dictator. But the ploughshare is not seen in the engraving of the statue in the work published by De Rossi ; and Maffei, who explains the statue by the engraving, and finds no drawing of the ploughshare, has notwithstanding adhered to the name by which it is known ; and he relates the history of the Dictator, but as he does not mention the ploughshare, he adduces no proof in support of the name adopted. No more is an engraved gem, which the same Maffei introduces in another place, to be explained as a Cincinnatus ; in fact it appears to be the work of a modern artist (3).

5. It can on the contrary be shown that, notwithstanding the ploughshare, the name Cincinnatus is not in the least degree appropriate to this statue because it is undraped ; it consequently cannot represent a Roman consul, for the Romans draped the images of all their distinguished men, — with the exception of the statue of Pompey, — and in this respect differed from the Greeks. Experience justifies me in making this assertion. The statue therefore of which we speak is a *heroic* statue, and, if I do not mistake, it represents Jason at the time when he together with others received an invitation from Pelias, his father's brother, to whom he was a stranger, to assist at a solemn sacrifice to Neptune. He was summoned while he was occupied in ploughing, — this is denoted by the ploughshare near the statue, — and, as he was obliged to ford the river Anaurus, he forgot in his haste to put the shoe on his left foot, and laced it only upon the right (4). When Jason presented himself in this state before Pelias, the latter received a solution of the obscure answer given him by the oracle, — to beware of him who should come to him *μονοκρήπις*, *single-shoed*. This is according to my belief the true explanation of said statue (5). There was even a figure of Anacreon

represented with only one shoe, because he had lost the other whilst intoxicated.

6. Julian, in his satire against the Cæsars, says that Augustus has given many statues to the Romans by introducing the custom of deifying the emperors ; and as they were revered as beneficent beings, flattery had a visible pretext for multiplying the statues and likenesses of them. Tiberius permitted images of himself to be placed in houses as an ornament. One of the true statues of Augustus is that which stands in the Campidoglio. It is larger than life, and at the feet of it lies the prow of a ship. It represents him of an age which corresponds to his victory over Sextus Pompey ; for at the battle of Actium, five years previous to this victory, Augustus was younger than his statue exhibits him (6), which cannot therefore well be supposed to represent him at that date. In all probability this is the statue which was erected to him by order of the senate after the above-mentioned naval victory over the younger Pompey, with the inscription, OB. PACEM. DIV. TVRBATAM. TERRA. MARIQVE. PARTAM., "To the restoration of peace on land and sea after long interruption," which is lost together with the base on which it stood. Another genuine statue of Augustus is in the possession of the Marquis Rondinini at Rome, for it cannot be stated with certainty that the heads of the other statues of this emperor belong to them ; the most beautiful of them is in the villa of the Cardinal Albani (7). A seated statue with the head of Augustus in the Campidoglio, which is claimed to be a statue of him, absolutely does not deserve mention. The book-bepraised Livia, or, according to others, Sabina, wife of Adrian, is represented as the Tragic Muse, as the buskin denotes (8). Maffei speaks of a head of Augustus with a civic crown, or a crown of oak-leaves, in the Bevilacqua museum at Verona, and he doubts whether another similar head can be found elsewhere ; he might have learned that such a head of Augustus was in the library of St. Mark at Venice ; but in the Albani villa there are three different heads of Augustus with crowns of oak-leaves, and a beautiful colossal head of Livia. A small head of Augustus in agate, in the museum of General von Walmoden, has a similar crown ; it is an irreparable loss that so much of it has perished ; only the eyes, forehead, and hair are preserved to enable us to recognize it as a like-





ness of him. This head, if entire, would be as large as a pomegranate.

7. Two recumbent female statues—one in the Belvedere, the other in the Medici villa—bear the name of Cleopatra because the ornament about the arm has been regarded as a serpent. They represent perhaps sleeping Nymphs, or Venus (9), as a learned earlier writer has already discovered. Consequently they are not works from which any inference can be drawn in regard to art during the reign of Augustus; some one however remarks that Cleopatra may have been found dead in a similar position (10). The head of the former has nothing remarkable about it except that it is somewhat awry; that of the latter, of which certain critics make a miracle of art, and compare it with one of the most beautiful heads of antiquity, is undoubtedly modern, and chiselled by an artist who had not learned to know even remotely the beautiful either in nature or in art. In the Odescalchi palace there was a figure similar to those, and larger than life, as they are, which has been removed to Spain with the other statues of this museum.

8. Besides the works in marble we have genuine monuments of this period in some of the engraved gems, which show the name of Dioscorides,<sup>1</sup> who engraved the heads of Augustus with which this emperor, and others after him,—with the exception of Galba,—were accustomed to seal. A gem of this kind with the likeness of Augustus belonged to the Massimi family at Rome; it was broken into three pieces on an attempt being made to set it in gold. This head of Augustus is remarkable by a length of beard which is not found on other heads of him; hence we may infer that it represents him at the time of the destruction in Germany of the three legions of Varus, for we know that he allowed his beard to grow in sign of his great sorrow over this loss (11). In the Albani villa may be seen a head of the Emperor Otho with a similar beard, with whom it is something not less unusual than with Augustus. This is also the proper place to notice the extraordinarily beautiful head of Augustus which was formerly in the Carpegna museum, and is now in the museum of the Vatican library; it is cut from a chalcedony, and is more than half of a Roman palm in height (4 3-8 in.), as the engraving from Buonarroti

<sup>1</sup> Plate XV.

shows (12). Another celebrated artist in gem-engraving was Solon, from whom we have among other stones the supposed head of Mæcenas, the famous Medusa, a Diomedes, and a Cupid. Besides these published gems there is in the Stosch museum one of the most beautiful heads of Hercules that was ever engraved on a gem ; and the author possesses a broken, beautiful carnelian, which represented a Victoria sacrificing a bull ; the Victoria and the name COΛΩΝ have been preserved uninjured. Of the engraved gems representing the Queen Cleopatra with a serpent at her breast, all that have as yet come under my inspection are modern works, and the alto cut gem of Assemani, superintendent of the Vatican library, which is viewed as a wonder, is probably the most modern of them all, and executed by an artist who was very far removed from a knowledge of the beautiful. I therefore conjecture that even the gem which Maffei adduces may be modern.

9. The almost colossal head of Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, also belongs to works of this period, for it is beautiful, and gives the clearest idea of the greatest man of his day (13) ; it stands in the Capitoline museum. But whether a heroic, badly restored statue in the Grimani family at Venice represents this illustrious general, I leave to others to decide who have the opportunity to scrutinize the likeness in the head, and ascertain whether it belongs to the statue.

10. But we probably possess a still better monument of a Greek master of the age of Augustus, for in all probability one of the Karyatides of Diogenes of Athens, which stood in the Pantheon, is still in existence, if we apply the word "Karyatides" to male as well as to female supporting figures, though the former are properly termed Atlantes. It stood unrecognized in the court-yard of the Farnese palace, and a few years ago it was sent to Naples. It is one half, as low as the middle, of a male undraped figure without arms. It bears on its head a sort of basket, which is not wrought with the figure out of one piece ; on this basket are observable traces of projections, and according to all appearance acanthus leaves have been represented there, by which it was draped in the same way in which the basket was overgrown which suggested to Kallimachus the idea of a Corinthian capital. This half-figure is about eight Roman palms in height (70 in.), and the basket two and a half (21.8 in.) in height ; it was therefore a statue

which had the right proportion to the Attic order of the Pantheon, which is about nineteen palms (13 ft. 10  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.) high (14). The figures which some authors have hitherto regarded as Karyatides of a similar kind are only proofs of their great ignorance. An engraving of this figure may be seen in my *Ancient Monuments*.

11. Among the architectural works of the time of Augustus there still remains a large round sepulchre of the Plautia family. It is constructed of large square blocks, and was built by Marcus Plautius Silvanus, who was consul at the same time with Augustus; the epitaphs are placed in front of it between half-columns. It is not far from Tivoli, near the last bridge over the Anio. The inscription in the middle and in larger letters consists of a memorial of the builder himself, and a list of the offices which he had filled, of his campaigns, and of the triumph which he celebrated after his victory over the Illyrians; it concludes with the words, VIXIT. ANN. IX. Wright, in his *Travels*, says that he cannot comprehend how a man, after so great deeds, and especially a consul, can say that he has lived only nine years; he believes that an L has been omitted before the number IX., so that he may have lived fifty-nine years. But he and others of the same opinion are wrong; there is nothing wanting to the number, and the letters together with the figures, which are fully a span in length, have been very well preserved. Marcus Plautius counted those years only which he had spent in repose at his country-seat, which was probably situated in the vicinity, and reckoned the remaining previous portion of his life as nothing. Just so long the Emperor Diocletian lived at his country-seat near Salona, in Dalmatia, after he had withdrawn himself entirely from the cares of government. Similis, one of the noblest Romans of the time of Adrian, caused a similar inscription to be placed on his tomb, — that he was so old and had lived seven years; in other words, he had enjoyed repose for such a length of time in the country.

12. I take the occasion to remark that, of the different paintings found in the tomb of the Nasones, — to which family Ovid belonged, — and which have been engraved by Sante Bartoli, there is one still in existence in the Altieri villa, namely, *Œdipus with the Sphinx*. It is generally believed that all of them have perished, and Wright has even allowed him-

self to make such an assertion. In the upper part of the picture is seen a man with an ass, which Bartoli has omitted as having nothing to do with the scene represented, whereas the ass is the most learned part of the picture. For, after the Sphinx had thrown herself down from the rock, Œdipus loaded an ass with the body, and thus brought to Thebes a proof that the riddle had been solved.

13. In order however to form a correct judgment upon this and similar pieces of painting, we must reflect that the grandees of Rome had not only their tombs but also other buildings embellished with paintings, executed by their own painters, who were their freedmen and in their employ. Such a freed painter is found noted down among the emperor's servants in a list on a marble tablet which was found in the ruins of ancient Antium by the Cardinal Alexander Albani, and is now in the Capitoline museum. It may be regarded as one of the causes of the decline of art in Rome that it had fallen into the hands of liberated slaves. Petronius, in his lamentations over it, even asserts that not the faintest trace of painting as it bloomed among the Greeks was left in his day.

14. Although we cannot form any general conclusion in regard to the architecture of the time of Augustus from a single specimen of that age on the outside of Rome, still it deserves mention on account of an unusual license. It is a temple at Melasso in Caria, built in honor of Augustus and the city of Rome, as the inscription on the entablature denotes. Pillars of Roman order in the porch, Ionic columns on the sides, and the lower extremities of them ornamented with carved leaves after the manner of a capital, are opposed to rule and good taste. This building however is not the sole one where the characteristics of two orders are united in one. In the smaller of the two Nymphææ, as they are called, by the lake of Castello, we see Ionic pilasters with a Doric frieze; and a tomb near the city of Girgenti in Sicily, which is commonly supposed to be that of the tyrant Theron, has on Ionic pilasters not only Doric triglyphs, but on the cornice of the entablature the usual rows of dentils.

15. Already, in the reign of Augustus, there had begun to be a decline of good taste in the style of literature. It appears to have crept in especially from a desire to please Mæcenas, who preferred the ornamental, playful, and tender style of

composition. Tacitus say in general terms that, after the battle of Actium, the times had ceased to produce great minds. At this date a bad taste already prevailed in ornamental painting, as Vitruvius laments that in opposition to the aim of painting, which is truth or verisimilitude, things contradictory to nature and sound sense were represented, and palaces were built on the stems of reeds and lamp-stands, with the idea of imitating, in the long, disproportionate, and spindle-shaped columns, the antique shaft or lamp-stand. Among the *Herculaneum* pictures are some pieces of ideal edifices which were probably executed about this time or not long afterwards, and which show this corruption of taste. The columns in them have double the proper length, and already we see a beginning made of twisting column, contrary to the principle of a supporting shaft, and the ornaments are absurd and barbarous. Of a similar extravagant kind were the columns of an edifice painted on a wall forty palms in length (30 ft.), in the palace of the *Cæsars*, the *Farnese villa*, and the *Baths of Titus* (15).

16. Memorable as the name of Augustus and the extant monuments of his time are in the history of art, the name of *Asinius Pollio*, one of the greatest lovers of art, has become not less celebrated by the account, given by *Pliny*, of the best works of ancient art which were collected by his orders in various parts of Greece, and erected in public places. The historian speaks of several of them by name; among them were — in addition to the great work of the Bull in the *Farnese palace* of which I have previously spoken — the *Hippiades* of *Stephanus*, which probably represented Amazons on horseback, ἵππεις. I notice the *Hippiades* at this time particularly not so much on account of the artist, whose age cannot be given, as because I believe that he may be the same *Stephanus* whom *Menelaus*, the artist of a group of two figures of the size of life in the *Ludovisi villa*, mentions in the Greek inscription as his master. I shall hereafter introduce an explanation of this work.

17. At the proper time I shall give an account of a beautiful rilievo which was discovered in the ruins of the villa of another *Pollio*, with the surname of *Vedius*, who is also to be counted among the celebrated persons of that age, and to whom Augustus bequeathed this villa, which was situated on the *Posilipo*, near *Naples*. The ruins of it cover an amazing extent of sur-

face. But the most remarkable thing among them is the reservoir, *piscina*, of *murænas*, sea-eels ; it is surrounded by walls, and situated on the sea-shore. When Augustus was on one occasion dining with this Pollio, one of his slaves broke a costly porcelain vessel, *vas murrhinum* ; whereupon he ordered him to be thrown to the fishes for food, *ad murænas*, as he said. But the emperor ordered all the vessels of this kind to be broken in pieces, in order that Pollio might not afterwards offend in a similar way. This reservoir is in perfect preservation, so that even the two grates of bronze through which the sea flows into it appear to be the ancient grating of the time of Augustus. I do not know whether any author has made mention of this particular portion of the ruins, or whether it has been the subject of general remark before my own.

18. We find scarcely any mention of the names of artists who distinguished themselves under the reigns of the nearest successors of Augustus. Under Tiberius,<sup>1</sup> by whom few buildings were erected, the condition of artists must also have been very bad ; and as he confiscated the property of wealthy persons under every sort of pretext in all the rich provinces, and therefore also in Greece, no one was ready to expend anything upon works of art (16). The temple of Augustus is the sole new building which he ordered to be built, yet he did not complete it. As he was desirous of placing in the library of the Palatine Apollo a statue of the god, he ordered one to be brought from Syracuse, where it was known under the appellation Temenites, from the fountain Temenitis, which gave its name to the fourth part of the city of Syracuse. It is known that, in order to get possession of a lascivious picture by Parrhasius, he relinquished a considerable sum of money of his inheritance, when the choice between the two was left to him, but the love of art seems to have had the smaller share in his estimation of the picture. Statues became things of contempt because under this emperor they were the rewards of spies. The heads of Tiberius are rare, far more rare than the likenesses of Augustus ; there are however two of them in the Capitoline museum ; likewise a statue in the Albani villa has a head of Tiberius (17) which represents him in youth, whilst the Capitoline heads present him in a more advanced age (18). The head of Germanicus, the son of Tiberius's brother, is one

<sup>1</sup> Plate XVI.





of the most beautiful imperial heads in the Campidoglio (19). There was formerly in Spain the base of a statue which was erected to Germanicus by the ædile Lucius Turpilius.

19. The sole remaining public monument of art of the time of this emperor is a square base on the market-place at Pozzuolo. It was erected to Tiberius in this spot by fourteen cities in Asia which were rebuilt by him after they had suffered severely from an earthquake, as we learn not only from history but from the inscription on the base (20). The cities themselves are likewise symbolically represented on it, and each one is distinguished by its name under its figure.

20. I do not know whether those who have written at length upon this work have offered a conjecture in regard to the doubt which has occurred to myself and others, why the said cities erected this work at Pozzuolo, and not rather at Rome. The cause probably is that they wished to place the testimonial of their gratitude on a spot where it might be seen by the emperor, who dwelt at Caprææ, which was not to be expected if it were at Rome, whither he had no intention of returning. On the other hand Tiberius made excursions from his island to the shores of Puteoli, Baiæ, and Misenum, and he died in the villa of Lucullus on the promontory of Misenum.

21. In this place it would be necessary to mention the statue of Germanicus, as it is called, — which was formerly in the Montalto villa, afterwards named Negroni, and is now at Versailles, — provided the head perfectly resembled Germanicus, or it could be ascertained by an examination on the spot whether the head belongs to the statue. On the socle is the name of the artist, Kleomenes (21), and upon it lies a tortoise. A mantle which hangs over the left arm of the undraped figure falls down towards the animal, and must have some especial meaning. But I do not find even a pretext for a supposition, for the tortoise in this instance, unlike the one on which the foot of the Venus of Phidias was placed, or any other known symbolic tortoise, has no significance whatever (22).

22. Caligula, by whose order the statues of the celebrated men which Augustus had placed in the Campus Martius were thrown down and broken to pieces, who caused the heads to be separated from the finest statues of the gods, and his own likeness substituted, who even wished to destroy and annihilate Homer, cannot be regarded as an encourager of the arts.

23. Caligula sent Memmius Regulus — who was forced to resign to him his wife Lollia Paulina — to Greece with directions to convey to Rome the best statues of every city. This he consequently did, having sent a large number thither, which the emperor distributed among his country-seats with the remark, “The most beautiful must be in the most beautiful place, and that is Rome.” Among other statues he took from the Thespians their celebrated Cupid by Praxiteles, which Claudius restored to them, and of which Nero again deprived them. This order extended even to the Olympic Jupiter of Phidias; but persons at Athens who were skilled in construction gave it as their opinion that this work, which was composed of gold and ivory, could not be started and moved from its position without receiving injury. The undertaking was therefore left untried. The injury inflicted on this statue when it was struck by lightning, in the time of Julius Cæsar, could not of course have been of much extent.

24. The likenesses of this emperor in marble are very rare; two only are known in Rome. One of them, in black basalt, is to be found in the Capitoline museum (23); the other, in white marble, is in the Albani villa: it represents him with his mantle drawn upward over his head, like a high-priest. The most beautiful likeness of him is unquestionably a gem cut in alto, which General von Walmoden, of Hanover, bought at Rome the present year, 1766; in fact this specimen may be classed among the most admirable pieces of this kind of workmanship.

25. What sort of a connoisseur Claudius was is shown by the circumstance that he caused the head of Alexander the Great to be cut out of two paintings, and that of Augustus substituted. He wished to be called a patron of the learned, and with this view he enlarged the Museum or residence of the scholars at Alexandria, and his ambition was to have the fame of being called another Cadmus through the invention of new letters, and he brought the inverted  $\text{J}$  into use. The beautiful bust of this emperor, which was found at Frateocchie, went to Spain, through the Cardinal Gerolamo Colonna. When Madrid was captured by the Austrians, Lord Galloway sought after it, and learned that it was in the Escorial, where it was found suspended, as the heaviest weight to the church-clock; he therefore sent it away to England. Whether it arrived there, or what has befallen it since, I do not know (24).

26. The group of Pætus and Arria, as it is called, in the Ludovisi villa, would be a very important work of the time of Claudius, if the conception and style of the work could be made to agree with its name. It is known that Cæcina Pætus, a noble Roman, was discovered to be a participator in the conspiracy of Scribonianus against Claudius, and condemned to death, and that his wife Arria, in order to give him courage to die, thrust the dagger into her own bosom, and then, having drawn it from the wound, handed it to him with the words, "It is not painful." Lovers of art know this work, and are aware that it is composed of a male undraped figure with a beard on the upper lip; with the right hand he thrusts a dagger into his breast, and with his left he grasps beneath the left arm a female draped figure who has dropped upon one knee, and is wounded in the right shoulder, which is shown by a couple of drops of blood on the upper arm. At the feet of these figures lies an oblong shield, and beneath it the sheath of a dagger (25).

27. It is evident that this group cannot represent any incident in Roman history, in the first place from the principle already mentioned, which I have learned from experience, and proved in the *Essay upon Allegory* as well as in the *Preface* to the *Ancient Monuments*, namely, that no representations consisting of whole figures, whether in statues or on reliefs, are to be found drawn from true history, and that the ancient artists have never passed beyond the limits of mythology. In the second place we cannot seek for any Roman incident here, because it would be contrary to the statement made by Pliny, and already quoted, that all figures of Roman personages were draped, whereas this one, being nude like a hero, must have reference to some event in the heroic age. Neither are there any better reasons for supposing a Roman senator to be represented here, because the shield and dagger are not appropriate, and the mustaches were not fashionable at that period; and it cannot, above all, be Pætus, because he had not the courage to follow his wife's example, since he was condemned to open his own veins (26). Further, as we do not find that statues were erected to Thraseus and Helvidius Priscus, as conspirators against Nero, — although they were revered by some few as holy, — so it is not credible that this honor was actually conferred or can have been conferred on Pætus. Maffei, having recollected that Pætus did not

kill himself with the dagger over the body of his wife, and therefore rejecting the common name of this work, has recourse to the history of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus; he believes that the group represents the eunuch Menophilus and Dripetina, a sick daughter of this king, who had been entrusted to his care, and whom he slew at the same time with himself in order that she might not be violated by the enemy. But this conceit is worse than the name by which it is now known; for the supposed eunuch not only shows everything which denotes a man, but he has also mustaches, as I have stated.

28. Gronovius believes that this group represents Macareus, the son of Æolus, and Canace his sister and beloved, who according to Hyginus slew themselves one after the other. I on the contrary think that I recognize the life-guardsmen of Æolus, king of Etruria, whom he sent to his daughter with a dagger, after he had learned her incestuous familiarity with her brother, that she might put herself to death. For the male figure can no more represent the brother of Canace, who was a youth, than it can a hero of antiquity, because there is nothing noble in the face itself, and it appears less noble in consequence of the beard upon the upper lip, worn after the fashion of barbarian captives. On the contrary the fierce looks and barbarous features as well as the stout, strong frame show that it was the artist's intention to express a life-guardsmen, the men of this class being generally represented as bold, fierce men; and, in the representation of the fable of Alope, this is precisely the aspect of the life-guardsmen of King Cercyon, who like our figure are also nude. The explanation now offered is strengthened also by the female figure; for the smooth hair without locks, after the manner of the hair of figures of foreign nations, and likewise her shaggy mantle, by which the same nations are indicated, point to a person who was not a Greek. This explanation may perhaps not be entirely satisfactory to the reader; yet as on the one hand I am confident that it would be difficult to give a more apt explanation, so on the other I believe that the close of the story of Canace has been lost, as well as that of the fable of Alope, a loss which I have made an attempt to repair from an ancient monument. All that we know is drawn from the brief notice by Hyginus, and from the letter which Ovid feigns to have been written by Canace to her brother Macareus, in which

she informs him that their father Æolus has sent her a dagger by one of his life-guard, the object of which is known to her, and that she will use it to shorten her life. Now as this letter preceded her determination, and no other author mentions the life-guardsmen, we may imagine, while contemplating the monument before us, that the soldier who delivered the dagger with a sad countenance, without any knowledge of the purpose for which it was sent, may have thrust it into his own breast when he saw that Canace had killed herself with it (27).

29. Having been induced by the erroneous name applied to this group — which has the merit of a much earlier period of art — to enter into an examination of it in this place, I will add to it another beautiful group which is to be found in the same villa, and like the former belongs among works of the first rank. This group was wrought by Menelaus, a pupil of Stephanus, as the Greek inscription on it informs us; and this Stephanus is probably the one whose Hippiades or Amazons on horseback were celebrated, as above mentioned. The connoisseur of art will understand from this notice that I mean the celebrated group which passes under the name of Papirius and his mother, whose history is related by Gellius. This name has been adopted by all without a doubt, because the explanation of the representations in antique works has hitherto been sought mostly in Roman history, whereas they should have been drawn from Homer and heroic history.

30. This presumption, and the reflection that the work in question is by a Greek artist who would not have selected an unimportant incident in Roman history when he could display his skill in more elevated representations, discards in a measure that appellation. I would also remark that a doubt might perhaps arise in regard to the story of Papirius, which Gellius took from a speech by the elder Cato, but wrote it down from memory and without having the speech itself before his eyes. A doubt might, I say, arise in regard to this story from what he himself adds to it, namely, that the senators were accustomed to carry their sons with them into the senate chamber when the latter had put on the *prætexta*, that is, when they had reached the seventeenth year of their age. This doubt might be suggested by Polybius in that passage in which he refutes two Greek authors who assert that the Romans took their sons with them into the senate chamber even from their twelfth

year; for he says that the thing is neither credible nor true, unless, he jestingly adds, fortune has bestowed upon the Romans this favor also, that of being wise even from their birth. Although Polybius, as a far older author, would deserve more belief, still I do not wish to insist on his authority in disapproval of Gellius, because that which could not happen in the twelfth year of boys might occur in the seventeenth year of youths, although Gellius is the sole one who mentions this practice. Polybius however ought to have been quoted by James Gronovius in his notes to Gellius, and the syllable-sifting which he introduces on this occasion, as usual, omitted.

31. My principal reason for rejecting Roman history in this scene is afforded by the figure of the supposed Papirius, which is naked and consequently heroic, as the Greeks represent their heroes, whereas the Romans not only draped the statues of their celebrated men, but gave to them even the corselet, as Pliny informs us, when he says, *Græca quidem res est nihil velare; at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere*, "It is a Greek custom to conceal nothing; on the other hand, it is a Roman and a military practice to put on coats of mail."

32. The story of Papirius therefore being rejected as ungrounded, we might believe that we here find represented Phædra when she reveals to Hippolytus her love, because the expression in his countenance might be explained by abhorrence of such a declaration. There is not in this expression the slightest trace of the roguish laugh which a modern writer has been willing to find because he adhered to the usual name (28). It occurred to me that this might be the subject, because the story was represented very frequently, not only in ancient times, but it is found even now repeated in several rilievi, two of which are in the Albani villa and one in the Pamfili villa. Nevertheless it was a suspicious circumstance that Phædra herself should in this way have disclosed to Hippolytus her love, — a disclosure however which did not happen in the manner stated by Euripides. Also I could not divest myself of the doubt suggested by the short-cut hair as well of the supposed Phædra as of the Hippolytus, which in the latter is as short as it is usually worn by Mercury; for young persons of this age commonly wore longer hair, and on the former figure such hair is altogether unusual.

33. As I was studying this work anew with this doubt in

my mind, a light seemed to flash upon me even from the very singularity which had hitherto appeared mysterious, namely, the shortened hair. I therefore believe that in this group I see the first interview of Electra with her younger brother Orestes, for they two could not be represented in any other manner than with such hair. Electra wished to have her hair cut off by her sister Crysothemis, — which we must assume as having happened, — that she might lay it together with the hair of her sister upon the tomb of their father, Agamemnon, as a token of their continuing sorrow. The same thing had already been done by Orestes before he discovered himself to Electra; indeed his hair, which was found by Crysothemis upon the said tomb, gave occasion to suspect his presence. Then, when Orestes had made himself fully known to Electra, she seized his hand and said, ἔχω σε χερσίν, *I hold thee by the hand*. This particular action is represented in this group, for Electra holds with her right hand the hand of Orestes, while her left is placed upon his shoulder. Here can be seen represented generally the whole of the affecting scene of the *Electra* of Sophocles which contains this interview, — a tragedy which the artist appears to have had in view more than the *Choephorce* of Æschylus. In the countenances of both figures have been portrayed most clearly the emotions of this first interview of Electra and Orestes; for his eyes are apparently filled with tears, and the eyelids seem swelled by weeping; and so it is with Electra, though in her features joy is mingled with tears, and love with sadness.

34. Now, as Electra and Orestes are the true figures of this group, I must say that I have discovered them by the very same sign whereby according to Æschylus the latter made himself known to the former, namely, by the hair, for he directed his sister's attention to it in order to remove all doubt from her mind. Although in the plot of a tragedy this mode of effecting a recognition, ἀναγνώρισις, between two persons, is, according to Aristotle, the smallest and least weighty among the four modes of such recognition, yet in this instance it has contributed more than any other indication to the discovery of the subject most probably intended to be represented (29).

35. This being assumed as proved, I propose to apply the name of Electra to a beautiful statue in the Pamfili villa, which with the exception of the left arm has remained in a

state of perfect preservation, and has the same size, the same expression precisely, even indeed similar traits of countenance as that Electra, but differs in the attitude. The name is justified here by the very same characteristic, namely, the short-cut hair, of which moreover the execution is exactly the same as in the other statue. This mode of wearing the hair, which, even at the time of the discovery of the statue, was viewed as extraordinary, and apparently denoted a male, not a female figure, gave occasion to those whose knowledge did not extend beyond Roman history to bestow upon it a highly ridiculous name. It was supposed that this was a representation in woman's clothing of the celebrated Publius Clodius, and under this name the statue has been quoted in different books. Now, as I believe that I restore to this statue its true appellation, and as the antique sole is wanting, I imagine that this Electra and the figure of Orestes which has been lost, formed a group in such a manner that her left arm was placed on the shoulder of Orestes (30).

36. I hope the reader will not take in ill part the episodes by which the thread of our history has been interrupted, nor withhold his indulgence from those which will follow. I have been obliged to seek out such digressions in order to communicate instruction, because no monuments quite so remarkable as the subjects of them have come down to us from the times of which properly we treat; but those portions of the preceding investigations which have arisen naturally out of the topics under discussion are to be regarded as matters pertaining to art during the reign of Claudius.

## CHAPTER III.

## UNDER THE ROMAN CÆSARS. — (Continued.)

1. NERO, the successor of Claudius, exhibited an extravagant longing in regard to everything which belongs to the fine arts. But it was a craving like avarice, which seeks to accumulate rather than to produce. We can form an idea of his vitiated taste from the fact that he caused a bronze figure of Alexander the Great, executed by Lysippus, to be gilded; but, as it was the common remark that the statue had lost much by the process, the gilding was removed; there still remain however the marks which were made for the purpose in the bronze (1). Other proofs of his taste are also to be found in the rhyme of the cæsura and at the end of the verse, after which he labored, and in the inflated metaphors which he freely introduced; both these traits have been turned into ridicule by Persius. Probably Seneca, who excludes painting as well as sculpture from the liberal arts, had a great influence on his taste.

2. We are unable to form any definite judgment of the style of art under this emperor, for we have probably nothing remaining from his reign except a couple of mutilated heads of him, the supposed statue of Agrippina, his mother, and a bust of Poppæa. The pretended likenesses of Seneca cannot represent him, as I will hereafter show. Genuine heads of Nero are very rare, and of the one in the Capitoline museum only the upper half is ancient, and of the face only one eye. In the superb collection of imperial portraits which are displayed in the Albani villa, the head of Nero is wanting; from this fact may be inferred the rareness of likenesses of him. What therefore shall we say of a head of him in bronze, in the Mattei villa? As it is a bad modern work, it would not be worth mention any more than another modern head of him in the Barberini palace, if Keyssler, on the authority of worthless books which he copied, had not commended it as a rare antique. A quite modern head

of Nero has also been placed even in the Capitoline museum by the ignorant directors of it near the restored head just mentioned; and here likewise is exhibited a modern head of this emperor, wrought in relief after the manner of a medallion. Here let the reader bear in mind that all heads of emperors wrought in relief in such a manner are of modern origin; this I have found to be true in all similar pieces which have been made known. A genuine head of this emperor, but of moderate execution, larger than nature, is in the Ruspoli palace (2).

3. Three statues are known under the name of Agrippina. One of them, and that the most beautiful, is in the palace called the Farnesina; the second, a presumed seated Agrippina, is in the Capitoline museum, but it does not equal the other; the third stands in the Albani villa (3). A similar position is the motive of the name given to a figure with clasped hands on an engraved gem, for in Poussin's drawing of it on a large scale in the Albani library I find no resemblance to Agrippina. The beautiful bust of Poppæa, the wife of Nero, in the museum just mentioned, possesses a very rare peculiarity, for in one single piece there are two different kinds of marble; so that the head and neck are white, but the draped bust is *paonazzo*, that is, has violet spots and veins (4).

4. Far more worthy of note in point of art than the heads of Nero are those which bear the name of Seneca, of which the most beautiful one is of bronze, in the Herculaneum museum; and Mr. John Dick, consul for Great Britain at Leghorn, has one in marble in a very good state of preservation, in addition to those in the Medici and Albani villas. The one belonging to Mr. Dick was in the Doni mansion at Florence, and was purchased by him for one hundred and thirty sequins (\$260). Besides these heads, there was formerly in Rome a bust in the shape of a Hermes which resembled them; it was carried to Spain with other antiques by Guzman, a viceroy of Naples; but the whole collection is said to have been lost by the wreck of the vessel. All these heads have been generally received as likenesses of Seneca in honest reliance on Faber, who, in his explanations of the portraits of celebrated men collected by Fulvius Ursinus, pretends that a similar head with the name of Seneca may be found on a medal with a raised edge, named on this account *contorniato*; but neither he nor any one else has ever seen this coin. Since therefore the name applied to these

heads has so uncertain a foundation, my doubt in regard to them has been increased by asking myself how it happened that figures of this man, who was little esteemed, should have been multiplied in such a manner, even during his life, that it is impossible to find so many of any other celebrated man; for the Herculaneum bust must have been executed during his lifetime; and all those which exist in marble point to a period when the arts flourished. It is also not to be believed that the enlightened Emperor Adrian would have set up the likeness of so unworthy a philosopher in his villa, wherein a short time ago a fragment of such a head of great art was discovered, which is now in the possession of the sculptor Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. I am therefore of opinion that said heads give us the likeness of a more celebrated and more worthy man of an earlier age. It is not the place here for moral complaints; but I cannot refrain, when I see so many heads of this sham philosopher, from regretting the loss of the likenesses of men who have done honor to human nature, — of an Epaminondas, a Leonidas, a Xenophon, and others. But he from whom the wisest have torn the mask of virtue, and who in his writings appears as a pitiful pedant, has been so fortunate that the honor conferred upon the artistic merit of his portraits has been extended also to him. The artists ought to have avenged themselves on him, since he excludes painters as well as sculptors from the followers of the liberal arts.

5. On this occasion, while speaking of the heads of Seneca, I might be censured by those who are acquainted with the supposed statue of him in the Borghese villa, if I were to pass by it without mention; and although I might refer the reader to my *Ancient Monuments*, in which I have explained myself at length in regard to this statue, still it may seem not superfluous to repeat here what I have stated there, and also communicate the observations made by me since that time. The Borghese undraped statue of black marble has in position as well as in countenance complete similarity with a statue likewise undraped, of the size of life, but in white marble, in the Pamfili villa, to which a small figure in the Altieri villa without a head bears a perfect resemblance. This, as well as those, bears in the left hand a basket like two small figures dressed as servants in the Albani villa. Now as a comic mask lies at the feet of one of them, and as the figure consequently represents a

servant in a comedy, — who, like Sosia in the *Andria* of Terence, was sent to purchase for the table, — we can conclude that the Borghese figure also, as well as the Pamfili and that in the Altieri villa, represent persons of this kind. Besides there does not exist the slightest ground of likelihood for the name applied to the Borghese statue, not even in a resemblance to the supposed heads of Seneca, because the forehead of the former, as well as of the Pamfili statue, is perfectly bald, whereas the heads of the pretended Seneca are covered by hair. But an imagined reason for the name may also have been found in the following circumstance: when the said Borghese statue was in the hands of the restorer, he inserted the thighs, as the legs were missing, into a block of African marble which was made to resemble a tub, for the purpose of denoting the bathing-tub in which Seneca caused his veins to be opened, and in which he died (5).

6. Not less beautiful than all the supposed heads of Seneca is a head in profile, executed in rilievo, which was formerly in the possession of the celebrated Cardinal Sadoletus, who wished to find in it a likeness of the poet Persius, who died during the reign of Nero in the twenty-ninth or thirtieth year of his age. This head is wrought of a kind of white marble called *Palombino*; it is somewhat more than a full span in breadth on all sides, — the tablet included on which it is carved in relief, — and is now to be found in the Albani villa. Sadoletus supposed it to be a head of Persius from the crown of ivy which encircles it, and because he fancied he could discover in the countenance a certain modesty for which Cornutus in his Life of him commends him. From the ivy it is probable that a poet is represented here, but it cannot be Persius, because the marble shows a man between forty and fifty years of age (in the engraving he appears much younger), and because the beard especially on a man thirty years of age, does not correspond to the time of Nero. This work among others will serve to show how groundless are the names bestowed upon many heads which have been generally received as the likenesses of celebrated men. A copper-plate engraving of this supposed Persius was afterwards prefixed to an edition of his *Satires*.

7. In forming an opinion of art under Nero, we may infer a considerable decline in it from the statement by Pliny that during his reign the art of casting in bronze was no longer

understood, — just as in Rome at the present day the art of casting types is in a measure lost, — and he refers to the colossal statue of Nero in bronze, executed by Zenodorus, a celebrated sculptor from Gallia, of which the casting was a failure (6). We are not, however, to infer from this, as Donati and Nardini have done, that this statue of Nero was in marble. From the statement made by Pliny, and from the pieces inserted into the four horses of bronze, — over the porch of St. Mark at Venice, — and fastened with nails, it has been inferred that the patches were rendered necessary by an unsuccessful casting, and that therefore these horses were executed in the time of Nero.

8. In Greece the state of things was not very favorable to art; for although Nero, so far as it was in his nature, sought to allow the Greeks the enjoyment of their former freedom, yet notwithstanding he perpetrated outrages against works of art, — causing the statues of the victors in the great games to be thrown down and cast into unclean places; indeed with every outward appearance of liberty the best works were carried out of the country. For Nero was insatiable in his craving for them, and with this view he despatched to Greece Acratus, — one of his freedmen and a bad man, — and a half-learned man, Secundus Carinas, who selected for the emperor whatever pleased their fancy.

9. Nero pillaged Greece still more thoroughly than Caligula; but the Olympian Jupiter, and the Juno at Argos from the hand of Polycletus, which was likewise of gold and ivory, — the greatest works in Greece even in respect to size, — remained undisturbed; for it was no common undertaking to remove from its place a statue sixty feet in height, as the Jupiter was, and to transport it across the sea. From the temple of Apollo alone, at Delphi, five hundred statues in bronze were carried off. Now as this temple had already been plundered ten several times, and especially by the leaders of the Phocæans in the so-called sacred war, so that many statues had been taken away, we can infer how great were its treasures, when we consider, moreover, that even in the time of Adrian there was an abundance of beautiful statues in it, some of which are noticed by Pausanias. A large number of these statues was employed to embellish the so-called golden palace of the emperor. If we consider the many thousand statues which had

been already carried out of Greece from the time even of the Roman republic to Nero, — Marcus Scaurus alone having received thence three thousand statues to be ranged around his theatre, — we must be astonished at its inexhaustible wealth in works of art, especially as only the most remarkable ones are recorded by Pausanias. In the great burning of Rome, in which four only of the fourteen sections of the city remained uninjured, an infinite number of works of art perished ; and as very many traces of ancient repairs are to be found, many of these injured and mutilated works might have suffered at that time. On the seat of the celebrated Torso in the Belvedere we see a place roughly cut, — which must be the case where restorations are made, — and also the iron by which the affixed part was fastened to the original. It is remarkable that during the reign of Nero painters painted upon linen for the first time, the occasion of which was a figure of him one hundred and twenty feet high (7) ; and also that this prince, who was foolishly fond of everything called Greek, employed Amulius, a Roman artist, to decorate his palace with paintings.

10. It is credible that the statue of the Apollo in the Belvedere, and the wrongly named Gladiator by Agasias of Ephesus, in the Borghese villa, were among the statues brought from Greece (8), for both of them were discovered at Antium, now called Porto d' Antio. This town was the birthplace of Nero, and on the embellishment of it he spent a great deal of money. Even at the present day extensive ruins are visible along its shores. Among the porticos there was one which was ornamented by a painter, a freedman of the emperor, with figures of gladiators in all possible positions (9).

11. Among all the works of antiquity which have escaped destruction the statue of Apollo is the highest ideal of art. The artist has constructed this work entirely on the ideal, and has employed in its structure just so much only of the material as was necessary to carry out his design and render it visible. This Apollo exceeds all other figures of him as much as the Apollo of Homer excels him whom later poets paint. His stature is loftier than that of man, and his attitude speaks of the greatness with which he is filled. An eternal spring, as in the happy fields of Elysium, clothes with the charms of youth the graceful manliness of ripened years, and plays with softness and tenderness about the proud shape of his limbs. Let thy

spirit penetrate into the kingdom of incorporeal beauties, and strive to become a creator of a heavenly nature, in order that thy mind may be filled with beauties that are elevated above nature ; for there is nothing mortal here, nothing which human necessities require. Neither blood-vessels nor sinews heat and stir this body, but a heavenly essence, diffusing itself like a gentle stream, seems to fill the whole contour of the figure. He has pursued the Python, against which he uses his bow for the first time ; with vigorous step he has overtaken the monster and slain it. His lofty look, filled with a consciousness of power, seems to rise far above his victory, and to gaze into infinity. Scorn sits upon his lips, and his nostrils are swelling with suppressed anger, which mounts even to the proud forehead ; but the peace which floats upon it in blissful calm remains undisturbed, and his eye is full of sweetness as when the Muses gathered around him seeking to embrace him. The Father of the gods in all the images of him which we have remaining, and which art venerates, does not approach so nearly the grandeur in which he manifested himself to the understanding of the divine poet, as he does here in the countenance of his son, and the individual beauties of the other deities are here as in the person of Pandora assembled together, a forehead of Jupiter, pregnant with the Goddess of Wisdom, and eyebrows the contractions of which express their will, the grandly arched eyes of the queen of the gods, and a mouth shaped like that whose touch stirred with delight the loved Branchus. The soft hair plays about the divine head as if agitated by a gentle breeze, like the slender waving tendrils of the noble vine ; it seems to be anointed with the oil of the gods, and tied by the Graces with pleasing display on the crown of his head. In the presence of this miracle of art I forget all else, and I myself take a lofty position for the purpose of looking upon it in a worthy manner. My breast seems to enlarge and swell with reverence, like the breasts of those who were filled with the spirit of prophecy, and I feel myself transported to Delos and into the Lycæan groves, — places which Apollo honored by his presence, — for my image seems to receive life and motion, like the beautiful creation of Pygmalion. How is it possible to paint and describe it ! Art itself must counsel me, and guide my hand in filling up hereafter the first outlines which I here have sketched. As they who were unable to

reach the heads of the divinities which they wished to crown deposited the garlands at the feet of them, so I place at the feet of this image the conception which I have presented of it.

This description, and especially the expression in the face of the Apollo, is altogether irreconcilable with the idea of an Apollo on a hunt, — which Bishop Spence has been desirous of finding in this statue. But if any one objects to the dragon Python as an antagonist not sufficiently lofty, let the attitude of this Apollo recall the giant Tityus who, while attempting to offer violence to Latona, the mother of the deity, was shot by him when he was hardly a youth (10).

12. The Borghese Gladiator, as he is called, — a statue which, as I have already mentioned, was found in the same place with the Apollo, — appears from the form of the letters to be the most ancient of the statues now in Rome on which the master has announced his name. We have no account of the Agasias by whom it was executed, but his work proclaims his merit. As in the Apollo and the above described Torso of Hercules there exists a high ideal alone, and in the Laocoön nature has been elevated and beautified by the ideal and by expression, so in this statue is found an assemblage of natural beauties in an adult form without any additions from the imagination. The two former figures are like a sublime epic poem in which probability is carried above and beyond truth even to the verge of the marvellous; but the latter is like history in which truth is presented, but presented in the most select thoughts and words. The face shows plainly that its conformation is a true copy from nature, for it represents a man who is no longer in the blossom of his life, but who has attained the age of manhood, and in it are discoverable the traces of a life which has been constantly occupied, and hardened by labor (11).

13. Some persons think that it is the statue of a *Discobulus*, that is, one who casts the quoit, or a disk made of metal. This was the opinion of the celebrated Von Stosch, which he communicated to me in a letter, but he had not sufficiently considered the position in which a figure of this kind needs to be placed. For he who is about to cast anything must draw the body backwards, and, when the throw is going to take place, the effort is supported upon the right thigh, and the left leg is

inactive ; but the contrary is the case here. The whole figure is thrown forwards and rests on the left thigh, and the right leg is stretched backwards to its utmost (12). The right arm is modern, and a fragment of a lance has been put into the hand ; on the left arm is seen the rim of the shield which he carried. If we consider that the head and eyes are turned upward, and that the figure seems to be protecting itself with the shield from something which is coming from above, we might with more reason hold it to be the representation of a warrior who, in a dangerous situation, won for himself especial merit, for the honor of a statue was probably never granted by the Greeks to the combatants in public exhibitions, and this work appears to be more ancient than the introduction of gladiators among the Greeks.

14. Of art under the immediate successors of Nero, — Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, — there is nothing to remark except that heads of these three emperors are very rare (13). The trunk of a statue of Galba, of great art and twice the natural size, is in the possession of the sculptor Bartholomeo Cavaceppi. The most beautiful head of Galba is in the Albani villa ; and here and in the Capitoline museum are heads of Otho. The larger number, however, of those which represent Vitellius are modern, as is the one in the Giustiniani palace, which has been pronounced an antique by more than one unskilled author, but it is a frightful piece of work of modern date. The coin of this emperor with the image of his father and the inscription *L. VITELLII. COS. III. CENSOR.* is extremely rare. On the other side, in front of the breast of Vitellius projects a sceptre, on the knob of which an eagle sits. Thirty dollars were paid for this silver coin. In the disturbances which occurred in his reign, Julius Sabinus defended himself in the Capitol by forming a barricade of statues. Some one who has had an opportunity of making the comparison remarks that the heads of the emperor on Greek coins are not to be compared to the heads of him on Roman coins. This observation renders it probable that all good Greek artists had gone to Rome. I remember to have seen among others the rare Greek coin on which are the heads of Claudius and Pompeia ; the impression has almost the rudeness of barbarism.

15. Finally Vespasian succeeded to the throne which had been occupied by men so infamous. His reign, notwithstanding

all his parsimony, appears to have been more advantageous to the arts than the monstrous extravagance of his predecessors. He was not only the first emperor who established a respectable salary for the teachers of Greek and Roman rhetoric, but he drew around himself poets and artists by the inducement of recompense. Two Roman painters, Cornelius Pinus and Accius Priscus, were celebrated in his reign; the temple of Honor and Virtue was embellished by paintings from their hands. In the temple of Peace (14), erected by him, a great many of the statues were set up which Nero had brought away from Greece (15), but here were suspended principally the paintings of the most celebrated artists of all ages, and here was, to use the expression of the present day, the largest public gallery of paintings. It seems however that they were not kept in the temple itself, but over it, in the upper halls, to which one ascended by a winding staircase still in preservation (16). There were temples also in Greece which served as *πινακοθήκαι*, that is, as *galleries of pictures*. Finally under Vespasian Greece was humbled so far as to be declared a Roman province, and the Athenians were deprived of even the small privilege which they had until now retained, — the privilege of striking coins without an image of the emperor.

16. Under this emperor the Sallust Gardens were the most populous place in Rome, for he resided there most of the time, and there gave audience to the whole world; hence we have reason to believe that he embellished these gardens with works of art. A large number of statues and busts have been found at all times by digging on the site of them, and in the autumn of 1765, when a new vault was opened there, two figures were found; they were in good preservation with the exception of the heads; these were wanting, and have not been found. They represent two young maidens in light tunics, which, being loosened on the right shoulder, fall down to the middle of the upper arm. Each of them lies on an oblong socle, half stretched out, and with the upper part of the body raised and supported on the left arm; below them is lying an unstrung bow. They are perfectly similar to a maiden in marble playing with dice which was in the collection of the Cardinal Polignac (17); the right and disengaged hand is also, as in this figure, opened for throwing the dice, and stretched downward, but of the dice no trace is to be found. General von Walmo-

den, of Hanover, during his residence at Rome, bought these figures at auction, and restored them by the addition of heads. At the same time, a large candelabrum of marble was also discovered there; the shaft of it, which is covered with leaves artistically wrought, displays on two round members or capitals a number of small flames, as an allegorical ornament (18). Of the triangular base of this candelabrum only two fragments were found, the beauty of which leads us to regret the loss of the other. One fragment exhibits a Jupiter with a pointed beard, as he appears on antique Etruscan works; but the drapery and the ornaments of the members of the base point to a blooming period in Greek art, and likewise in this figure to the imitation of the more ancient style of representing the divinities in order to render them by this means more venerable. On the second fragment is the upper half of a young Hercules in the same attitude in which he is seen on more than one marble and on engraved gems taking the tripod from Apollo. This mutilated work was purchased by Signore Zelado, a Roman prelate.

17. The arts found a great friend and admirer likewise in Titus, the son and successor of Vespasian. He did more in two years to benefit them than Tiberius during a long reign. Suetonius remarks that Titus ordered to be made an equestrian statue in ivory of Britannicus, the brother of Nero, with whom he had been educated, which was carried round the Circus every year in solemn procession (19). Of the artists of this period we know Evodus, the master of the above-mentioned beautiful head of Julia, daughter of Titus, which is engraved on a beryl; it is in the treasury of the Abbey St. Denis, at Paris. A beautiful colossal head of Titus may be found in the Albani villa (20).

18. In the reign of Domitian the Greeks appear to have been regarded with more favor, for whilst no coins of Corinth of the reigns of Vespasian and Titus exist, a great number, on the contrary, even of the larger size of those of this city of the time of Domitian, are remaining. From what Plutarch relates, — that the columns of Pentelic marble which were executed at Athens by order of Domitian for the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter lost their beauty of shape after they were brought to Rome, and wholly finished, — one might infer that good taste had very much diminished; but the contrary of this may be

proved from the works that have been preserved in Rome, and especially from the figures in relief on the frieze of the temple of Pallas, which this emperor caused to be erected on the Palladium forum (21). This frieze has been drawn and engraved by Sante Bartoli. The figure of Pallas, wrought in relief, and of the size of life, which stands in the middle over the entablature, suffers from the nearness at which it is now viewed, — because the pavement has been raised to half the length of the columns, — and it appears, in comparison with the crowded ornaments of the entablature, as if it were only sketched.

19. A still more honorable work for these times would be the celebrated Trophies of Marius, as they are called, if we are willing to admit the genuineness of an inscription which was formerly under them, prior to their removal from their ancient site. The inscription denoted that a freedman, whose name, though in a mutilated state, was still legible, had caused these two works to be erected in honor of Domitian. They must be viewed as trophies of the war with the Dacians; for after Domitian, through his generals, had extricated himself with trifling advantage from this contest with the Dacian King Decebalus, so many testimonials of honor were notwithstanding decreed to him, — as Xiphilinus informs us from Dio, — that the whole world was filled with gold and silver statues and likenesses of him. Others indeed have believed that these trophies were erected in honor of Augustus, and draw this inference from the place itself on which the monument formerly stood, which was a *castellum* or reservoir of the Julian aqueduct of Agrippa, that is to say, a structure whence the water was distributed in different directions; especially since it is known that Agrippa ornamented with statues and works of art buildings of this kind attached to his aqueduct leading to Rome. But if it be admitted that this aqueduct had been repaired by Domitian, — a conjecture which is not invalidated by the silence of Frontinus, — then the probability in favor of my opinion, that they are works of the time of Domitian, is increased by the comparison which I have made between them and fragments of other trophies that have been discovered in the Barberini villa at Castel-Gandolfo, and been built into the walls there, that is, on the spot where the celebrated villa of this emperor was situate, showing entire similarity of workmanship and style in both (22).

20. The excellent workmanship of these Trophies, and the exceedingly beautiful ornaments on them, are conformable to the idea of art which prevailed at this time, and might, with the rilievi on the above-mentioned frieze of the temple of Minerva, situated on the Palladium forum of Domitian, be regarded as the productions of a master hand. Fabretti however maintains that they are really the Trophies of Marius, and charges with ignorance those to whom they appeared as works of the time of Trajan ; he finds the workmanship so coarse and unfinished that he compares them with the figures on the Arch of Constantine, which were executed in times of barbarism. In refutation of his remarks it is necessary to have only eyesight to find precisely the opposite of what he asserts ; and with all his learning he shows so little insight into art that he views as an antique the head of the so-called mourning Province of Dacia (23) below the Roma in the Campidoglio, as well as the modern frieze in the inner court of the Santa Croce palace. The objections adduced by this learned man in respect to the weapons on these Trophies are not more valid against those who ascribe them to the time of Trajan, than against me who assign them to the reign of Domitian. For upon all trophies and other monuments of subjugated nations Roman and barbaric arms are intermixed and cast promiscuously upon one another, as we see particularly on the basement of the Column of Trajan, where it appears to have been the design of the artist to give variety to his composition and thereby make it more beautiful. Among the arms upon the Trophies of which we speak, the sculptor has contented himself by giving to the shields an outlandish form, but otherwise has ornamented them in a manner always allowed to those which it was intended to suspend in temples. On each side of the Trophies, above and below, is seen a wolf, — an animal which, as well as the eagle, was one of the Roman military ensigns. The helmets are likewise Greek or Roman in shape ; on the top of two of them sits a Sphinx, which on one carries a horse-tail, and on the other a plume. The swords also have the ancient Greek form, and the sheath terminates at its lower part in the *mushroom*, as it is called. Considered under this point of view, I see no reason for denying these works to the time of Trajan, but I have also equally as little hesitation in ascribing them to the reign of Domitian, especially since we can produce the inscription above

mentioned. A modern writer believes that they were erected after the battle at Actium for no other reason than that he imagines he finds a representation of water in the undulations which have been hollowed out upon the base.

21. The likenesses of Domitian are very rare, because the Roman Senate ordered them to be utterly destroyed; hence with the exception of the beautiful head of him in the Capitoline museum, there is even in Rome until the present day only a single statue which has been acknowledged as his (24), and that is in the Giustiniani palace. It has been asserted that this is the one which according to Procopius was erected to him after his death by his wife Domitia by permission of the Senate, all other statues of him having been thrown down. This is a mistake. The latter statue was of bronze, and in existence even at the time of the writer above mentioned, whereas the former is of marble (25). Moreover it is not true that this statue has suffered no injury, for it has been broken in two below the breast, and the arms are modern; it is even doubtful whether the head belongs to the statue. I have said that only this statue, which is harnessed in armor, has been acknowledged as an image of Domitian, because a nude and heroic statue of him in the Aldobrandini villa has not been noticed.

22. At last in the spring of 1758 another undoubted heroic statue of Domitian was found at a place called *alla Colonna*, which is situate between Frascati and Palestrina, precisely on the spot where shortly before a Venus had been discovered, and in the previous century Inscriptions, which denoted that here had been a villa of a freedman of this very emperor. It was without legs or arms,—with the exception of a hand which has been preserved over the hip,—and was found at a small depth below the surface; hence it is very much corroded. There are visible signs of the great violence that had been exercised upon it in the shape of cross cuts and deep thrusts, from which we may conjecture that this statue also had been thrown from its base and hacked and broken in the rage that was felt towards the memory of Domitian, for even his name was hewn out and obliterated from the inscriptions on which it was found (26). The head, which was detached, was found much deeper, and hence it had suffered less. This statue is nude and of great beauty (27). The head had been encircled by a crown of bronze; the pins to which it was fastened are

still visible. The Cardinal Alexander Albani caused it to be restored, and it now stands, together with other statues of emperors, beneath the larger portico of the palace in his villa.

23. Of the time of Nerva there remains nothing except a portion of his forum, and especially the superb Corinthian columns of a portico, together with the roof of it, and a few heads. In regard to the ceiling of the portico, — which is decorated with the so-called Meanders, — I observe that it corroborates the explanation given by Hesychius of the word *μαίανδρος*, which he understands to mean *κόσμος τῶν ὀροφικῶν*, that is to say, an *ornament of ceilings*. I make the remark because a more modern critic, whose name escapes my recollection just at this moment, wishes to read *γραφικός* instead of *ὀροφικός*, a presumed emendation which he supposed would give a more general signification to this ornament, and make it apply to painting of every kind. In fact Meanders are found in great number upon all ancient paintings and vases, but are very rare on the ceilings of ancient buildings. There is not another example in Rome of this ornament than that on the ceiling of the portico above mentioned, and in edifices outside of Rome only one ceiling at Palmyra is known to me (28).

24. A very beautiful and rare head of this emperor is in the Capitoline museum. It is very erroneously pronounced by the commentator of this museum to be a work of Algardi, whereas he restored merely the tip of the nose and ear, and proceeded so cautiously in the renovation of this image that he scrupled to allow the dirt which had accumulated between the hairs to be rubbed away (29). The Cardinal Alexander Albani, through whom this head went into the museum where it now is, received it from the brother of the last deceased Prince Pamfili, the last of his house, in whose villa the bust stood. But the Marquis Rondinini possesses a bust in perfect preservation, together with its ancient socle, which is probably also a bust of this emperor, and is one of the few heads which have not had the nose injured.

25. According to Fulvius Ursinus, the seated figure of a Greek teacher of language would be of the time of Nerva. The inscription on the socle calls him M. METTIUS EPAPHRODITUS; the statue was erected to him by his brother. Fulvius Ursinus, by whom it was made known, believes that it may represent a certain Epaphroditus of Chæroneæ, who accord-

ing to Suidas lived in the reigns of Nero and Nerva. This figure, which is not quite half the size of nature, stands in the court of the Altieri palace in Campitelli, at Rome.

26. Under Trajan Rome and the whole Roman empire received new life, and he began, after so many disturbances of the peace, to encourage artists by the great works which he undertook. The honor of a statue, which he did not arrogate to himself alone to the exclusion of others, but shared with deserving men, may have been very serviceable to art; indeed we find that on the death of young persons of great promise statues were erected to them. A statue of a senator in a sitting position, made by one Zeno, the son of Attis of Aphrodisium, which stands in the Ludovisi villa, apparently belongs to this period. The name of the artist is on the border of the mantle, and has hitherto escaped observation (30). There is reason to believe that a school of art had been opened at that time, in the said city of Caria, — if, among many others of a similar name, we select the most celebrated, — because several different names of artists of Aphrodisium have come down to us. Another Zeno, of Staphis in Asia, who placed on the tomb of his son of a similar name an image of him in form of a half-draped Hermes, as appears from the inscription on it nineteen lines in length, cannot have flourished at a much later period (31). The strange head which is placed upon this Hermes does not permit a more probable inference in regard to the date of it. This monument may be found in the Negroni villa. But I do not know where to place one Antiochus of Athens, the artist of a Pallas twice as large as life, which stands in the Ludovisi villa. The statue is bad and clumsy, and the writing appears older than writings of this date (32).

27. The greatest work of the age of Trajan is his column, which stands in the middle of the forum (33) constructed at his order by Apollodorus of Athens. In commemoration of the event a rare golden coin was struck, which presents on the reverse of it a view of one of the buildings of this square. If any one has an opportunity to study the figures on the column from a plaster cast, he will be amazed at the infinite variety in the many thousand heads which it exhibits. The head of the colossal statue of this emperor which stood upon the column was still in existence in the sixteenth century, but no later notice of it is to be found. The noble Venetian abbot, Farsetti, who

with royal expenditure caused casts to be taken of the best antique statues in Rome, and thought to make himself a benefactor to his native land by founding an academy of painting at Venice, had also formed the design of having a new cast taken from the whole column. The bargain indeed was concluded for nine thousand dollars ; the expense of the scaffolding would have been borne by Signore Farsetti.

28. Of the buildings in the forum of Trajan by which that column was surrounded, and of which the roof or arched ceiling was of bronze, some idea may be formed from a pillar of the most beautiful white and black granite, discovered there in August, 1765, of which the diameter was eight palms and a half (6 ft. 2 in.). It was disinterred by the workmen employed in digging for the foundation of a flight of steps to the imperial palace, and with it was found also a fragment of the upper moulding or the cornice of the architrave, of white marble, which rested upon the column, and is more than six palms (4 ft. 3 in.) in height. Now as the cornice is a third part and even less of the entablature, this latter must have been more than eighteen palms (13 ft. 1 in.) in height. The Cardinal Alexander Albani had this fragment removed to his villa and arranged ; and he put upon it an inscription denoting the place where it was found. Five more columns of similar size were discovered lying in the very same place, but they were left buried in the earth, because no one was willing to bear the expense of bringing them to the surface ; upon these columns the foundation of the flight of stairs above mentioned is placed (34). After the Column of Trajan, the colossal head of this emperor in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani may be considered as the noblest work of art which has been preserved. It is five Roman palms (3 ft. 7 in.) from the pit of the neck to the crown of the head (35).

29. As Apollodorus came from Athens by order of Trajan to conduct the erection of this forum, it seems that in everything relative to art the Greeks were always preferred. Indeed their language was more liked in Rome than even the Roman, — which is shown among other proofs by the histories written in the Greek language by Roman authors. Hence it happened that the Romans allowed tombstones with Greek inscriptions to be placed upon their tombs, and on the socle of a Roman statue which was extant in Rome in our fathers' days stood the

words, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩ ΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ, *To the upright tax-gatherer*, — who must have been a Roman. A short time ago the following Roman inscription in Greek letters was found; it is not, to judge from the form of them, of a very late time of the Roman Emperors: —

Α. Σ. Μ.  
 ΤΙΤΙΑΙ. ΕΛΠΙΑΙ. ΜΑΡΚΟΥ.  
 ΤΙΤΙΟΥ. ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ. ΚΟΝ  
 ΙΟΥΓΓΙ, ΒΕΝΕ ΜΕΡΕΝΤΙ. ΦΗΚΙΤ.

that is,

D. M.

TITIAE. HELPIDI. MAR  
 CVS. TITIVS. ZENO  
 BIVS. CONIVGI. BENE  
 MERENTI. FECIT.

TO GOD THE GREATEST.

Erected by Marcus Titius Zenobius to Titia Elpis, his well-deserving wife.

This monument is now in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani.

30. The Arch of Trajan at Ancona deserves mention in this place in an architectural point of view, for into no other antique building are marble blocks of so astonishing magnitude introduced. The base of the arch to the foot of the columns is of one single piece; its length is twenty-six Roman palms and a third (19 ft. 2 in.), its breadth seventeen and a half (12 ft. 9 in.), and its height thirteen palms (9 ft. 5 in.). On the top of the arch stood an equestrian statue of the emperor; one hoof of the horse is still preserved in the council-house at Ancona. The piers of the bridge built by Trajan across the Danube served after the bridge was pulled down merely, as Dion says, to prove the wonderful strength of the human faculties.

31. Of public works of art constructed during Trajan's reign there now remain — in addition to the beautiful fragments of his arch from which Constantine constructed his own (36) — fragments of great works in relief which are lying in the Borghese villa, and which appear to have belonged either to another triumphal arch of this emperor, or to another public building of his forum, such as the Basilica Ulpia, of which the rare gold

coin mentioned above was intended to give a view. These rilievi represent warriors with their standards in figures eleven palms (8 ft.) high; the leader can be distinguished among them but not recognized, because the head has been pared off. But the bust of Trajan is distinctly visible on one of the round shields of the standards, and on another of these fragments is a standard having two shields, on the lower one of which appears to be the image of Nerva, and on the upper that of Trajan again. Under Caligula the Roman ensigns bore two shields, namely, one of himself and another of Augustus, by whom the Parthian king Artabanus was conquered. Under Tiberius too the standards bore, together with an image of himself, the escutcheon of Sejanus also, which only the legions in Syria refused to suspend upon their standards. To these same structures apparently belonged the two captive kings in marble which stand in the Farnese palace, for they were found in the forum of Trajan (37). These are the figures which the great designer Polidoro da Caravaggio, the pupil of Raphael, has frequently introduced into his works.

32. The great care is well known which Trajan manifested in repairing the injuries done to works of art. It is a foolish thought on the part of Maffei, when he supposes an armed warrior on horseback, — engraved in alto on a gem, — who is in the act of thrusting a spear through a naked figure that lies on the ground, to be Trajan; neither Trajan has thought so unworthily of himself, nor any Roman of him. A remarkable monument of the art of this age is a beautiful nude Venus, whose robe is lying upon a tall vase near her. The head of this statue, which belongs to it and has never been detached, resembles Marciana the sister of Trajan. It stands in the garden behind the Farnese palace. In the same place stands a Venus similar to it, differing only in the vase at her feet, upon which the mantle lies. This Venus has her usual beautiful face, but the head-dress is exactly like that of the former, that is, the head is surmounted by a braid wound round it so as to resemble a capital, as on the heads of Marciana on coins. The side-hair is arranged in peculiar turns, and kept in place by a thin ribbon which passes through each lock. On the forehead there is fastened something like a flower formed of precious stones, which we commonly term an *Agraffe*. A gloriously beautiful draped Marciana stands in the Negrone villa (38). I cannot

refrain from mentioning here a rare gold coin which on one side has the head of Plotina, wife of Trajan, and on the other the head of Marciana, sister of Trajan. More than two hundred dollars were paid for it. It is now in the museum of the college St. Ignatius, in Rome (39).

33. Greece itself seems to have had no share in the great works constructed by order of this emperor. Among the Greeks there was not even an opportunity for the practice of the arts, since it is not probable that statues were erected in any Greek city to any persons except the emperors. But if at that time the Greeks wished to show such honor to an individual, they laid hands on the statues of former celebrated men, and contented themselves by changing the inscription upon them so that a statue representing a Greek hero was dedicated in defiance of the likeness to a Roman prætor, or any other person, — a proceeding for which Dio Chrysostom reproaches the Rhodians in a special discourse. This preacher lived in the times of which we now speak.

## BOOK XII.

## GREEK ART UNDER THE ROMANS.

## CHAPTER I.

## UNDER THE ROMAN CÆSARS.

1. **TRAJAN** was succeeded by **Adrian**, the greatest friend, patron, and connoisseur of art, who is said even to have executed statues with his own hand ; so that this emperor, as a shameless flatterer says, may stand as a statuary and artist by the side of the celebrated sculptors **Polycletus** and **Euphranor**. If from his prepossession in favor of the earlier mode of writing the Roman language, we could draw an inference in regard to art, we should say that he sought to renew the ancient style in the latter also. Together with this love for art he had a boundless desire to see and know everything. This was the principal reason of the great journeys which he made in the sixth year of his reign to all the Roman provinces, so that coins are extant of seventeen countries through which he had travelled. He went even to **Arabia** and **Egypt**, the latter of which he had, as he himself says in a letter to the consul **Severianus**, thoroughly studied.

2. In the person of **Adrian** art was elevated to the throne, and the Greeks, so to say, with it ; for Greece had never experienced a more favorable time nor had a more powerful friend since the loss of its freedom. He proposed to replace Greece in its previous state of freedom, — since he proclaimed it to be a free land, — and sought to restore to the Grecian cities their former splendor. With this view he began to build not only in **Athens**, as vigorously as **Pericles** had done in former times, but even in all the celebrated cities in Greece as well as in **Asia Minor**, ornamenting them with public edifices, aqueducts, and baths. A temple which he caused to be erected at **Cyzicum** was counted among the seven wonders of the world,

and the astonishing ruins there, which for a long time have been used by the inhabitants of the place for building purposes, are probably the remnants of it. He surrendered to the Parthians an extensive region, that he might, as it appears, have leisure also for the execution of his great plans.

3. But Adrian exhibited a very striking preference toward Athens, partly because this city had been the seat of the arts, and partly because he had dwelt there many years, and had administered the office of archon. He restored to the Athenians the island of Cephalonias, built the temple of Bacchus, and completed that of the Olympian Jupiter at Athens, after it had lain in an unfinished state during seven hundred years from the time of Pisistratus, and it was a work of many stadia in circumference. In it he caused to be placed among other statues made of gold and ivory a colossal statue of Jupiter of the same materials, as we are informed by Pausanias (1). In this temple every Roman city erected a statue to the emperor himself.

4. The zeal of Adrian for art awakened a similar enthusiasm among the Greeks also, so that the orator, Herod of Athens, on this account surnamed Atticus, alone erected statues in several Greek cities, and also built at his own expense outside of Athens on the banks of the river Ilyssus an entirely new stadium of white marble, together with a theatre at Athens and Corinth.

5. The delight of this emperor in building and giving encouragement to art was not however confined merely to Greece, but the cities of Italy were able to boast of similar munificence. In regard to buildings erected by Adrian in Italy outside of Rome, I limit myself to quoting an inscription which has probably not been correctly understood; it is supposed to refer to the amphitheatre at Capua, because it is said to have been found near this edifice, but it is applicable to the theatre of the same city which is not more than fifty paces from the amphitheatre. Mazzocchi, by whom the inscription has been restored, understands that the half-projecting columns of the amphitheatre are meant to be the columns which, according to the inscription, Adrian added, not reflecting that these columns, as in all amphitheatres, are hewn out of the same piece with the courses of stones from which they project. Also the same author has not considered that in such a building there is no place for statues, that only theatres can be ornamented with them and with columns. Of both these assertions

we have proof in a few columns of yellow antique, two palms and three quarters (2 ft.) in diameter, and many statues, which were dug out a few years before from the theatre at Capua, where the excavation is still visible. These columns together with the statues stand at Caserta, and are intended for the royal palace in that place. Among the statues the most beautiful is a Venus Victrix, who has the left foot placed upon a helmet. With the exception of the arms, which are wanting, it is in perfect preservation.

6. In Rome itself Adrian built the splendid tomb which is now known by the name of St. Angelo. Besides the colonnades by which it was surrounded, the whole building was overlaid with white marble, and ornamented by a row of statues. Afterwards it was used as a fortress, and when the Romans were besieged in it by the Goths they defended themselves by throwing the statues down upon their enemies. Among them was the celebrated Sleeping Faun now in the Barberini palace; it is larger than life, and was found by the workmen employed in clearing out the ditch of the castle. The statue of the emperor on a chariot with four horses, which is said to have stood on the summit of this, his tomb, would have been one of the greatest works in sculpture that were executed by his orders; and, if we may believe the writer who makes the statement, the work was on so vast a scale that a stout man could creep into the cavities formed by the hollow eyes of the horses. It is even pretended that it was hewn from a single block of marble. But the whole story seems to be a Greek lie of the time of the writer, corresponding with the account given by another Greek author of these times of the head of a statue of Juno at Constantinople which four yoke of oxen could scarcely draw. Adrian caused statues to be erected to all his friends, not only when they were dead but even during their lifetime, and on the forum at Rome.

7. Of the many works executed by Adrian in the four years that intervened between his return to Rome and his death, the greatest was probably his villa near Tivoli, the ruins of which embrace a circuit of ten miles. They include in addition to many temples and other buildings two theatres, one of which gives a very distinct idea of the arrangement of all the ancient theatres in the world, because the entire scena is preserved. He even caused to be made here a representation of the most

celebrated regions and edifices in Greece, including the places which were known under the name of the Elysian Fields. Among other buildings the Hundred Chambers, as they are called, are celebrated and worthy of being seen; in these the imperial guard was placed. They were apartments having no communication one with another except by means of a wooden corridor on the outside, in which sentinels could be stationed and the passage closed. There are two rows of arches one above the other; in the angle formed by them is a round tower, in which it is supposed that the *corps de garde* was stationed. By means of a wooden floor, which rested on projecting stones that are still visible, two rooms were formed in each arch; in one of these is found at the present day the abbreviation of a soldier's name done in black, as if written by a finger. This building was constructed with such lavish splendor that a very large pond in which naval battles are supposed to have been represented was lined throughout with yellow marble. On digging in it there was found in addition to many skeletons of goats, a large number of heads in marble and other harder stones, many of which were bruised from strokes with an axe. The Cardinal Polignac retained the best of them. There were long corridors for walking laid in mosaic, large fragments of which are still to be seen; the floors of the rooms were covered with the same kind of work, though composed of smaller stones. An infinite number of tables in mosaic—some of which are in Rome, and some elsewhere—was found beneath the rubbish of these ruins. All the museums of entire Europe have been enriched with statues that have been dug out from this place in great numbers within the last two and a half centuries. Excavations are still going on and statues are found at the present day, and there will still remain discoveries to be made by future generations. The Cardinal of Este, who built his villa on the ruins of the villa of Macænas at Tivoli, embellished it with a countless number of statues that were found there. They were by degrees purchased and removed by the Cardinal Alexander Albani; and the larger portion of them have been incorporated by him into the Capitoline museum.

8. In addition to the most exquisite works in marble which have come from this same villa of Adrian, and of which I shall speak hereafter, I mention in the first place the celebrated pic-

ture in mosaic representing a cup full of water, on the edge of which sit four doves, one of which is about to drink. The value of this work consists principally in the fact that it is composed throughout of gems of the very smallest size, and may therefore be regarded as probably the sole specimen of its kind ; for in all other such pictures, — even in those which I shall describe hereafter, — the assistance of glass-paste has been used for the purpose of bringing out colors which it is difficult to find in gems. It was found set in the centre of the floor of a room which was laid with coarser mosaic, and around it was a stripe of flower-work as a border, about a hand in breadth, and of work equally as fine as the centre. Of this stripe, which went round the room forming a square on the floor, the Cardinal Alexander Albani caused a piece a palm broad (8.75 in.) and four palms long to be set in a table-slab of Oriental alabaster in his villa ; and his Royal Highness, the Electoral Prince of Saxony, when he was in Rome, received from him a similar table-slab containing a piece of these bands still longer, but of the same breadth and workmanship (2).

9. This picture was bought for the Capitoline museum by the Pope, Clement XIII., from the heirs of the Cardinal Furietti, by whom a treatise was written for the express purpose of describing it. He has endeavored to show that this is the same piece which was placed by one Sosus in the pavement of a temple at Pergamus, because it was similar to this. But repetitions exist of innumerable antique works, and many of the copies perfectly resemble each other. It is foolish however to pretend that Adrian, by whom almost all Greek cities, even in Asia, were embellished with temples, public edifices, and statues, should have caused a small piece of mosaic to be removed from the pavement of a temple at Pergamus to ornament a pavement in his villa. The chief reason of its former possessor for his belief is that this mosaic was found to be inserted in a singular manner in the pavement, as I have remarked, and from this circumstance it has been inferred that it was not executed at the place where it was discovered, but had been carried thither from some other place. This opinion has but little weight the moment we reflect upon the great labor of raising from the original pavement a work composed of innumerable small stones, and transporting it from Asia to Rome. In this case it must be assumed still further that the

above-mentioned stripes of flower-work, of equally fine workmanship, must also have been brought from Pergamus, — a supposition which appears wholly incredible. But the groundlessness of the assumption is made especially clear if we consider that a mosaic of such a kind, and of so fine and laborious workmanship, could not possibly have been executed like the pavement of coarser workmanship and at the same time with it, and consequently it was requisite to execute the former separately, and insert it afterwards in its place. That this was a customary manner of proceeding we see in two equally fine pictures in mosaic which were excavated from the ruins of the ashes-buried city of Pompeii; for they were set in the middle of a floor of coarse mosaic in such a manner that they were lined by thin slabs of marble not only on the sides, but also on their under surface. These two valuable pieces of equal size and two palms ( $17\frac{1}{2}$  in.) high were executed by the same artist, who was named Dioscorides. He was a native of Samos, as we learn from the following inscription on them in small black stones: —

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ ΕΓ°ΙΗΣΕ,

Dioscorides the Samian made.

10. The reader will not, I believe, be displeased to read in this place a description of these two pictures. The first one was found, on the 28th of April, 1763, in the buried city of Pompeii, in the centre of the pavement of a room. It indicates the magnificence of the ancients, and of the building in which it was formerly placed. It consists of three female figures, — having comic masks before their faces, and playing upon instruments, — and a child. The first figure on the right hand represents an old woman playing the tambourine; the second, having likewise a mask of advanced age, is standing, and striking together small cymbals; the third, a younger figure which is seen in profile, is sitting, and playing upon two flutes at the same time; the child is blowing a reed-pipe. The small stones for the groundwork of this picture are not larger than a section cut from the very top of a quill, and they diminish in size in the figures until they can no longer be distinguished by the unassisted eye. Even the hairs of the eyebrows are expressed on the masks.

11. The second picture was discovered on the 8th of February, 1764, and entirely exposed in my presence. In this also are executed three female figures with comic masks before their faces, and a boy without a mask. The first figure on the right sits on a stool without arms; it is covered by a tapestry worked in small squares of three colors, yellow, red, and carnation, from which long tassels hang down in rows; upon it lies a cushion, worked in stripes of the same colors. This figure is listening attentively to the one sitting near, and appears to be wringing her two hands, as one is accustomed to do in astonishment or perplexity. The second figure is sitting before an elegant table, supported by three legs, on which is a white casket; near the latter lies a cup or *crater* with a foot formed by three lion's-paws; by her side lies a sprig of laurel. This figure has a yellow robe thrown around it, and is reciting something, as the action of one of the hands denotes. Both figures wear youthful masks. The third figure, with the mask of an aged woman, holds a cup in one hand, and has likewise a yellow drapery, which is drawn up upon the head. Near her stands a small boy wrapped in a mantle (3).

12. The life and reign of Adrian are more celebrated in whatever relates to art than the reigns of other emperors; they have indeed by this means become immortal; consequently the art of design of this epoch demands a more circumstantial consideration, especially since we have regarded it as it existed during the reign of Adrian as the last school of the kind, and which survived scarcely fifty years after his death. The reader will here recollect the remarks in the first chapter of the first part of this History (Bk. II., ch. 3), upon the imitations of Egyptian works made by his direction; I must at least touch upon the subject again in this place.

13. We see from such works that Adrian had grasped the art of sculpture in its entire compass; and it is probable that he likewise caused imitations of the Etruscan style to be made. But with those statues he garnished a temple of his villa, the one which of all the temples erected there has remained in the best state of preservation; probably it is the building which Spartianus calls the Canopus. In this villa there must have been hundreds of such figures executed after the Egyptian manner, since — leaving out of the account those which have been broken into fragments, or still lie buried in the rubbish

and those which have been carried away from Rome — there is still a considerable number remaining here. Through such works Adrian carried sculpture back as it were to its earliest stages, and to the elements of drawing, which exacts greater accuracy and is more open to critical examination in figures of this kind in proportion to their simplicity and freedom from ornament. But as he caused the closest imitation to be made at the outset, it appears to have been his intention to proceed step by step in his imitation, not only changing as the more ancient Egyptian style changed, but also exhibiting the progress which the art of the Egyptians might be supposed capable of making, provided that it had not been shackled by the laws. (4). For, as I have previously remarked, figures are found wrought from red granite in the most ancient style of the Egyptians, and it is proved that they are imitations by the two statues larger than life at Tivoli, the heads of which show a true likeness of Antinoüs (5). Further, we notice statues which exhibit the second style of the artists of this nation, for the black marble of which they are made is a proof that they did not originate in Egypt; and finally there are figures of this same marble which have been designed indeed in the Egyptian style, but in which the position of the arms is freer. Examples of both these kinds are contained in the Capitoline museum and the Albani villa, and more perhaps of such imitations have been preserved than of the genuine Greek style, which Adrian apparently was striving to restore to its former perfection.

14. I begin the account of these works with the two Centaurs of black marble, — formerly in the possession of the Cardinal Furietti above mentioned, — which, together with the mosaic of the Doves previously mentioned, were bought by Clement XIII. for thirteen thousand dollars, and incorporated into the Capitoline museum. These Centaurs are not, as it is commonly pretended, wrought from Egyptian stone, by which the value of them would be enhanced, but from a hard blackish marble which is called *Bigio*, “gray marble” (6). I mention these statues first among the works of art of Adrian’s reign, not because they are the best of the time, but rather for the contrary reason, and because the names of the Greek artists Aristéas and Papias, of Aphrodisium, are engraven on the soles. They were found in the Tiburtine villa of Adrian, very much damaged and broken, and consequently required much

restoration. Children must have ridden on them as on the Centaur in the Borghese villa, as we may infer from a large square hole on the backs of them in which the riding figure was fastened; and as these children were not wrought from the same block with the Centaurs, they were probably of bronze. From the crooked stick, named *λαγωβόλον*, that is, *which is thrown at hares*, held by the younger Centaur, it seems as though it may represent Chiron in the character of a celebrated hunter who educated Jason, Theseus, Achilles, and other heroes, and instructed them in the chase. These statues however are not an example of the highest brilliancy attained by sculpture under Adrian; they are valuable rather because they compose a pair, and are signed with the names of the Greek artists.

15. The glory and the crown of sculpture in this age as well as in all others are two likenesses of Antinoüs. One of them, in the Albani villa, is executed in relief; the other is a colossal head in the Mondragone villa above Frascati. Engravings of both are to be found in my *Ancient Monuments*.

16. The former, which represents the half-figure of the favorite of Adrian, was likewise disinterred from his villa, but it is only a fragment of a larger work. There was not only an entire figure larger than life, — as we may infer from the inner side of it which has been hollowed out for the purpose of lessening the weight of the marble, — but it probably stood on a chariot. For the right hand, which is empty, is in a position that leads one to conclude that it must have held the reins, the other end of which was probably in the grasp of the left hand which now holds a crown of flowers, placed in it at the time the work was restored. In this magnificent work would therefore have been represented the *Consecration* or the *Deification* of Antinoüs, as we know that the figures of the individuals who were outraged by such excessive, despicable flattery were placed upon cars, — to signify their elevation and translation to the gods (7).

17. The colossal head of this same young man, in the Mondragone villa, is three times larger than natural, and in so uninjured a state that it seems to have just come fresh from the artist's hands; and I hold it no heresy to say — so grand and lofty is the art displayed in it — that, next to the Vatican Apollo and the Laocoön, it is the most beautiful work which

has come down to us. If it were permitted to make casts in gypsum from it, our artists might study it as one of the highest models of beauty ; for since colossal forms require a great artist who knows how to pass as it were beyond the limits of nature without losing softness and tenderness in the unusually great outlines, it is consequently a proof of skill to be able to copy them. Besides its beauty, the hair and the execution of it have not their equal in all antiquity ; so that one may say this head is one of the most beautiful things in the world. As it was originally mortised into a trunk, I leave it to the reader or the spectator to reflect what a work the whole figure must have been. The eyes are inserted, and are covered with silver-leaf, as I have pointed out in that portion (Book VII., ch. 2) of the fourth chapter which treats of the mechanical part of art.

18. Both heads have a garland of lotus, which was called at Alexandria *Antinoëia*, — as being the garland peculiar to Antinoüs. On the bust the garland is composed apparently merely of the flowers of the plant ; but on the large head the stalk of the lotus is twined in different directions among the hair, which is bound by a fillet, and its flowers were formed of another material and soldered to it, as we can see from the holes bored on each side of the stalk. On the top of the head is a square hole three fingers in breadth, in which probably stood a large lotus-flower.

19. Besides these heads, a statue of Antinoüs, the most beautiful one, the head of which is crowned with ivy like Bacchus, is in the Casali villa, within the bounds of which, that is to say on Mount Cœlius, it was disinterred ; another statue on which a head of Antinoüs was set was sent a short time ago from Rome to Potsdam ; a bust of him, formerly in the collection of Christina, queen of Sweden, stands now at St. Ildefonso in Spain. Generally speaking, there are no heads more numerous than the likenesses of this Bithynian. The most beautiful of the busts, properly so termed, which I have seen, is that in the choice museum of the Bevilacqua mansion at Verona ; it is a matter of regret that the left shoulder is wanting. Of heads engraved on gems, one of the most beautiful was in the museum of the Zanetti brothers at Venice, from whom it was purchased by the Duke of Marlborough (8).

20. The Antinoüs of the Belvedere, as it is called without reason, is commonly pronounced the most beautiful monument

of art of the reign of Adrian, — on the erroneous supposition that this statue represents his favorite; there is more probability that it represents Meleager, or some other young hero. It is placed among statues of the first class, as it deserves, more on account of the beauty of individual parts than of the perfection of the whole; for the legs and feet together with the belly are far inferior in form and workmanship to the rest of the figure. The head is indisputably one of the most beautiful youthful heads of antiquity (9). In the look of the Apollo majesty and pride predominate; but here is an image of the grace of sweet youth, and of the beauty of the flower of life, stamped with pleasing innocence and soft attractions without an indication of a single passion which could possibly disturb the concord of the parts and the youthful stillness of the soul. This state of repose, and, as it were, of enjoyment of itself, in which the senses are concentrated and withdrawn from all outward objects, is impressed upon the whole bearing of this noble figure. The eye which, as in the Goddess of Love, is moderately rounded, but without desire, speaks with captivating innocence; the small mouth with its full lips breathes emotions which are apparently unfelt; the cheeks of lovely fulness, and the softly prominent chin, roundly arched, complete the description of the admirable outline of this noble youth. But in the forehead we see more indeed than the youth; in its height and prominence like the forehead of Hercules, it proclaims the hero. The breast is strongly arched, and the shoulders, sides, and hips are wonderfully beautiful. But the legs are wanting in that beauty of shape required by such a body; the feet are coarsely executed, and the navel is scarcely indicated; and in general the style is different from that of the time of Adrian.

21. Among the portraits of Adrian himself the most beautiful one in marble is a colossal head in the Borghese palace (10). In the museum of the Bevilacqua family at Verona there is a perfectly preserved bust of him at a younger age, and with a short beard. It is remarkable on account of the hair, which does not lie in locks over the forehead as usual, but is uncurled. The most beautiful head of this emperor is a cameo. The gem on which it was engraved was once in the royal Farnese museum at Capo di Monte in Naples, and passed thence into the hands of the Count Von Thoms, son-in-law of the celebrated Boerhaave, how and in what way I leave the reader to conjecture;

but it is now in the museum of the Prince of Orange. A small equestrian statue of Adrian, as it is claimed, two feet high, in the Mattei villa, scarcely deserved mention, far less to be the subject of a fiery pamphlet, especially as the author at the time he wrote had not seen the figure itself; moreover it does not bear the slightest resemblance to the emperor (11). A torso of a statue in mail with the head of this emperor, and another similar torso with the head of Antonius Pius, stand in the Ruspoli palace, and it is commonly asserted that these were statues that had consisted of two pieces, one of which was fitted into the other, because both fragments are smoothly wrought below the edge of the coat of mail. Ficoroni adduces this as a rare instance, and it would be important if it was true. But it is easy to see that these stumps have been cut off by a more modern hand as high as the harness for the purpose of diminishing the cost of restoration of those parts which were wanting. I take the occasion also to remark that the large imperial medallions of bronze were first stamped during the reign of Adrian. This being admitted, it follows that all those in the royal museum at Vienna (12) purporting to be of earlier emperors are confessedly counterfeit. Of the medallions of Adrian in this cabinet one of the most beautiful is hollow, and for many years this rare piece hung instead of a bell at the neck of a mule belonging to a muleteer in the suburbs of Rome (13).

22. If it had been possible to restore to art its former brilliancy it would have been done by Adrian, who possessed the requisite knowledge, and spared no exertions for the purpose; but the spirit of liberty had departed from the world, and the source which had given birth to lofty thoughts and glorious deeds had disappeared. Even the diminishing superstition of the age, and the increasing spread of the Christian religion, which strictly speaking began during this emperor's reign, may be assigned as one cause of his want of success. Learning, which Adrian wished to encourage, was wasted on useless trifles, and eloquence, which was taught by salaried orators, was for the most part nothing but sophistry; the emperor himself wished to suppress Homer, and to install Antimachus in his place (14). With the exception of Lucian, the style of the Greek writers of this age is sometimes unsuitable, and sometimes so elaborate and artificial as to become obscure; such for example was that of Aristides. Notwithstanding all the privi-

leges granted to the Athenians, they were compelled by circumstances to offer for sale certain islands which they had hitherto maintained. Art could not improve any more than science, and the style of the artists of this period is visibly different from that of an earlier age, — a change which was observed at the time, as we learn from some remarks made by contemporaneous writers and quoted above. The assistance which Adrian rendered to art may be likened to the food prescribed by physicians to their patients, preventing them from dying, but affording them no nourishment.

## CHAPTER II.

## UNDER THE ROMAN CÆSARS.—(Continued.)

1. THE arts were esteemed by the Antonines, and Marcus Aurelius moreover encouraged them by the erection of statues to deserving men. He honored with three statues the memory of Vindex, who fell in the war with the Marcomanni, and he caused statues to be erected on the Forum of Trajan to all those who had fallen in the German war distinguished by their valor. He understood drawing, in which he was instructed by Diogenetus, a wise painter, who was also his teacher in philosophy. But good artists began to be rare, and the esteem in which they were once generally held died away, as we are authorized to infer from the opinions of the time. The sophists, who were now as it were raised to the throne, and for whom the Antonines founded professorships, and paid large salaries for their lungs and voices, men without any special sense or taste, bawled out against everything which was not learned, and a skilful artist was in their view nothing but a handicraftsman (1). Their opinion of art was the same as that which Lucian in his *Dream* puts into the mouth of Learning; young persons were taught indeed that it was an indication of a mean spirit even to wish to become a Phidias. Hence it is almost a matter of wonder that Arrian, a writer of this period, regarded it as a misfortune that he had not seen the Jupiter of Phidias.

2. The reign of the Antonines is in art like the apparent improvement shortly before death of persons dangerously ill, when life is reduced to a thin thread of breath; it resembles the flame of a lamp which, before it is entirely extinguished, gathers the remaining oil together, flares up into one bright blaze, and then instantly disappears. There were artists still living who had been educated during the time of Adrian, and to these the great works of the Antonines and their court, but even more their judgment, and the good taste yet remaining, gave oppor-

tunities for the display of their skill ; but after this period art sunk at once. Antoninus Pius built his magnificent villa near Lanuvium, the ruins of which are witnesses of its vastness. Of the sumptuousness of it a proof may be found in a silver cock from which the water flowed into the baths. It was dug out about forty years ago at the place above named ; it weighed between thirty and forty pounds, and bore the inscription, FAVSTINAE NOSTRAE. In the baths of Claudius also the waters ran through silver pipes.

3. In the ruins of that villa a beautiful female statue, nude to the thighs, and without a head, was discovered by the Cardinal Alexander Albani in the year 1714 ; the left hand is resting upon a rudder, which is supported on a Triton. A portion of the base has been preserved, and on it are three knives or daggers wrought in relief. Hitherto these have been viewed as the three points which were in ancient times attached to the bows of ships, and were named ἔμβολοι and *rostra*, "beaks," because they were used for striking. But on the ship with two rudders which stands in the garden of the Barberini house at Palestrina, and which was first published by me, daggers exactly like those are found, not on the bow, but on that part of the stern where it begins to curve upward.

4. This statue might represent a Venus with the epithet of Εὐπλοία, *Of the Lucky Voyage*, as the name by which she was worshipped in the island of Cnidus, but it is more probably a Thetis. As it has one leg raised, and Isis is represented in a small figure in the Ludovisi villa on the stern of a vessel, likewise standing with one leg raised, I have concluded that Thetis may have been figured in a similar manner ; and this conjecture was considered sufficiently reasonable to warrant the restoration of the base of the statue after the model of the boat at Palestrina. Consequently the base of it was originally allegorical, even as it is at the present day, — an opinion which is confirmed by the base of a statue of Protesilaus which had the shape of the bow of a vessel, because this king of Phthya in Thessaly was the first to spring from his vessel upon the Trojan shore, and to be slain by the hand of Hector (2).

5. This Thetis must however be ascribed to an earlier age of art than that of the Antonines, since it is unquestionably one of the most beautiful of ancient figures. In no other female statue, the Venus de' Medici itself hardly excepted, is visible in

an equal degree the youthful bloom of spotless years on the verge of their maturity, — as manifested in the gentle swell of the timid modest breasts, — yet clothed in a shape so noble and slender, although tall beyond the usual growth of such an age. From this body, worthy of the Goddess of Youth, there rises in the imagination of every one who views it a head that resembles the opening bud of a vernal rose; and we seem to see Thetis ascending from the bosom of the ocean, just as a beautiful woman seems most beautiful at the moment when she rises from her bed. But the connoisseur of the loftier beauties of the Greeks replaces the lost part with ideas in which are blended youthful Niobes and the Borghese Venus, infusing into the expression somewhat of the animated glance and soft allurements of the latter, and still preserving the look of innocence; the hair however is not tied in a double knot on the forehead as usual; but, collected together on the crown of the head, and twisted round and through itself, ends as it were in a chaplet of flowers in a tangled wreath, in likeness of the images of the beautiful Nymphs in the foot-race and chariot-race on a vase, described by me, belonging to the Hamilton collection. Scarcely any one would desire from sensual motives to see our goddess entirely nude, because he would thereby deprive himself of that trait in which the ancient artist, in carrying out his conception of the unveiled beauty, has exhibited the subtilty of his knowledge and the delicacy of his hand. For he has executed a robe, which is thrown over the left arm, whereon the Graces and Art seem to work in harmony, — the latter, with soft breaks in the flowing folds; and the former, in the transparency of them, that they may cover and yet not fully hide. Beneath this robe we see the most beautiful female thighs ever shaped in marble, so beautiful indeed that I may be pardoned for believing that this may have been the statue from which the poets have named the most perfect shape of these limbs *σφύρα τῆς Θέτιδος*, *thighs of Thetis*. The poetic master of this Nereid carries us even beyond the divine Homer, for he brings her direct from the waves of the sea, yet unagitated by mortal love, before she surrendered herself to Peleus, before three gods had cast their eyes upon her youth, and before the first vessel had ventured itself upon the waves of the Ægean, — for that part of a vessel on which she stands is only a symbol whereby to recognize her more readily.

6. One of the most beautiful works of this time is a colossal head in marble apparently of the younger Faustina. I say *apparently*, for the likeness especially of youthful and female heads is not readily recognized in colossal heads; in this instance the distance from the chin to the hair on the forehead is two spans. This head was, as one may see, mortised into the body in the manner already described by me. The statue must have been of bronze or marble, for one of the feet, which has been preserved, was likewise attached in a socket, so that the extremities were of marble; portions of the arms are also remaining. This beautiful head, which has not suffered the slightest injury, was discovered at Porcigliano, not far from Ostia, in the ruins it is believed of Pliny's villa, named Laurentium. On the same place were found several very beautiful models in terra cotta; among others a torso of Venus, and a draped figure about two palms high, also two feet with soles attached exactly resembling the foot of the statue above mentioned, and which probably served as models for it. These pieces may be found in the house of the Baron Nero, a Florentine patrician. There is a head in the Ruspoli palace exactly resembling the younger Faustina in the Capitoline museum.

7. I mention here a very rare silver coin of the elder Faustina with the circumscription PVELLAE FAVSTINIANAE; on it she is represented as giving to some young maidens their livelihood, in accordance with a charitable plan established by herself. This coin, whenever it is found in a good state of preservation, can be sold for fifty dollars (3). But I mention it here for the purpose of directing attention to a rilievo in the Albani villa whereby the same beneficence on the part of the empress seems to be represented, for a female figure is standing with another on an elevated platform, and with outstretched hand is giving something to maidens arranged in a row below. The following inscription, in which the inhabitants of Ficulnea, a village not far from Rome, testified their gratitude to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, has reference to the same mode of kindness extended to poor lads and maidens. It was discovered a short time since, in July, 1767, on the very same spot on which it had been erected, and it now stands in the Albani villa (4):—

IMP. CAESARI.  
 DIVI. ANTONINI. PII.  
 FILIO. DIVI. HADRIANI.  
 NEPOTI. DIVI. TRAIANI.  
 PARTHICI. PRONEPOTI.  
 DIVI. NERVAE. ABNEPOTI.  
 M. AVRELIO. ANTONINO. AVG. P. M.  
 TR. POT. XVI. COS. III. OPTIMO. ET.  
 INDVLGENTISSIMO. PRINCIPI.  
 PVERI. ET. PVELLAE. ALIMENTARI.  
 FICOLENSIVM.

To the Emperor Cæsar, son of the divine Antoninus Pius, grandson of the divine Adrian; great-grandson of the divine Trajan, the Parthian; great-great-grandson of the divine Nerva, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, who held the tribunal power sixteen years, thrice consul, the best and most indulgent ruler, from the lads and maidens of Ficulnea, who are fed by his bounty.

8. We perceive that artists were beginning at that time to pay more attention than formerly to portraits, and to make heads instead of figures. This tendency was promoted by repeated orders of the council at Rome that every house should contain a portrait of one or another emperor. Some are found, probably belonging to this period, which may be called miracles of art in regard to execution. Three busts of Lucius Verus, and as many of Marcus Aurelius of extraordinary beauty, especially one of each, larger than life, in the Borghese villa, were found forty years ago covered by large tiles on the road to Florence, four miles from Rome, at a place named Acqua Traversa. One of the rarest heads of Lucius Verus is a likeness of him as a youth with the first down upon his chin, in the Ruspoli palace (5).

9. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius is so well known that little need be said in regard to it (6). The inscription beneath the copperplate engraving of an equestrian statue in the gallery of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, England, is ridiculous: "The first statue of Marcus Aurelius on horseback; the artist who executed it was in consequence employed to make the great statue of this emperor, the horse of which is different from that in this engraving." The subscription on a half-draped Hermes in the same place is remarkable for a similar shamelessness of assertion: "One of the captives which sustained the architrave of the door of the palace of the vice-king of Egypt, after the conquest of the kingdom by Cambyses." The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius stood on

the piazza before the church of St. John Lateran (7), because the house in which the emperor was born was situated in the vicinity; but the figure of the emperor must during the Middle Ages have lain buried in the dirt. For, in the *Life* of the celebrated Cola di Rienzi, mention is made only of the horse, and it was called the horse of Constantine. On the occasion of a great festival, at the time when the popes held their seat at Avignon, red wine for the people's use ran from the head of the horse, and also from his right nostril, and from his left nostril water. At that time no other than river-water was used in Rome, the aqueducts having fallen into decay, and in places remote from the river it was sold just as it is at present on the streets of Paris.

10. The statue of Aristides the rhetorician in the Vatican library belongs to the period of which we speak, and among seated draped figures is not the poorest. In the Bevilacqua museum at Verona there are two perfectly preserved busts which strongly resemble this portrait; one of them wears the toga, and the other the paludamentum or general's cloak, which would not be an appropriate garment for this Aristides. From the description of an armed Venus which was made by the order of the celebrated Herod, surnamed Atticus, the expression of which was not sweet and loving, but somewhat masculine, and joyous as if after achievement of a victory, we may infer that a knowledge of the beautiful and of the style of the ancients had not entirely disappeared from the world. So too there were still to be found connoisseurs of noble simplicity and unadorned nature in writing and oratory, and Pliny, who states that those passages in his *Eulogy* which cost him the least trouble were more admired by some than the most elaborate sentences, was hereby encouraged to hope for the restoration of good taste. But nevertheless he himself adhered in the *Eulogy* to the artificial style which nothing but its truthful praise of a worthy man made endurable. The Herod above mentioned caused statues to be erected to some of his freedmen whom he loved. Of the great monuments which this man built in Rome as well as at Athens, and in other Greek cities, there are still remaining two columns of his tomb of a kind of marble called *Cipollino*, three palms in diameter. The inscription on them, which has been explained by Salmasius, has made them famous. A French author must have been dream-

ing when he informs us that the letters composing it are not Greek, but Latin. In September, 1761, these columns were carried from Rome to Naples, and are now set up in the court of the Herculaneum museum, at Portici. The inscriptions on his celebrated villa Triopæa, which now stands in the Borghese villa, have been published by Spon.

11. At that time statues were also erected to the victors in the chariot-races of the Circus. Some idea of them may be obtained from pieces of mosaic work with the names of the persons inscribed thereon in the Massimi house; but a more distinct notion is derived from a rilievo representing such a victor, almost of the size of life, in a chariot drawn by four horses, from a large oval funeral urn in the Albani villa, which has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*, and especially from an actual statue in the Negroni villa. In the restoration of this figure it was converted into a gardener on account of a curved knife in the girdle, which is worn in the same way by the victor of the rilievo as well as of the urn just mentioned, and for this reason a hoe has been put into its hand. Most of these persons belonged to the populace, with whom it was somewhat customary to wind and lace a girdle around the breast as low down as the belly. Lucius Verus even caused a portrait-statue of his horse, named Volucris, to be erected in the Circus. In connection with the works executed during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the one that occurs to me most prominently is a treatise written by himself, of which the ideas — their sound morality excepted — and style are common, and not sufficiently worthy of a prince who dabbles in literature.

12. During the reign of Commodus, the son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, and subsequent to it, the last school of art, of which Adrian had been almost the founder, went to decay; and even art itself may be said to have perished. The artist from whose hands came the wondrously beautiful head in the Campidoglio of this emperor in his youth is an honor to art. It seems to have been executed somewhere about the time when Commodus ascended the throne, that is, in the nineteenth year of his age. As none of the heads of subsequent emperors are to be compared to it, it may serve as a proof that the artist of it did not have many equals (8). The bronze medallions of this emperor are to be regarded as among the most beautiful of such medals both in drawing and execution;

the dies of some of them are cut with so great fineness, that on the feet of the goddess Roma, who is sitting on a pile of armor and reaching a ball to Commodus, we see executed the small heads of the animals from whose skins were made the shoes usually worn. But it is impossible to infer with certainty from a work on a small scale as to the execution of one on a large scale. He who knows how to make a small model of a vessel is not consequently fitted for the building of a ship which would be able to live in a raging sea ; for if this was the case, many figures on the reverse of coins of subsequent emperors, which are not badly drawn, would lead to erroneous conclusions as to the general excellence of art at that time. A figure of Achilles which would appear tolerable when drawn in little, will, when executed of the size of life by the same hand, look more like that of Thersites. A similar difference is also observable in diminishing and enlarging figures ; for it is easier to draw a small copy from a large object than it is to draw a large copy from a small object, just as one sees farther when looking downward from a height than when looking upwards. Sante Bartoli has acquired celebrity as a very good draughtsman of ancient works from his small figures of the size of those which he drew on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (9) ; but when he departed from this measure, and drew figures of a larger size, he became very unlike himself, as shown by the rilievi which he published under the title *Admiranda Antiquitatis*. It is also probable, when we find the reverse faces of coins of the third century executed in a style superior to the idea of the times, that the ancient dies have been used.

13. It has been supposed that the likeness of the Emperor Commodus might be found in the figure of a Hercules in the Belvedere, because the latter carries a child on the lion's skin. It is thought that in this child an allusion is intended to the one who served as a plaything to the emperor, and who was the cause of his assassination, having seized a list of the conspirators against Commodus, and dropped it out of the window. The lion's skin also with which Commodus on his coins is seen covered has given occasion to the erroneous appellation. The child borne by this statue is the young Ajax, the son of Telamon. Hercules took the newly born babe in his arms, and laid him on the lion's hide with the wish that he might become even greater than his father. In the plaster cast of this statue the

highly significant child has been omitted ; the three apples from the garden of the Hesperides have been put into his hand instead of the child. Wright, who has on this point copied the words of his blind guide, says this figure of Commodus may be good, but it clearly shows the difference between the Greek and Roman taste in sculpture. This silly criticism is based solely on the name, and he would have been enabled to discern Egyptian art in the statue if perchance it had happened to bear the name of Ptolemy. There is no doubt that this Hercules is the work of a great Greek artist, and one of the most beautiful in Rome. The head is unquestionably the most beautiful head of Hercules known, and the hair is executed in the highest style of art, and as it is done on the Apollo (10). A heroic figure, carrying a dead boy on its shoulders, has received the name of Commodus, because the head, which has been regarded as ancient, though it is in fact modern, represents this emperor, who is here figured in the character of a gladiator. But there is no better foundation for the name in this than in the other instance. That writer came nearer to the truth who gave the name of Atreus to this statue, as seen in a very bad engraving of it in a collection of engravings of statues which appeared in Rome in folio, in 1623, — Atreus, who slew the son of his brother Thyestes (11). James Gronovius is not therefore the first who bestowed upon it this name, as he supposes.

14. The Roman Senate resolved to blot out the memory of Commodus, and their resolution applied especially to images of him. The numerous heads and busts of him which were disinterred when the Cardinal Alexander Albani was digging for the foundations of his sumptuous villa on the sea-shore, at Nettuno, showed with what rigor the decree was executed. In every instance the face had been cut away by a chisel, and the likeness could be recognized only by some other signs, just as in a shattered stone we recognize the head of Antinoüs by the chin and mouth. There is in the Altieri villa a head of this young man which was restored as an Antinoüs solely on the indication of the mouth, the only part of it which had been preserved.

15. It is no wonder that art began to lean visibly towards its fall when we reflect that even the schools of the Sophists in Greece ceased with Commodus. To the Greeks even their own language was unknown, for there were few among them who were able to read their best authors with a true understanding

of their meaning ; and we know that Oppian in his poems was obscure to the Greeks in consequence of imitating Homer, and adopting his expressions and words ; even Homer himself was unintelligible. Hence the Greeks needed dictionaries of their own language, and Phrynichus sought to teach the Athenians how their forefathers had spoken ; but of many words it was no longer possible to give a precise definition, and their derivation after the root-words were lost was founded on conjectures.

16. The public structures which were erected by Septimius Severus some time after the death of Commodus show how much art had degenerated since that event. He succeeded Commodus in the government after the lapse of a year, during which interval Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Clodius Albinus, and Pescennius Niger had reigned for a brief space, and then been slain. The Athenians were made to feel at once the anger of Severus on account of an insult which had been offered to him at Athens, when he was on a journey to Syria at some former time ; he deprived the city of all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to it by previous emperors. The rilievi on his arch, and on another arch erected in his honor by the silversmiths, are so bad, that it seems astonishing how it was possible for art to decline so utterly in the short space of twelve years since the death of Marcus Aurelius (12). The figure in rilievo of the gladiator Bato of the size of life, in the Pamfili villa, is additional proof of the deterioration ; for, if this is the gladiator of that name whom Caracalla magnificently honored, it follows that the sculptor employed to execute the work was not an inferior artist. Philostratus mentions a painter by the name of Aristodemus, who distinguished himself about this time ; he was a pupil of one Eumelus.

17. Artists still found constant occupation at this time. Statues were erected to Plautian, the favorite and prime minister of the Emperor Septimius Severus, not only at Rome, but also in other cities of the Roman kingdom, as well by private individuals as by the Senate, insomuch that they were larger and more numerous than those set up in honor of the emperor. In the reign of this emperor an incident occurred at the obstinate siege of the city of Byzantium, — which had been seized by the party of Pescennius Niger in opposition to the imperial party, — similar to what had happened during the siege of Rome by the Goths, when the citizens threw statues down upon their

enemies ; the Byzantines precipitated from the walls upon the heads of the besiegers entire bronze statues not only of standing but of equestrian figures.

18. An unfavorable prejudice respecting the art of this time has however come to be regarded almost as a truth ; this derogatory opinion is based in an especial degree on the bad workmanship of the arch of Septimius Severus. But, when we look upon undisputed better works of later date, we are compelled to acknowledge that if probably not the best, neither was the poorest artist selected, — an occurrence which sometimes happens even now; — and employed to do the work on the arch, the most prominent monument of that reign. We should draw a conclusion quite as erroneous if we inferred from the last two pictures in mosaic which were set up in St. Peter's Church in Rome that no better painter was known in the city at the time, as we nevertheless would be obliged to conclude ; or, if we should infer as to the general taste in architecture during the time of Benedict XIV. from two churches that were built in Rome during his popedom of which the style and ornamentation are disgusting. Still more extraordinary is the marble statue of the Pope Leo X., the father of the arts, in the Campidoglio, executed by one Giacomo del Duca of Sicily, and a scholar of Michael Angelo, which may be pronounced a positive abortion. There cannot have been a worse sculptor than he neither then nor since, and yet he was selected to execute this statue for the most honorable spot in Rome.

19. When we look upon the works above mentioned it seems scarcely possible that an artist still existed capable of producing the bronze statue of Septimius Severus in the Barberini palace, although it cannot be regarded as beautiful (13). The presumed statue of Pescennius Niger in the Altieri palace, who organized a revolt against Septimius Severus, and was defeated by him, would be still more rare than the bronze statue and all the coins of this emperor, if it could possibly represent the person supposed ; but the head more resembles Septimius Severus.

20. By order of Caracalla statues were erected in all cities to Alexander the Great ; and in Rome a few were furnished with heads having two faces, one of Alexander, the other of Caracalla. Of the ancient generals he especially admired Sylla and Hannibal, and likewise honored their memories with statues and busts. In the Ruspoli palace there are two heads of him taken

when he was a child (14). The sole statue of Macrinus, who succeeded him, is in the Borioni vineyard.

21. Of the time of Heliogabalus a female statue of the size of life is preserved in the Albani villa (15). It represents an aged woman with so masculine a face that only the clothing indicates the sex; the hair is combed very simply upon the head, and drawn up behind, and tucked underneath. In the left hand she holds a roll of manuscript, which is somewhat extraordinary in female figures, and hence it is believed to be the mother of the emperor, who made her appearance in the privy council, and in whose honor a senate composed of women was instituted at Rome (16).

22. Alexander Severus, who succeeded Heliogabalus, caused the statues of many distinguished men to be brought from all places, and erected in the Forum of Trajan (17): but his own image in marble has not descended to posterity; at least not a single one is to be found in Rome (18). There is in the Campidoglio a large funeral urn on the cover of which are seen in a recumbent position the figures of a man and his wife of the size of life. For a long time it was believed to be the one in which the emperor had been deposited, and his likeness, it was supposed, might be seen in the male figure on it. There are however more reasons than one why it must have preserved the ashes of far other individuals. The male figure has a short beard, and represents a person of more than fifty years of age, whereas Alexander Severus died in the thirtieth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years. But the female figure, whose supposed resemblance to Julia Mammæa, the mother of this emperor, has furnished the real ground for the erroneous appellation of this monument, is the portrait of that man's wife. On the body of the urn, in front as well as on both sides, we see in high relief the beginning of the Iliad, — the sorrow of Achilles because Briseis was taken from him, — and on the back the end of the same poem, namely, Priam before Achilles, having come to ransom the body of Hector. Those who incline to refer everything to Roman history suppose that they find on the front side the covenant of Romulus with Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines; and another has imagined the ball of thread which the two maidens of Achilles hold to be a hand-mill, though it does not resemble even a pepper-mill.

23. That name having been supposed to be correct, the raised

figures on the beautiful glass vase which was found in the urn, and of which I made mention in the first chapter of the first part (Book I. ch. 2) as an allusion to the name of Alexander Severus, have been made to apply to the birth of Alexander the Great. It is not the place here to enter upon an explanation of the raised figures on this vase, and I refer the reader to the representation of it which Bartoli has given to us in his work on ancient tombs; I will merely state in a few words that the incident of the representation is probably the fable of Peleus and Thetis, according to which the latter changed herself even into a snake in order to escape the pursuit of her lover. This idea was indicated on the Chest of Cypselus by a snake creeping from the hand of Thetis upon Peleus, — a point upon which I will explain myself more clearly in the third volume of my *Ancient Monuments*.

24. The seated figure of Saint Hippolytus of the size of life in the Vatican library (19), which is unquestionably the oldest Christian figure in stone, is of the time of Alexander Severus; for during his reign the Christians began to receive more consideration than formerly, and he allowed them to perform public worship on the place where the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere now stands.

25. But the statue of the Emperor Pupienus, which formerly stood in the Verospi palace, and is now in the Albani villa (20), shows that art still continued to be practised successfully by some of its followers. This figure is seven feet and three inches high, and has sustained no injury except of the right arm, which is wanting as far up as the elbow. It has even retained the fine clay-like coat with which the statues of the ancients became overlaid when lying underground. The left hand grasps a dagger, and a large horn of plenty stands upright near the shaft against which the right leg rests for support. The impression received from the first look at this statue does not seem to correspond with its age, for though it displays a grandeur and splendor in its single parts, yet we fail to discover the science which distinguished the older artists; the principal colors are there, but the middle tints are wanting, and the figure consequently appears heavy. They mistake therefore who assert that the art of sculpture had entirely perished at this date. The base of a statue of the Emperor Gordianus which was once in the Farnese palace is now no longer in being.

26. The really precise time at which the entire downfall of art occurred was previous to the age of Constantine, at the time of the great disorder occasioned by the thirty tyrants, who stirred up a rebellion during the reign of Gallienus, that is, at the beginning of the latter half of the third century (21). Connoisseurs in coins remark that no coins were stamped in Greece subsequently to the time of Gallienus ; but the smaller the value and the poorer the impression of coins of this age, the oftener is the figure of the goddess Moneta found on them, just as "honor" is a word frequent in the mouths of those whose honor is questionable. The head of Gallienus in bronze, wearing a crown of laurel, in the Mattei villa, is valuable merely on account of its rarity (22).

27. The reign of Gallienus is generally assigned as the date of the entire downfall of art, and yet works are found which prove the contrary, and give a favorable idea of its condition. One of them is a rilievo, and it represents in figures almost half as large as life a hunting scene at which the emperor is present. This work, which is in the Mattei palace, needs mention here for another reason ; from an error in observation made by Fabretti on the shod foot of the horse, he thinks he can show that horseshoes were in use in the reign of Gallienus ; but the learned man did not notice that the whole leg of the horse is new. The other monument of the time of Gallienus, which speaks in favor of the art then existing is a portrait-bust of him, with the genuine ancient name at the foot of it. This piece was carried to England ; but the Cardinal Alexander Albani, in whose villa it now stands, was fortunate enough to bring it back to Rome. The Cardinal acknowledges that he shared the common prejudice in regard to the utter downfall of art in this reign, and that this belief induced him to part with a beautiful bust of Trajanus Decius, who reigned shortly before Gallienus, as he could not persuade himself that it represented him because it surpassed in merit the standard of his time.

28. Mention is made of a statue of Calpurnia, the wife of Titus, who was one of the false emperors or tyrants previously mentioned ; but it was probably so bad, that an obscure word, the explanation of which gives much trouble to the learned, cannot contain matter of such importance as one writer has sought to find in it (23).

29. It seems as if the barbarians had invaded Rome unexpectedly and suddenly. This conclusion might be drawn from the numerous columns and large cups of alabaster and marble, together with pedestals and unwrought blocks of foreign marble, which were found on the site where once was the ancient harbor, or place where goods were landed, on the Tiber, at the foot of the Aventine Hill, and where the Sforza-Cesarini family has a vineyard, in which are still standing great remains of the ancient storehouses. These works had probably been ordered and purchased abroad on speculation, and shipped to Rome for the purpose of being introduced into buildings; but all such plans were cut short through the consternation occasioned by the irruption of the northern tribes into Italy (24). One of the columns of *Fiorito* or flowered alabaster, eighteen feet and three inches high, disinterred at that place, is the largest and most beautiful known column of this stone; it is in the Albani villa. Here are also two large cups of similar alabaster, seven feet and three inches in diameter, which were found in the same locality, broken in pieces, together with fragments of more than ten other such basins. In the middle of one of them is the head of Medusa, and in the other the head of a Triton, or perhaps a River-god. As they have no outlet, they must have been intended for the purpose which they now serve, merely for the embellishment of a building. But it is evident that these works could not have lain there long before the time of which we speak, because the inscriptions engraved on one of the ends of each of two large blocks of unwrought *Cipollino* marble are in letters of which the shape points to this date. On one of them was the consulship together with the name apparently of him who ordered them to be shipped, and the number of them:—

... RVIANO III COS  
 ... EXTRAT  
 ... VALENTIS  
 ... LXXXIIII

When restored it reads, —

SERVIANO III COS,  
 EX RATIONE  
 VALENTIS  
 NVM. LXXXIIII.

In the third consulship of Servianus,  
 To the order of Valens.  
 Number eighty-four.

On the end of the other block was engraved, —

SVB CVRA MINICI SI.  
PR. CRESCENTE LIB. NL

the explanation of which I leave to those who are skilled in such matters (25). No consul of the name of Rulianus is known ; there were several consuls of the family of the Fabii who bore the surname of Rulianus ; but they lived at a much earlier period of the republic. These inscriptions were sawed from the blocks, and are now in the Albani villa ; two columns were wrought from the remainder of the blocks which in the year 1767 were carried away to England.

## CHAPTER III.

## UNDER THE ROMAN CÆSARS. — (Continued.)

1. THE condition of art afterwards under Constantine the Great is shown by statues of him, — one under the portico of the church of Saint John Lateran (1), two others on the Campidoglio, — and some rilievi on his arch, of which every portion that is good was taken from the arch of the Emperor Trajan (2). It is therefore scarcely credible that the ancient painting of the goddess Roma in the Barberini palace was executed during the reign of Constantine. Mention is made of other discovered paintings, representing harbors and marine views, which from the inscriptions beneath them might have belonged to this period ; but they are no longer in existence : drawings of them, executed in colors, are in the library of the Cardinal Alexander Albani (3). But the paintings in the oldest Vatican Virgil are not too good for the time of Constantine as some one supposes, who when he wrote did not have the recollection of them fresh in his mind, and formed his opinion from the engravings of Bartoli, who has made everything of indifferent merit appear to belong to a flourishing age of art (4). He was not aware that it could be shown from a contemporaneous manuscript memorandum in this book that the copy in question was made in the time of Constantine (5). The antique illustrated *Terence* in this library appears to belong to the same age, and the celebrated Peiresc mentions, in one of his unpublished letters in the library of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, another ancient manuscript of *Terence* of the time of the Emperor Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, the painted figures in which were of a style similar to those of the other.

2. A still clearer proof of the downfall of sculpture as well as of architecture during the reign of Constantine is found in the temple of Bacchus so called, near the church of Saint Agnes outside of Rome, or, as the accounts and its appearance

indicate, the building which was erected by this emperor at the request of his daughter Constantia, because she was baptized here, and wished to be buried here (6). It is evident that the building cannot be older, and that it belongs to an age in which more ancient buildings were destroyed that the materials might be used in rebuilding, because the bases and capitals of the columns are all different, so that not a single one corresponds to another. Hence I am astonished at the blindness of Ciam-pini, who maintains exactly the reverse, and finds here in every piece the most perfect proportion, because he wishes to show that the edifice is actually an ancient temple of Bacchus, but consecrated by Constantine to a better use. This writer, though otherwise learned, shows so little knowledge of art that he believes that the five beautiful marble candelabra six feet high, two of which are in this church, and the other three in the church of Saint Agnes, must have been executed at that time for the building in question (7). These candelabra are on the contrary executed with so great skill that they can be ascribed only to the best artists of the times of Trajan or Adrian. On the great urn of porphyry in which the body of Constantia was laid, as also on the ceiling of the outer corridor of the temple above mentioned, are represented — in the latter place in mosaic — the wine harvest and the wine-presses; on the urn small winged Genii are at work, and on the ceiling Fauns; in these images we perceive the reason why the building is called the temple of Bacchus (8). But we know that the Christian religion was not at that time wholly purified from heathenish usages, and that no scruple was made in mingling profane with sacred things; in regard to art however the pictures are what was to be expected from the age. This is also manifest when we compare this urn with another of the same monstrous size and of the same kind of stone, standing in the cross-passage of the church of Saint John Lateran, on which is represented a battle of horsemen (9), some of whom are lying on the ground; the body of Helen, the mother of Constantine, was placed in it.

3. The reader will remember that when I speak of the fall of art in ancient times, my remarks are to be understood as applying especially to sculpture and painting; for when these declined, and approached their setting, architecture still flourished in a certain degree, and works were executed in Rome which for

magnificence and splendor had never been equalled in Greece in her best days ; and at a time when there were few artists able to draw a figure correctly, Caracalla erected the astonishing Baths of which even the ruins in the present day appear wonderful (10), and Diocletian constructed his Baths, in which he strove even to surpass those ; and it must be acknowledged that that portion of them which has been preserved fills us with amazement. But the entablature of the columns is suffocated by the heaps of carved work, as were the spectators at the plays exhibited by him by the deluge of flowers which was showered upon them. Each side of his palace at Spalatro, Illyria, is seven hundred and five English feet in length according to the latest measurement by Mr. Adams. This astonishing edifice had four principal streets, thirty-five feet broad, and the street from the entrance to the square in the centre is two hundred and forty-six feet long, and the street which crosses this is four hundred and twenty-four feet long. On each side of the streets were covered arches twelve feet in breadth, some of which are still in perfect preservation. These details I extract from the manuscript memoir of Mr. Adams on the antiquities at Spalatro, which was afterwards published with the engravings in a splendid volume. The great palaces and temples at Palmyra were erected not long before, the magnificence of which exceeds all other buildings remaining in the world ; the carved work and ornaments on them fill the spectator with wonder. There would therefore be nothing contradictory, as Nardini thinks, in supposing that the two astonishing fragments of a beautiful carved entablature in the garden of the Colonna palace might be portions of a Temple of the Sun which the Emperor Aurelian built in this vicinity (11). To comprehend this we must reflect that architecture occupies itself principally with rule and measure, that everything in it is determined according to them, and that it is governed by more direct precepts than drawing, and therefore could not so easily deviate nor fall. Plato however acknowledges that even in Greece a good architect was rare. It is notwithstanding almost inconceivable that the upper tapering ends of two columns of the porch of the Temple of Concordia, falsely so called, which Constantine, according to an inscription no longer extant, caused to be restored, were placed upside down on the lower half of them (12).

4. Constantine the Great, after peace was established in his kingdom, sought to encourage the different branches of knowledge; and Athens, wherein the teachers of oratory opened their schools anew to great throngs, became the central point for students, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. We see by the four distinguished church fathers — Saint Gregory of Nazianzen and Myssenus, Saint Basilus and John Chrysostom — that the Greeks even of Cappadocia, and at a later date too than the reign of Constantine, were not deficient in extraordinary talents, though the uprooting of the pagan worship had impressed a different aspect on the world. No violence had as yet been exhibited towards works of art (13), and statues were carried to Constantinople from many places in Greece and Asia Minor, — from Ephesus out of the temple of Diana, and from Athens as well as Rome; even in the temple of Saint Sophia there were standing for quite a long time after this date four hundred and twenty-six statues, most of which were the works of ancient Greek masters. An anonymous Byzantine writer even names the places whence the statues were brought which stood in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, — among which I am astonished at not finding Elis (14). And as the holy fathers above mentioned restored oratory and beauty of language after their great decline to such a degree of excellence and beauty that their names may stand by the side of those of Plato and Demosthenes, and all heathen writers of their time seem dull in comparison with them, even so it would not have been impossible that some similar change might have happened in art. In Rome on the other hand art had reached such a stage that, when commissions were given for statues or heads of a certain kind, the artists took the figures of the ancient masters, and fitted them for the parts intended to be represented by them, because they were too unskilful and incompetent to execute any idea of their own, just as the ancient Roman inscriptions were used on Christian monuments, — the Christian inscription being placed on the reverse (15). Flaminio Vacca mentions five undraped statues which were found in his time, all of which had been re-wrought by a barbarian hand. In 1757 half of a head was found among the fragments of ancient things in the Albani villa, on which was visible at the same time the hand of an ancient master and that of a barbarian; as the latter did not probably feel satisfied with the

success of his work, he did not finish it: the ear and the neck show the style of the ancient master.

5. After the time of Constantine we do not find much further mention made of art. It is on the other hand to be conjectured that, as the destruction of the statues of the gods began in Constantinople shortly afterwards, works of art in Greece may have met with a similar fate (16). In Rome a superintendent was appointed to prevent such mischief, who was called *Centurio Nitentium Rerum*, "The Centurion of Beautiful Objects," and he had under his command soldiers whose duty it was to make their rounds by night, and to take care that no statues were mutilated or broken. For, as the Christians began to be powerful, the temples of the pagans were pillaged (17), and the eunuchs, who ruled instead of their masters in the courts of the Constantines, decorated their palaces with marble from the temples. The Emperor Honorius sought to repress these disorders in Rome by a decree prohibiting sacrifices, but ordering that the temples should be preserved (18). Yet even at that time statues were still erected to celebrated men, as, during the reign of the Emperor Honorius, that honor was conferred on Stilicho and the poet Claudian; the base of the statue of the former was in existence two hundred years ago. At Constantinople two columns, with rilievi on them after the style of Trajan's column in Rome, were still in existence until the beginning of this (the eighteenth) century, one of which had been erected in honor of Constantine, and the other of Arcadius. The rilievi on the latter have been engraved from drawings executed by Bellino, a Venetian painter whom Mohammed II. had invited to Constantinople, and it seems that the artist beautified the work on it to suit his own ideas; for the little of the other column which is drawn gives a very unfavorable idea of it, and is exceedingly different from the workmanship on the other. Of the column of Arcadius only the granite base is now to be seen in the quarter called Concajui; the column itself was at the beginning of this century removed from Turkey, because it had been frequently shaken by repeated earthquakes, and fears were felt that it might be overthrown and cause serious damage. The other, which is called the burnt column, stands near a locality named Visirkham; it is composed of seven large cylinders of porphyry, the base not included. An image of Constantine formerly

stood upon it, which, after it had repeatedly suffered by fire, was repaired by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, as related by a Greek inscription on it.

6. Some sixty years after Byzantium had become the capital of the Roman kingdom, Athens was, as Synesius relates, stripped of all its glory, and there was no longer anything in it remarkable but the names of ancient ruins. Although permission had been granted to the Athenians by the Emperor Valerian, prior to Constantine, to rebuild the walls of their city, which had lain in ruins since the time of Sylla some hundred years, still they were unable with their defences to repel the Goths who, during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus, overran Greece. The city was pillaged; and Cedrenus relates that the Goths had collected together a pile of books for the purpose of burning them; but, on reflecting that it might be better for them to occupy the Athenians with books, they were restored to them (19). A similar melancholy fate befell works of art in Rome; treasures, the like of which no age nor artists either of the present or any future time can produce, were destroyed with brutal fury by the barbarians in their many conquests and plunderings of the city, and even by the Romans themselves (20). The magnificent temple of the Olympian Jupiter had been destroyed prior to the time of Saint Jerome (21). When, during the reign of the Emperor Justinian, Theodatus, king of the Goths, in the year 537, laid siege to Rome by his general Vitiges, and the Mole of Adrian<sup>1</sup> was assaulted, the besieged defended themselves by throwing statues down upon the heads of their enemies (22). The celebrated Sleeping Satyr in the Barberini palace was probably of the number of these statues, for it was found without thighs, legs, and the left arm, in the ditch surrounding the castle when it was cleared out by order of the Pope Urban VIII., together with the bronze statue of Septimius Severus, not in the ditch of Castel-Gandolfo outside of Rome, as Beval erroneously alleges.

7. It is stated in many books that a statue of almost colossal size in the Giustiniani villa is an image of the Emperor Justinian; and the Giustiniani family, which deduces its origin from this emperor, has made a new attempt to maintain its claim by placing an inscription on it within a few years. The statue, which is of moderate merit, must be regarded as a wonder of

<sup>1</sup> Now the castle of Saint Angelo. — Tr.

art of this period ; the head is modern, and copied from a young Marcus Aurelius.

8. A seated statue less than life size, in the Borghese villa, has been erroneously regarded as Belisarius begging ; it has received this name on account of the position of the right hand, which lies upon the knee, forming a hollow, as if for the purpose of receiving something into it (23). It might be said that we have in this figure a representation of one of those persons who collected alms for Cybele, to whom alone, according to the laws of the twelve tables, permission in Rome was accorded for such a purpose (24). These persons were named *Μητραγύρται*, from *Μήτηρ*, *the mother of the gods*, and *Μηναγύρται*, *to beg monthly*, because they collected alms one day in every month. But the statue in question appears to have a far more learned significance than this. We know that Augustus played the beggar one day in every year, and held out his hollowed hand, *cavam manum*, for the purpose of receiving charity. This act was intended as one of propitiation to Nemesis, who humbled, as it was believed, those who were exalted in the world. For the same reason whips and shackles, with which Nemesis is represented, as it may be seen on a beautiful seated statue of her in the Vatican garden (25), were suspended on the triumphal cars, and for the purpose of reminding the victors that their glory is transitory, and that the vengeance of the gods may come upon them in the pride of their prosperity. These are the probable reasons why the hand of this statue was made open as if to receive alms. The opposite position to the hollowed hand, namely, that in which the fingers are curved as if to gripe, is used by Aristophanes to denote theft :—

Ἄγκύλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάζων φορεῖ.

Seizing, she holds with curved fingers.

9. We can easily imagine from two figures in mosaic of Justinian and his wife Theodora, at Ravenna, what sort of opinion we should form of the equestrian statue of him and his wife, both in bronze, formerly at Constantinople, as these works were executed at the same time. The statue of the former was dressed like Achilles, that is, as Procopius says, with sandals bound beneath his feet, and with bare legs, without leg-armor ; we should say represented heroically, that is, like men of the heroic age (26).

10. Finally the Greek Emperor Constans, a grandson of the Emperor Heraclius, came to Rome, in 663, and after a stay of twelve days carried off all the remaining works in bronze, and even the large bronze tiles with which the Pantheon was covered. He took this collection of treasures with him to Syracuse in Sicily, where shortly after his death it fell into the hands of the Saracens, by whom it was removed to Alexandria (27). But there is reason to believe that not all of those ancient works were carried away by the Saracens, but that many may have remained there, scattered about in different places; I am led to this conjecture by four large oblong urns of porphyry, shaped like the ancient bathing-tubs, which stand in the Cathedral at Palermo, and contain the bones of four kings; also by two other similar urns in the Duomo of the rich abbey Monreale, two miles beyond Palermo, which ornament the tombs of two other famous kings of Norman blood, one of them William the Bad, the other William the Good. It is more than probable that vases wrought from the choicest porphyry were carried from Rome thither, because this stone, as I have mentioned above, was brought from Egypt for the first time under the emperors. But at that date Sicily was becoming gradually plundered of the monuments of ancient art, and it is not to be supposed that any persons could be found there who would import porphyry from Egypt at their own expense, and have such vases wrought from it, which probably served as bathing-tubs in the sumptuous Baths of the Romans.

11. In Constantinople, and there only, there still remained a few works of art which had been saved from the general destruction that had gone on in Greece and Rome. Everything which had escaped injury in Greece was removed thither, even the statue of the ass-driver with his ass, of bronze, which was erected by Augustus at Nikopolis after the battle with Antony and Cleopatra (28). There was still standing in Constantinople until the eleventh century a statue of Pallas from the island of Lindus, executed by the sculptors Skyllis and Dipœnus, who flourished prior to the time of Cyrus. There too about the same time were those wonders of art, the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, the most beautiful Venus from Cnidus by the hand of Praxiteles, the statue of Opportunity by Lysippus, and a Juno from Samos by the same artist. But all these statues were probably destroyed when Constantinople was taken by Baldwin

at the beginning of the thirteenth century ; for we know that the statues of bronze were melted and coined into money ; and a historian of the time particularly mentions the Samian Juno as having been thus used (29). I consider it however a figure of speech where he says that the head alone of the statue, after it was knocked to pieces, required four carts to carry it away ; but the very exaggeration renders it probable that it was a work of very great size (30.)

12. That art continued to exist in Greece at a later date than in Italy and Rome is manifest, among other proofs, from the painted figures in an ancient manuscript of Kosmas on parchment, No. 699, in the Vatican library, which was published by Montfaucon in his *Collection* of Greek authors but without the figures. The shape of the book is an oblong folio, and the writing is in large letters, usually termed *square*. This Kosmas was a tradesman in the time of the Emperor Justin, as he himself says on the fifteenth leaf of the said manuscript, and Photius states the same. In one of the pictures of the manuscript are represented in front of the throne of King David two female dancers with tucked-up dresses, who hold over their heads with both hands a floating drapery, and these figures are so beautiful that we are compelled to believe that they have been copied from an ancient picture. Between the two is the word OPXHCIC, *A Dance*. To the greater number of works of art in later times may be applied the remark made by Longinus of the Odyssey, that in it we see Homer as the setting sun ; its greatness is there, but not its force.

13. I have already overstepped the boundaries of the history of art, and in meditating upon its downfall have felt almost like the historian who, in narrating the history of his native land, is compelled to allude to its destruction, of which he was a witness. Still I could not refrain from searching into the fate of works of art as far as my eye could reach ; just as a maiden, standing on the shore of the ocean, follows with tearful eyes her departing lover with no hope of ever seeing him again, and fancies that in the distant sail she sees the image of her beloved. Like that loving maiden we too have, as it were, nothing but a shadowy outline left of the object of our wishes, but that very indistinctness awakens only a more earnest longing for what we have lost, and we study the copies of the originals more attentively than we should have done the originals them-

selves if we had been in full possession of them. In this particular we are very much like those who wish to have an interview with spirits, and who believe that they see them when there is nothing to be seen. In a similar manner the authority of antiquity predetermines our judgments; yet even this prepossession has been not without its advantages; for he who always proposes to himself to *find much* will by *seeking* for much perceive something. If the ancients had been poorer in art they would have written better of it. We are, compared to them, like poorly portioned heirs; but we look carefully about us, and by deductions from many particulars we arrive at least at a probable certainty capable of becoming a source of more instruction than the details bequeathed to us by the ancients, for, with the exception of a few critical observations, they are merely historical. We must not shrink from seeking after the truth, even though its discovery wounds our self-esteem; a few must go wrong that the many may go right.



# NOTES.



## NOTES.

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THE authors of the notes are designated by the following signatures: W., Winckelmann; Germ. Ed., the German Editor, Meyer; L., Lessing; A., Amoretti, author of an Italian translation; F., Fea, also an Italian translator; D., Desmarest; S., Siebelis; E., Eschenburg.

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### BOOK VI.

#### CHAPTER I.

1. PLINY (lib. 21, cap. 6, sect. 14) terms garments of this color *vestes ianthinas*, "violet-colored garments," from *ἰον*, which, either with or without the adjunct *μέλαν*, signifies the common blackish-blue violet. Hyacinthine color was darker and deeper than violet, and both were different from another purple color which the ancients compared to the color of the sea when agitated by a storm; at this time the waves of the Mediterranean, so often called by them the "purple sea," deepen into a red or brownish hue. Hence it has also been termed the "wine-colored sea." — GERM. ED.

2. That this was the color of the Tyrian purple one may see on a Herculanæum painting in which a general, who appears to be Titus, together with a Victoria, is represented near a trophy. The cloak of the leader of the vanquished army hangs upon the trophy, and is of a crimson-red; the cloak of Titus is of a lake-red. Purple was the color of the imperial dress; and hence the forms of expression, to assume the purple or the imperial robe, are synonymous. — W.

3. Falconet, *Reflex. sur la Sculpt.*, Tom I. p. 48 *et seq.* — GERM. ED.

4. With respect to the creases made by folding and pressing the upper garment, it may be mentioned that there are a few, and in a measure good, statues, on the under garments of which, when of a stout material, these creases are observable. Such marks, however, on works executed in a favorable state of the art might indeed be ascribed less to a punctilious imitation of a model than to a choice by the artist of this means of imparting greater variety to the breadth of his folds. — GERM. ED.

5. They were found during the papacy of Pius VI., and were placed in the Pio-Clement museum, where they still remain. — GERM. ED.

6. White was also regarded as the color of Ceres (Ovid., *Metamorph.*, lib. 10, vers. 432), and the matrons who assisted at the festival of the Thesmophoria, consecrated to her, were clad in white as a sign of the strictest continence, which they were obliged to observe five days before its commencement and during its continuance. — GERM. ED.

7. The figures of the captive kings in porphyry which were formerly in the Medici villa have been removed to Florence. — GERM. ED.

8. It would lead to too extensive a digression if I were to show the numerous exceptions among all peoples to this general remark in regard to the dress of the priesthood. Among the Greeks the dress of the priests differed according to the deities whom they served, and to whom they sacrificed. The priests of the celestial divinities usually wore purple; those of the subterranean, black, and those of Ceres, white garments. — GERM. ED.

9. The Flora and Hermaphrodite have been removed from the Farnese palace to Naples. The Cleopatra, properly Ariadne, has been carried from the Medici villa to Florence. — GERM. ED.

10. Winckelmann is wrong in ascribing to Bernini the colossal statue of St. Veronica, — one of the four on the pillars beneath the cupola of St. Peter's church at Rome, — for it is very certain that it was executed by Francesco Mocchi, a Florentine, born in 1580, whose style is obviously enough different from that of Bernini. The forms of this statue incline rather to strength than softness; the drapery lies too close to the limbs, and its folds are small and sharply turned. — GERM. ED.

11. Winckelmann has been led by incorrect engravings into an error as regards the harp-player, or more properly the lyre-player, of the *Aldobrandini Marriage*. Yellow dots and a few narrow stripes of the same color, like a figured stuff, are seen on her white outer garment, but not two broad stripes around its lower border; these exist only in the engravings. In a copy of this picture made in oil-colors by Nic. Poussin, in the Doria palace at Rome, the lyre-player has a yellow border or broad hem around her cloak. This however is one of the many capricious deviations from the original which Poussin took the liberty of making. — GERM. ED.

12. Homer, *Iliad*, lib. 9, vers. 590; *Odyss.*, lib. 3, vers. 154. In the former of these passages, Barnes has rendered βαθυζώνους γυναικας by *profunde succinctas*, "low-girdled," and, in the second, by *demissas Zonas habentes*, "with girdles let down." Both are wrong. Nor have the Greek scholiasts understood this epithet any better. In the *Elymologico Magno* it is said to be a term applied to the barbarian women, probably in allusion to that passage in Æschylus (*Pers.*, vers. 155) where the poet applies it to the Persian women. Stanley has hit the correct meaning of it, translating it *alte succinctas*, "with their girdles high on the breast." The scholiast of Statius (*Lutat.*, lib. 10, vers. 644) gives us a sorry characteristic of the figure of Virtue when he says that she is represented high girdled. — W.

The scholiast of Statius does not deserve Winckelmann's censure, for he merely says "the figure of Virtue is usually painted girdled," that is, ready for battle, and not high girdled. — GERM. ED.

13. Æschylus, *Sept. contr. Theb.*, vers. 877. Catullus, *carm.* 64, *Epithal. Pelci et Thetis*, vers. 65. In these passages *luctantes* might be more properly written than *lactantes*. — W.

14. Winckelmann's words do not sufficiently mark the difference between the bosom-band and the girdle, though from his acquaintance with the monuments of ancient art he must necessarily have known it, and actually has, in his *Monument. Ined.*, carefully distinguished them. The girdle, called *Zona*, was worn over the under garment; the bosom-band, termed by the Romans *Strophium* (Catull., *Epithal.*, 65) or *Mamillare* (Martial, *carm.* 14, ep. 66), and by the Greeks *Tænia* or *Tænidion*, was bound around the body next to the skin, and below the breasts, — sometimes to compress them when of too great volume, and sometimes to raise them up as much as possible when too flat. — GERM. ED.

15. In an epigram *Codicis Palatini Anthologiæ* of the Vatican library, εἰς Ἀγλαονίκην ἑταίρην, which has never been published, this word in the following line,

Σάνδαλα καὶ μαλακὰ μαστῶν ἐνδύματα μίτραι,

"On her feet were sandals, and soft *mitrai* covered her breasts,"

appears to signify the band placed below the breasts of which I have spoken above. — W.

16. Lib. 1, cap. 12. The engraving of which Winckelmann speaks may be found in the French translation of Longus by Amiot. (Tab. 3, p. 23.) — GERM. ED.

17. This colossal Muse, more than eighteen Roman palms (13 ft. 2 in. Eng.) high, has been removed from the Cancellaria to the Pio-Clement museum. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. tav. 26) holds it to be a Melpomene. The mask in her hand is a modern addition. — GERM. ED.

18. As among others that are in the Farnese palace of which mention has been made in the second chapter of the fifth Book, section 17. In Plate I. we see a portion of the breast with the mantle and broad girdle. On the well-known Capitoline sepulchral urn bearing the Muses, not only Melpomene, but two other figures also, supposed to be Euterpe and Calliope, have smooth broad girdles. Melpomene (Plate II.) is remarkable on account of the buskin and long tight sleeves. Euterpe (Plate IV., A), on a bas-relief in the garden of the Borghese villa, has likewise a broad girdle, which seems to be ornamented by embroidery. — GERM. ED.

19. Nadal, *Dissert. sur l'Habillement des Dames Romaines. Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. IV., *Mém.*, p. 252.

20. It will be seen, by comparing with this explanation the opinions of others in relation to the girdle of Venus, that its signification has not been understood. Rigault (*Not. in Onosandri Stratag.*, p. 25) and Prideaux (*Not. ad Marm. Arund.*, p. 24, *ad Smyrn. decr.*) have taken it to mean a tunic. Even the ancient commentators of Homer did not understand him in this passage; and ἐγκάτθεο κόλπῳ, placed it in her bosom, cannot, as the scholiast says, be the same expression as κατὰ κρυψὸν ἰδίῳ κόλπῳ, concealed it in her bosom. Eustathius does not succeed any better by his derivation of the word *Cestus* in getting at its true meaning. Aristides, on the contrary, (*Orat. Isthm. in Nept.*, Tom. I. p. 23,) when he names this girdle, adds what it is and how it is placed, ὅς τις ποτε οὗτος ὁ κεστός ἐστιν. Martorelli, professor of Greek at Naples, justly observes (*Comment de Regia Theca Calamar.*, lib. 1, cap. 7, p. 153) that this word is not a substantive

but an adjective, and was first used in the former sense by the later Greek poets. The author of a Greek epigram on Venus (Brunck., *Analect. Gr.*, Tom. XI. p. 467, princ.) does not appear to have comprehended what kind of a girdle a Cestus is, since he has confounded it with the one usually worn below the breasts, ἀμφὶ μαζοῖς κέστος ἐλίξ. The above explanation of the girdle of Venus elucidates a remark of Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, § 8) relative to a statue of a Satyr holding a figure of Bacchus *palla velatum Veneris*, that is, as I understand it, girded as Venus is when she is dressed. There has hitherto been an obscurity about this passage, and some commentators have wished to read *Veneri* instead of *Veneris*, as if the Satyr was bringing the Bacchus as an offering to Venus; but Pliny is not speaking of a group. — W.

The word *κόλπος* frequently signifies, not only in Homer, but also in other poets, precisely the same as lap, the lower part of the belly. — GERM. ED.

Winckelmann wished to show that this second girdle, which is quite obvious on the loins and about the lower part of the belly of statues of Venus, — not only of the one mentioned by him, but also of others, — is peculiar to this goddess. But he did not mean to deny that other goddesses, and women occasionally, wore two girdles, and that they are represented on ancient monuments with this second girdle. In his *Monument. Ined.* he says directly the reverse, that “this second girdle, which was used in tucking up the tunic or under garment, is not visible on figures of other goddesses, and of women, because it is covered by the folds into which the tunic is gathered, and which fall down to this part of the body.” It may however be stated that this second girdle is not covered on all figures which have it alone; it is partly visible on the so-called Farnese Flora, and on a statue which, if not restored, represents a Victoria, in the Grand-Ducal gallery at Florence. Winckelmann in his *Monument. (loc. cit.)* terms the second girdle *Zona*, and thus shows that he did not confound it with the *Strophium*, as Lens erroneously supposes, who has even not noticed that not only the first girdle about the breast, but also the second around the belly, is called *Strophium* by Pollux (lib. 7, cap. 14, segm. 67). — F.

As a proof that the Cestus is peculiar to Venus, we may take the words of Aristanæus, who says that the goddess endowed Cydippe with all her charms except her fascinating girdle, and in this respect alone she excelled the maiden. — F.

21. It is impossible to maintain without qualification that the ancients never made use of square cloaks when we have the authority of Appian, Athenæus, Petronius, Tertullian, and other ancient writers to the contrary, who speak in precise terms of cloaks of this shape. The explanation which Winckelmann gives, in order to make the passages in ancient authors accord with his assertion, does not appear to be satisfactory, and it by no means consists with the ordinary use of language. Both round and square cloaks were probably worn by the ancients at different periods and among different peoples. We are willing to admit that this garment on most statues is actually conceived as round; at the same time there are not wanting instances in which the mantle is visibly presented as square, for example, the celebrated statue of Menander, in Winckelmann's time,

still in the Negroni villa, and afterwards in the museum of the Vatican ; also the Pallas of Velletri so called (*Mus. Franç.*, Livr. 26), and the figure in relief of Juno on one of the Barberini candelabra. (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. IV. tav. 3.) To bring the matter to the view of the reader, we have introduced in Plate IV., B, a figure of Æsculapius, of which the wide mantle has manifestly a square shape. Even at the present day some of the Italian peasantry wear a square cloak, consisting of a single piece of coarse cloth without a seam, and merely furnished with two loops, so that when requisite it can be closed. — GERM. ED.

22. Now in the Pio-Clement museum. — GERM. ED.

23. Now in the museum of the Vatican. It has been explained by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. XI. tav. 21), who calls it a *Juno Lanuvina*. — GERM. ED.

24. There is not to our knowledge any ancient writer who can be produced as authority for using the word 'Plov in the signification of "leather." Winckelmann probably intended to write 'Pivós, a supposition which his emendation of the word 'Pειώνη into 'Pειώνη would seem to prove. 'Plov therefore, as we read it in the *Observations for a History of Art*, is probably only a typographical error. — GERM. ED.

25. This statue is distinguished by a large pouch like a game-bag, which is suspended on the left side by a band passing over the right shoulder, by a knotty staff, and by a roll of manuscript at its feet. — W.

26. The cloak of the Cynics was worn not single, but doubled, probably on account of its size. This is Winckelmann's explanation ; but as Salmasius (*Not. in Tertull. de Palla*, p. 396, seq.) understands the double cloak of the Cynics in the same way, his indirect censure in this passage is unfounded. — GERM. ED.

27. This monument was brought from Tivoli to Rome under Pius VI., and placed in the round portico of the Vatican museum. It is the stump of a male statue, which the form of the breast and hips plainly shows. The dress consists of three pieces. A tunic reaches to the ankles, and is either tucked up about the hips by a girdle which is not in sight, or else it is sewed up. Over this is cast a net of very large meshes ; it reaches only to the knees, where it terminates in small tags hung around its circumference, and which, together with the tunic, is bound about the hips by a broad girdle. Finally a Chlamys hangs down behind, of which the two upper ends are brought forward over the shoulders, and tied on the breast in a knot, on which is represented a tassel. The right arm with the hand is completely enveloped in it. The net-formed over garment is probably the distinctive dress of soothsayers ; it was made of wool, and covered the whole trunk of the body, and was termed ἀγρήνον. Moreover it is executed exactly like the Infulæ on ancient monuments ; and the woolly nature of the material is expressed as well as it is possible in marble. The net-formed draperies of the tripods on so many ancient monuments, statues, reliefs, coins, etc., are probably just such agrena, as sacred coverings drawn over the seats of the soothsayers. — GERM. ED.

28. The Vestal so called, with veiled head and chin, formerly in the Farnesina palace at Rome, and now probably in Naples, appears to be the portrait-statue of some distinguished Roman lady. It has lovely features of admirable execution, and was made, as one may infer from the workmanship, somewhere about the time of the two Faustinas. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER II.

1. THE veil of Greek brides was white, which is shown by the *Aldobrandini Marriage*. The Flammeum of Roman brides was flame-colored or lemon-yellow, — a color which appears to have been adopted by the Romans from the Etruscans, with whom it was a festive color.

Rica is a general appellation for the veil of Roman women, and did not, as Fea erroneously supposes, mean a veil used merely on occasions of mourning. — GERM. ED.

2. It cannot be denied that *καλύπτρη* means a veil in Homer (*Iliad*, lib. 22, vers. 406). But at a more advanced period of the Greek language it acquired other and more comprehensive meanings, as, for example, that of coifs and net caps. — GERM. ED.

3. The veil was made of the finest and most transparent fabric known to the ancients, which was similar to the modern lace and muslin, or cambric. This is distinctly shown by the veil of the bride in the *Aldobrandini Marriage*. — GERM. ED.

4. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of a fashion, which was general in his time, of wearing a purple veil. A woman in a painting from *Herculanum*, of which Winckelmann makes mention a few sentences forward, has a red veil. Modest women were probably accustomed to wear their veils drawn down over the face. — F.

Many passages in the ancient writers show that all the arts of wearing the veil were understood, and especially that passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus (lib. 13, cap. 45) in which he speaks of Poppæa, Nero's wanton wife. — GERM. ED.

5. Dempster, *Etrur. Reg.*, tab. 32. The figure on the vase here cited is not a woman, but a young naked hero. On this account we thought it well to produce the figure of an Amazon (Plate VII., A) whose hat had fallen from her head upon her back, from Millin. (*Peintures des Vases Antiques*, Tom. I. pl. 61.) — GERM. ED.

6. *Pittura d'Ercolano*, Tom. IV. tav. 42, p. 199. The passage also in the *Iphig. Aulid.* (vers. 1042) of Euripides, where one reads χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχρος, the impress of her golden-colored sandal, finds here its appropriate place. The Furies, on an Etruscan vase, have shoes of a violet color. (Cf. Dempster, *Etrur.*, tab. 86). — W.

7. The statue of the Tragic Muse with a high buskin, in the inner part of the Borghese villa, is remarkable merely for this circumstance. The workmanship has no great merit. — GERM. ED.

8. Of the many passages which might be quoted on this point, we will mention only one from Tertullian (*De Spectac.*, cap. 23), in which he says, "The Devil raised the tragedians on buskins, — because no one can add a cubit to his stature, — and in this manner strove to prove Christ a liar." — GERM. ED.

9. High heels are found on other monuments, especially on figures of Juno Lanuvina, — the toes of whose shoes are curved upwards, — and on coins, and among others on a coin of the Proclia family. — F.

10. It is even at the present day termed the trimming à la Grecque. — GERM. ED.

11. Falconet, *Reflex. sur la Sculpt. Œuvr.*, Tom. I. p. 51. Falconet defends himself in his *Observ. sur la Stat. de M. Aurel.* (Tom. I. p. 235) against this criticism of Winckelmann, asserting that he spoke not of Niobe herself, but only of her children. — F.

12. Pausan., lib. 8, cap. 20; lib. 10, cap. 25. On a very rare silver coin of the city of Taranto, Taras, the son of Neptune, is seen on horse-back, as on most coins. But the peculiarity of this one is, that his hair is gathered in a knot on the crown of his head like a maiden's, so that his sex would in consequence have been rendered doubtful if the artist had not designated it by its appropriate signs. An ancient tragic Mask is seen beneath the horse. — W.

Winckelmann meant probably to say that Taras is sitting on a dolphin, as he is represented on all coins in P. Magnan's work, with the name ΤΑΡΑΣ around or even below the figure. I have never seen the hair bound in a tuft on the crown of the head, either in the coins adduced by P. Magnan or Mazochi, or in those examined by myself. If it appeared to be so arranged on any coin, it was probably an error in the drawing of it. — F.

13. Many of these bodkins have been preserved, and, though they are trifles, they indicate that sense for beauty by which the ancients are distinguished. Winckelmann, in the second volume of his works (p. 91), mentions four particularly large and beautiful. — GERM. ED.

14. The hyacinth of the ancients is a purple-colored flower resembling a lily, which, according to the fable, sprang up not only from the blood of the beautiful Hyacinthus, but also from that of the suicide, Ajax. That hair was therefore violet-colored. — L.

15. Not Marciana, but Matidia, daughter of Marciana, sister of Trajan. — F.

16. A beautifully executed mask of the bearded or Indian Bacchus, in the Albani villa, has the head adorned with a frontal band representing jewels. A head of marble larger than life, in the Florentine gallery, which is thought to be a likeness of Constantine the Great, has a head-band which represents a row of gems between two rows of pearls. The clasp or fastening of the laurel-wreath upon the forehead of a beautiful head of Augustus, in the Vatican, is formed by a medallion or gem bearing a profile likeness of Julius Cæsar (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. tav. 40); and on a colossal bust of Trajan in the Capitoline museum, the crown of oak, likewise upon the forehead, is ornamented with a clasp or medallion on which there is an eagle. — GERM. ED.

17. Both men and women among the Romans wore rings. Extravagance indeed in this respect proceeded to such an extreme, that a ring was worn not only on each finger, the middle one alone excepted, but even on each joint of each finger; hence Lucian (*De Gallo*, cap. 12) was able to speak with bitter humor of a Roman who wore sixteen rings on his fingers. Finger-rings are found more frequently on female than male figures of ancient art. A beautiful female hand of bronze, of the natural size, with two rings, one on the forefinger and one on the ring-finger, is seen in the numerous collection of antique bronzes in the Florentine gallery. In a similar way is also ornamented the left hand of the female of the two celebrated half-figures, usually called Cato and Portia, in the Pio-Clement museum (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. tav. 25). This hand lies on the shoulder of

the man. (Plate VII., B.) Finger-rings of different metals are frequent in collections ; some, very elegantly executed in gold, were probably from their small circumference worn by women. Neck chains are more rare than rings, and we recollect two instances only in which they are represented in marble, namely, a rilievo in the Albani villa which exhibits a female dancer, and a female statue, of the size of life (Pl. VIII., A), which was repaired about twenty years ago in Rome, and afterwards sent to England. — GERM. ED.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. WINCKELMANN is speaking here of a statue formerly called Marius, but now more correctly named Menandrus. In his time this statue was still in the Negroni villa, but it afterwards passed into the Vatican museum. — GERM. ED.

2. Nadal, *Dissertation sur l'Habillement des Dames Rom.*, in the *Mém. of the Acad. des Inscript.*, Tom. IV. p. 243. — GERM. ED.

3. The seated and draped Paris, formerly in the palace Altemps, now adorns the great Vatican museum. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II.) is disposed to believe that this figure may be a copy of the bronze figure by Euphranor which was so celebrated in antiquity. This is indeed merely a supposition, but there are at least no strong reasons in the work itself to render it improbable. — GERM. ED.

4. The so-called Paris in the Lancellotti palace has no garment with sleeves, and consequently ought not to have been mentioned here. Moreover, according to Visconti, this statue more probably represents a Ganymedes than a Paris. — GERM. ED.

5. The Charioteer of the amphitheatre passed from the Negroni villa into the Pio-Clement museum. — GERM. ED.

6. Several figures with breeches are found on the triumphal Arch of Constantine, the bas-reliefs of which are descriptive of Trajan's achievements, and were executed in his time. — GERM. ED.

7. Homer, *Iliad*, lib. 10, vers. 134. Winckelmann's explanation appears to us far too elaborate for Homer. *Χλαῖνα διπλῇ* certainly signifies nothing else than a cloak, the breadth of which allowed it to be folded and worn double. Hence we should not render *ἀπλοῖδας χλαῖνας* "unlined," but "single," that is, which are not sufficiently long and wide to be worn double. — GERM. ED.

8. Polyb., lib. 9. Winckelmann is unquestionably wrong here, as Fea has already remarked. *Himation* often signifies the same as Pallium. Moreover the Pallium was not an uncommon garment among the Greeks, but one usually and generally worn. It was more unusual to wear it in the country than in the city. Hence it is probable that the confederate of Aratus wore his Pallium, that he might be more readily recognized at a distance, and not be mistaken for one of the herdsmen thereabouts, whose dress consisted of a close and short tunic. Polybius proceeds to relate that this precautionary measure did not answer ; for it happened that a citizen who

owned a flock of sheep which was pasturing in the vicinity of Aratus's encampment came from the city to the spot, and was supposed by Aratus to be he who was to give the signal, because he also was dressed *en imatio*, "in his cloak." — GERM. ED.

9. Though Chiton certainly means a cuirass in Homer, yet it far more frequently means an under garment, a tunic. Of the many passages in which it has the latter meaning, we will mention only two: *Iliad*, lib. 2, vers. 42; lib. 3, vers. 359. — GERM. ED.

10. Appian, *Bell. Civil.*, lib. 1, p. 173. Οἱ πολιτικοὶ τότε ἱμάτια διαξωσάμενοι, καὶ τὰ προστύχοντα ξύλα ἀρπάσαντες τοὺς ἀγροίκους διέστησαν, "the citizens girding their cloaks, and hastily seizing billets of wood that fell in their way, dispersed the peasantry." (Cf. lib. 2, p. 260.) — GERM. ED.

11. The word "Chalkeomitor," which Euripides uses in speaking of Hector (*Troad.*, vers. 27), might therefore be understood more properly of this band than of a cuirass, as Barnes thinks. — W.

12. Turneb., *Advers.*, lib. 29, cap. 25. Gevartii, *Elect.*, lib. 1, cap. 7, p. 17. — GERM. ED.

13. A cross closely resembling this is visible on the feet of the Juno which was transferred from the palace Barberini to the Pio-Clement museum. An engraving of it is in the *Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. — F.

14. Winckelmann expresses himself here quite indefinitely. He means to allude to the numerous copies of the Periboëtus, "the celebrated statue," of Praxiteles, of which mention is made in the sixth Book, paragraphs six and eight. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

#### 1. HORAT., *De Arte Poetica*, vers. 291.

"Vos, o,  
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprene, quod non  
Multa dies et multa litura coercuit, atque  
Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem."

The ancient commentators of Horace were certainly in error when they sought to derive the phrase *ad unguem* or *in unguem*, which afterwards became proverbial, from the practice of trying by their finger-nails the smoothness and nicety of the joints of stone-work. It is usual to test the smoothness of a polished surface by the tips of the fingers, the sensibility of which is very nice. But we do not understand how this could be possible by means of the nails, which are always more or less rough. Hence even Passow in his *Notes* to the first Satire of Persius (p. 285, vers. 64) has given quite an erroneous meaning to the passage from Plutarch, cited in the text, applying to work in stone what referred to modelling in clay.

The word *litura*, "erasure," leads us to suppose that the phrase *ad unguem* was borrowed by Horace from the usual practice of those who wrote upon wax-tablets. If any mistake was made, the wax was smeared over the letter or word, which was thus obliterated, and the place then rubbed and smoothed by the nail. — GERM. ED.

The Romans, in their use of the proverb, said simply *ad unguem*, "to the nail," without any adjective. The emendation, *præsectum ad unguem*, proposed by Dacier and Bentley, does not seem so good as the old reading, *perfectum ad unguem*, which also has the authority of the greater number of manuscripts. *Perfectum* belongs naturally to *carmen*, and *atque* has the meaning of *et adeo*. (Gorenz, ad Cicero, *De Fin.*, 1, 10, 51.) — S.

2. The more modern antiquarians, in describing any monument, state positively of what kind of marble it is made, whether of Pentelic, Parian, Luna, that is, Carrara, or any other. We will not say that such statements are always without slight errors. It is sufficient for the lover of ancient art to know that the marble regarded as Pentelic is of a soft grain and a subdued white, and somewhat laminar in its texture, and on this account it is named by the Italians "cipollino." The Parian is likewise of a soft white color and a sparkling grain; it is known under the general name *marmo Greco*. The Carrara, called Luna by the ancients, is whiter indeed than the Pentelic or Parian, but its surface is coarser, and its texture more brittle. Among these principal kinds there are however quite a number of varieties; hence any precision on the point is difficult and doubtful. — GERM. ED.

3. A very beautiful kind of Greek marble, which agrees well with the author's description, is still named in Rome by the workmen *marmo Pario*, "Parian marble," but, according to Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. p. 40), it is not the Parian marble proper, but the coralline marble of the ancients. (Plin., lib. 26, cap. 8, sect. 13.) The so-called Dove-like marble, *marmo palombino*, looks like a milky paste or clay without any granular lustre. At the time of the Roman Cæsars it was frequently used for making busts, but the effect was not pleasing to the eye. — GERM. ED.

4. The *marmo Salino*, "Salt-marble," that is, marble with coarse, glittering grains, like grains of salt, might be confounded with the Parian, and even come from the island of Paros, but from other quarries than those furnishing the usual *marmo Greco*, "Greek marble." For we find the Carrara marble also differing from the usual marble of the same name in a similar way, by a larger and more sparkling grain. There are however some admirable antiques wrought from the Saline marble. but on account of the coarseness of its grain it seems to be somewhat brittle. — GERM. ED.

5. *De Legib.*, lib. 12, p. 956, Princ.

In the first edition (p. 252) the author continues thus: "Besides the Egyptian Antinoüs, cited in the second chapter (Book II. ch. 4, § 2), the two statues of Adrian and Antoninus Pius in the Ruspali palace were made in two pieces; this is evident from the marks on the remaining upper portion, showing where the two pieces were joined." But in the *Notes*, p. 80, he confutes this his earlier opinion: "In the *History of Art* I had mentioned two statues as having been wrought each from two blocks; but I

have found on closer investigation that I, with others before me, was in error, that these statues had been injured, and hence the restorers had chiselled away one half of the body, even to the coat of mail, as I have shown in the second part of these *Notes*, p. 122." — GERM. ED.

6. The author says the same thing in other words and with reference to the age of this mode of handling in the first edition (p. 252) in the following sentence: "Figures of marble were either finished wholly with the iron tool without being polished, or they were polished as in modern days." It is impossible to say which is the older process, for the most ancient Egyptian statues from the hardest stones have been polished in the most laborious manner. — GERM. ED.

7. This paragraph is copied almost entirely from the Vienna edition, because we believe that the subjects of it were brought together in this manner by the author himself from his *Notes*. That portion of his *Notes* which could not be incorporated into the text will find a place here: "We have already spoken in the *History of Art* of the mode of finishing statues entirely with the chisel, that is, of giving them the final touch. As this statement might probably give rise to some misunderstanding, the following explanation may be necessary. We readily see that all statues which have been finished in the manner mentioned have still been rubbed with pumice-stone; but it is more than probable that after having been finished with the chisel, and when smoothness only was lacking, they have been rubbed down with pumice-stone, which, as our artists say, *gives them the final touch*, and that then the whole work was again lightly retouched with the chisel. But when it is intended to give to figures of marble complete smoothness, the pumice-stone is not enough; they are finally rubbed with tripoli and lead, in order to give the surface a thorough polish. This polish throws upon the parts which are lighted so great brilliancy as frequently to make invisible the most laborious diligence; it cannot be seen, because the strong reflected light dazzles the eyes." — GERM. ED.

8. Plin., lib. 36, cap. 7, sect. 10.

Not the celebrated island of Naxos, but a city of Crete in which this whetstone, which was quarried at Cyprus, was prepared for use. (*Suidas*, *vide Ναξία λίθος*.) — F.

9. Vitruv., lib. 7, cap. 9. Plin., lib. 33, cap. 8, sect. 40. Also Juvenal, *Sat.* X. vers. 55, and *Sat.* XII. vers. 88. — GERM. ED.

10. These two statues of black marble are in the Capitoline museum; the execution is good, but not excellent. — GERM. ED.

11. Alabaster is not infrequently called by the Greeks *ὄνυξ*, and by the Romans *marmor Onychitis*, "onyx marble." This explanation will render more intelligible many passages of the ancients in which the gem onyx is supposed to be meant. — GERM. ED.

12. The head, hands, and feet of the Diana in the Verospi house, which were of bronze, were subsequently removed, and replaced by marble; the figure afterwards went to France. An engraving of the Diana in the Borghese villa may be found in the *Sculture della Villa Pinciana*, Stanza VIII. No. 11. — F.

13. Also a Pallas with a robe of alabaster is found in the Albani villa. The author mentions both figures in the twenty-first section of the next chapter among works of bronze, because the extremities are cast of this metal. — GERM. ED.

14. Eyewitnesses speak of two such statues at St. Ildefonso, in Spain, the extremities of which are said to be of gilded bronze, and the bodies of alabaster; one is named Julius Cæsar, and the other Augustus. There are also in several collections, in and out of Italy, garments on busts, trunks of figures, Hermæ, etc., wrought of alabaster. The museum at Dresden, for example, possesses several such monuments. — GERM. ED.

15. This fragment is now in the Florentine gallery. It is the trunk of a naked youthful figure, probably of an athlete, powerful in build, and of beautiful noble forms. The workmanship is uncommonly elaborate. — GERM. ED.

16. Vasari (*loc. cit.*) believes that this vase was used as a burial urn. This is a probable supposition, both on account of its shape and height, and also because it has not the orifice usually seen in bathing-tubs. But the conjecture of the antiquarians of the time of Flaminius Vacca, who, as he relates (*Memorie*, No. 35), supposed that it stood anciently over the porch of the Rotonda, and contained the ashes of Marcus Agrippa, I cannot accept, because we know from Dio Cassius (lib. 54, cap. 28) that Augustus caused Agrippa to be placed in the tomb which he had intended for himself. The vessel in question might probably have served formerly as a fount, in front of the Pantheon, into which was received the water discharged from the mouths of the two lions of basalt found there at the same time, and which were afterwards set up by Sixtus V. at the Fontana Felice, as Vacca also relates. — F.

17. *Miscell.*, lib. 2, cap. 6. We might wonder that the author, when speaking of the different kinds of stone of which works were executed in the Greek style, did not mention works in *rosso antico*, "red marble," of which he undoubtedly knew many examples. In the Vatican museum may be found the head of a wild goat, or, according to the opinion of Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. tav. 32), of that kind of wild goat which the Greeks called *τραγέλαφος*, "half goat and half deer," the statue of a Faun of the size of life, and the companion to it in the Capitoline museum, wherein there is also a bas-relief of a female figure offering a sacrifice to Hygiea. The Albani villa has a statue of Antinoüs in the Egyptian style, and a bas-relief representing Dædalus and Icarus. (Zoega, *Bassi Rilievi*, tav. 44; *Denkmale*, No. 95.) The Ludovisi villa contains a colossal mask, wrought in bas-relief, from this kind of marble, and the Pamfili villa a young Bacchus of beautiful workmanship, of which the extremities are a modern restoration. The Gallery of Antiques at Dresden also prides itself on two beautiful heads of red marble, namely, the so-called Ptolemy Philadelphus (*Augusteum*, taf. 85), which we might hold to be a young Hercules, and a head thought to be a fragment of a sphinx, covered by the Egyptian hood (*Augusteum*, taf. 4), which is probably a likeness of Antinoüs. In the *Monuments Antiques du Musée Napoléon* (Tom. IV. pl. 58) may be seen the bust of an Egyptian priest, but nothing indicates whence it came; it had also been a long time in France. — Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. tav. 47, pp. 84, 85) conjectures that images of red marble could not have made their appearance generally earlier than the time of Adrian; and in fact we are unable to name one which indicates an earlier date. This conjecture is rendered very probable by the fact that the greater number of them were disinterred at Adrian's villa below Tivoli. — GERM. ED.

18. Lib. 36, cap. 13, sect. 19, not. 3. In the second Book (ch. 4, § 11) mention is made, partly in the text and partly in the *Notes*, of several vessels of beautiful Oriental alabaster ; and a vase discovered in 1777, which is probably the most precious of all, is held by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. tav. 36, pp. 60-66) to be the urn of Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian. (*Suet. in Vespas.*, cap. 3.) Another, almost as large, is in the Florentine gallery. — GERM. ED.

19. According to others, not Auge and Telephus, but Protesilaus, is represented on this bas-relief, who, on the eve of departing for Troy with the Greek army, is taking leave of his wife, Laodamia. — GERM. ED.

20. At a later date, the modern additions were fastened to the injured parts by means of lead. We know from the writings of the learned jurist Paulus, and Pomponius (*In lege*, Si statuum, 14, de auro, argento, etc., legato), that it was customary to repair statues by taking arms, legs, and other parts from other statues. — F.

21. Polybius (lib. 4, pp. 326, 331) relates that Skopas, the leader of the Ætolians, destroyed at Dios, a city of Pieria, the temples, statues, and votive offerings to the deities, and threw down all the portrait-statues of the kings. With similar rage they laid waste the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, burnt the colonnade of Dorimachos by order of their leader, destroyed many votive offerings, and made a ruin of the whole sacred place. GERM. ED.

22. *Suet. in Ner.*, cap. 38. — Vitellius ordered the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill to be fired, and burned in it Flavius Sabinus and his followers. (*Suet.*, *In Vitell.* cap. 15.) — F.

23. Mariette (Vol. I., liv. 1, p. 195), Natter (*Traité*, p. 3) and Lippert (*Im. Vorb. zur Daktyl.* Th. 1, S. 32, Num. 381) remark, and believe that they have proved, that the Greek gem-engravers followed the method used by artists of this kind at the present day. Lessing (*Briefe Antiquarischen Inhalts*, Br. 27-34) has shown that the wheel was used by the ancient gem-engravers. — GERM. ED.

24. In the first Book of the Second Part of the *History of Mathematics* by Montucla, he gives an account of what Edward Bernard says in regard to the Arabian manuscripts treating of astronomy, in the library at Oxford. Montucla does not consider it proved that the Arabians knew the use of the pendulum for the measurement of time, since no trace of its use for this purpose can be found in the writings, as yet known, of the most celebrated Arabian astronomers. — GERM. ED.

25. This beautiful gem afterwards passed into the hands of the landscape-painter, Philip Hakert, and after his death to one of his heirs in Berlin, Councillor Behrendt. — GERM. ED.

26. The author has already mentioned this carnelian (Book V. ch. 2, § 20), and there also expressed his unfavorable opinion of it. To us this work seems admirable. The natural shape of the lower portions of the face may in a measure justify the supposition that this Medusa rather represents a beautiful individual than ideal beauty ; but the fixed look, the open gasping mouth, and the shape of the eyebrow-bone, of the forehead, of the nose, show very plainly that the artist had in mind an ideal shape and an ideal character, and not a portrait-image. — GERM. ED.

27. This gem is modern ; it was engraved by Pichler the Younger, one of

the most admirable artists in his department of art. It was stolen from him, and sold as an antique to the Englishman Byres. It would probably always have passed for an antique if it had not fallen again into the possession of Pichler, who immediately recognized it, and asserted that it was his work. As the workmanship of this gem had not been recognized as modern by a single one of the many connoisseurs through whose hands it had passed, the Abbé Bracci (*Dissertaz. sopra un Clypeo Votivo*, Pref., p. 7) was not justified in saying so peremptorily of Winckelmann that "he must be deficient in all that knowledge which should necessarily be possessed by a skilful antiquarian." — F.

28. After his death this gem was sold to the Empress of Russia for three thousand dollars. — F.

29. A chalcedony kind of carnelian with veins. — F.

It may be remarked in passing, that among the monuments of the art of gem-engraving, the Camei, those wrought in relief, are rarer and consequently more sought for than the Intagli, those cut in depth, and that those on which the artists have put their names, whether Camei or Intagli, have an especial value, notwithstanding the genuine ancient names — many have been falsely added in modern times — do not always denote great excellence. Thus, for example, the celebrated gem in the Florentine collection which represents the *Punishment of Marsyas*, and is usually known as the seal of Nero, is certainly not surpassed in beauty by any other, although the artist has not put his name upon it. So it is also with another piece in the same collection, an amethyst, upon which are admirably engraved two Tritons with their children. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER II.

1. As copper is the basis of the alloy which we term brass or bronze, and as the addition of tin promotes the melting and flowing of it, it is impossible that the ancients could occasionally have used pure copper for their statues with the intention of making the casting easier and surer. The four horses in Venice therefore are not cast from copper alone, but this metal merely predominates in the mixture. — GERM. ED.

2. In forming their moulds, the ancients made use of clay mixed with the flour of wheat, as Pliny (lib. 18, cap. 10, sect. 20) and also the author remarks. (Book I. ch. 2, § 7.) — F.

3. According to Philo of Byzantium (*De Septem-orb. Spect.*, cap. 5, p. 13), the ancients made none of their large bronze statues at a single casting. They cast them first in sections, and afterwards fastened the sections together, but whether by pins or solders it is not determined. The Colossus of Rhodes also was cast piecemeal, but in another mode. In the first place the legs were cast, as Pliny relates, and then — the whole being entirely surrounded by earth — the second portion was cast, and so on. We may infer from this that the ancients possessed the art of joining hot metal to that already chilled, — a process in which the French sculptor Le Moine is said to have been successful in modern times. He joined the upper half

of an equestrian statue erected at Bordeaux—the metal of which at the first trial had not flowed—to the other half by means of a second casting. — F.

4. *Monument a Borioni Collect.*, p. 14. This head has been named Ptolemy, son of Juba, the last king of Mauritania, by those who pretend to know and to name ancient heads. (*Conf. Ficoroni, Rom. Mod.*, p. 55.) — W.

5. Soldering *ferruminatio*, *κόλλησις*, is frequently mentioned by Pausanias and Pliny as a usual process. Glaukus of Chios cannot indeed be regarded as the inventor of it, though some persons infer it from passages in Herodotus (lib. 1, cap. 25) and Pausanias (lib. 10, cap. 19) not correctly understood, for in these passages the word *κόλλησις* is intended to mean damaskeening. — GERM. ED.

6. "Filigreed with silver" gives an incorrect idea. It would have been better if the author had said "inlaid with silver," a phrase moreover which he uses at the beginning of the chapter and paragraph. — GERM. ED.

7. Lib. 2, cap. 1. — One of the most remarkable pieces of silver inlaid work is in the Florentine collection of ancient bronzes. It is a girdle or belt of bronze, about an ell in length and six to eight inches in breadth. The silver ornaments with which it is inlaid represent a chase, and are in the best style. In the same place there is also a pair of small bronze tigers of which the stripes of the skin are imitated by inlaid silver. — GERM. ED.

8. *Ærugo nobilis* would hardly occur in a good Roman author. Horace never uses it, and *nobilis* appears to have become an adjunct to *ærugo* not until the study of ancient coins had become an art for the purpose of distinguishing the genuine greenish color from the counterfeit. Thus Prudentius (*Psyomach.*, vers. 602) applies the term *virides* to coins. — GERM. ED.

9. We do not know enough to say positively how the Corinthian bronze originated, of what it is compounded, and in what respects it differs from other kinds; and the passages of the ancients which treat of it (Plin., lib. 9, cap. 40, sect. 64; lib. 34, cap. 2, sect. 3; lib. 37, cap. 3, sect. 12; Plutarch., *loc. cit.*) show plainly enough that nothing more was known of it in later times. It is not improbable that the composition of Corinthian bronze was a secret even to the artists of the other Greek cities. The beautiful light-green coating which we see occasionally on coins and small figures appears to be so beautiful and so even through the effect of accidentally favorable conditions, because coins of the same impression frequently have it, and frequently also do not have it. Of larger works there are found only some few which have acquired a beautifully smooth and bright coating. — GERM. ED.

10. Scipio Metellus caused a whole troop of such gilded statues on horse to be set up in the Capitol. (*Cic. ad Attic.*, lib. 6, epist. 1.) — F.

11. In Velleia, a city between Piacenza and Parma, which was buried by the fall of a mountain, probably in the second century, and accidentally discovered and partly disinterred some years ago, several bronzes were found, which were afterwards carried to Parma. Among them is a colossal head of the Emperor Adrian, of gilded bronze, thirteen inches high, which belonged to a statue of which only a hand, a foot, and a portion of the mantle have been found. — F.

## 12. Plin., lib. 33, cap. 6, sect. 32.

There is no doubt that the ancients were acquainted with the process of amalgamation, that is, the union of quicksilver with the nobler metals, forming a paste, which was subjected to pressure in leather, so that the nobler metals are separated from the mixture, the gold and silver remaining behind in the skin, mixed with a little quicksilver. Hence we might refer the passage in Pliny (lib. 33, cap. 6, sect. 32) in which he speaks very clearly of this process of amalgamation, "And therefore when brazen objects are gilded they are overlaid with gold-leaf, which they retain most fixedly," to the usual fire-gilding of our time by amalgams. In Vitruvius also (lib. 7, cap. 8) and Isidor (*Origin*, lib. 16, cap. 18) we find proofs that the forming of amalgams is not a modern invention. — GERM. ED.

13. Inserted eyeballs of a different material are found in ancient monuments. A female head in the Capitoline museum, in the room of the Philosophers, has eyeballs of chalcedony, and sockets in which eyeballs of a different material were inserted may be seen in numerous ancient heads. But it must not be supposed that such eyeballs were original in all such heads; the probability is that most of them were added in more modern times as an ornament of the same kind with the gilded hair and ear-rings. For the excavations are made quite frequently by unpractised hands and not very neatly, insomuch that sometimes a portion of the eyelids is removed, and sometimes a portion of the marble of the eyeball is left projecting. — GERM. ED.

14. Also to the images of animals. The marble lion at the sepulchre of King Hermias, on the island of Cyprus, had eyes of emerald, which were so brilliant that the thunny-fish in the sea fled at the sight of them. (Plin., lib. 37, cap. 5, sect. 17.) — F.

15. The shape of this hand is elegant; the joints and flexures are powerfully expressed, and in every part of it the knowledge of the artist is apparent. Of the palm of the hand a considerable piece is broken off; two joints of the forefinger and one of the middle finger are wanting; and a piece is missing from the front part of the fourth finger, as far back as the nail reaches. — GERM. ED.

16. This figure is not intended to represent the divine hero himself, but a certain individual in his shape, perhaps a Roman emperor; for the features of the face seem to indicate much more an ideal portrait than the familiar ideal of Hercules. In respect to its merit generally as a work of art, it may be said that the attitude is free, noble, vigorous; there is much also that is good in the forms; yet, as a whole, it has not so much excellence that we should be willing to assign it a place in the first or second rank of antiques. — GERM. ED.

17. The position is simple and pleasing; the head is especially charming; and the limbs very elegant. The garment also is arranged in very pretty folds, though they are perhaps too numerous and small, and sometimes, even breaking the masses, they run over the prominent parts of the limbs. — GERM. ED.

18. The touching simplicity in his whole air, the innocent, fascinating beauty of all the forms, the border of the lips, and the elaborateness and elegance with which the hair is executed, seemingly denote it to be a Greek work of the best period. (*Mus. Franç.*, par Robillard Peronville,

*Livrais.* 44.) The works of art mentioned in the last three notes are copied in Maffei, *Raccolta di Statue*, tav. 20, 24, 25. — GERM. ED.

19. It expresses with truth a firm, very earnest, even severe character, which is probably also the sole reason of the name bestowed upon it. All the forms are given with precision, strongly yet without stiffness; the drapery is in broader folds, and disposed in better taste than on most of the consular statues and busts. These circumstances will perhaps justify us in holding the work to be a production of earlier times than of the Roman Cæsars. — GERM. ED.

20. Now in the museum of the Vatican. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. tav. 60, p. 74) thinks that it represents Trebonianus Gallus, the successor of Trajan Decius, and the alabaster bust was found during the excavations near the Lateran. Fea also (Tom. II. p. 45) is of this opinion, but he says of the alabaster bust that it was discovered during the last excavations which were made in the Negrone villa on the Esquiline. Another head of bronze, which, according to Winckelmann, was found in the Casali vineyard, outside of the Gate of St. Sebastian at Rome, is likewise in the Vatican museum. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. tav. 58) holds it to be the portrait of Balbinus, and a great rarity, unique indeed in its way, because there does not exist any statue or bust or engraved gem with an authentic likeness of Balbinus. — GERM. ED.

21. *Monuments Antiques du Musée Napoléon*, Tom. II. pl. 19; Tom. IV. pl. 74. — These heads may be classed among the best ancient works in bronze now extant. The lips of the young hero are gilded. — GERM. ED.

22. The Pallas with drapery of alabaster has a glorious head of a lofty character; we may therefore conjecture that it does not belong properly to the alabaster trunk, because the folds in the drapery of the body might have been better executed. Of the Diana, the bronze portions appear to us not so good, and the alabaster garment has no excellence. — GERM. ED.

23. This Apollo is indeed a beautiful figure, but in the face there is no especial charm, and the legs are somewhat heavy in their forms. As among the many antique repetitions in marble of that work, formerly so celebrated, there are some few which surpass the Albani bronze in beauty of shape and in general merit, the opinion that this is the true original of Praxiteles falls to the ground of itself. — GERM. ED.

24. Besides the monuments in bronze cited by the author, there is also preserved in the same gallery a glorious torso, larger than life, and probably the remnant of the statue of an athlete with an arched, powerful, and handsome chest, and thin flat belly. It may be inferred, partly from the hair about the private parts, — which is arranged in small, flat rows, — and partly from the noble elegance of the forms, that it belongs to the period of the high style. My conjecture that this work represents neither a god nor a hero, but an athlete, is based on the fact that some portions of the body show an individual character; for example, the hips are more natural than beautiful, and in an ideal figure would undoubtedly be somewhat fuller. The perfection of the casting is wonderful; the metal is uncommonly thin, and equally distributed everywhere; no spot is perceived which required any patching; even on the breast the marks of the thumb which the admirable artist used in embossing the model were effaced in the casting. — GERM. ED.

25. It is impossible to praise too highly the colossal head of a horse for its admirable workmanship. According to the tradition, it is a remnant of an entire horse of bronze which formerly stood in front of the Cathedral at Naples, but which was converted by the order of an archbishop into a bell. (Dominici, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti*, Tom. III. p. 63.) — GERM. ED.

26. Of ancient bronzes in France, there are a head of Tiberius, larger than life; Claudius, a large bust, formerly in the Hotel Richelieu; another head of Claudius, and a head of Vespasian, which was found not long before in the vicinity of Rome. These have all been published in the *Monuments Antiques du Musée Napoléon*, liv. 3, pl. 11, 17, 18, 26. Besides these there is a youthful figure similar to the one to be mentioned hereafter, at Potsdam. — GERM. ED.

27. Elizabeth, of the Farnese family. — GERM. ED.

28. This figure was named Ganymedes; the name is probably incorrect. The workmanship on it is admirable, the outlines flowing, the proportions noble, and the ideal head remarkably pleasing. According to Levezou (*De Juvenis Adorantis Signo ex Ære Antiquo*), it is four feet and four inches in height. Both arms, which were broken off at the shoulders, have been attached again with great skill and in harmony with the idea of the whole figure. — GERM. ED.

29. In the Dresden gallery of antiques may be found a very valuable female bust of the size of life, of which the well-preserved head, in bronze, is said to represent Julia Mammæa. — GERM. ED.

30. A great variety of works in bronze, in the museum of Mr. Middleton, are engraved in the *Antiquitates Middletonianæ*, but the size of them is not stated. — F.

Moreover Dallaway (*Les Beaux Arts en Angleterre*) mentions the head of a Bacchante with excavated eyes, of admirable execution, in the gallery of the Duke of Buccleuch. A bust of Homer, and a figure of Hercules, two feet six inches high, are in the British museum. The latter formerly belonged to Charles Townley; it was found in Syria, at Gebeleh, nearly on the site of the ancient Byblos, in 1770. — GERM. ED.

31. If the opinion is not erroneous, still the rule is by no means a general one, that the impressions on coins of the earlier ages as well as in the flower of art are for the most part superficial. The author, when speaking of coins of the earlier ages with a superficial impression, probably has in mind those of Pæstum, frequently cited by him, on which Neptune is but slightly raised; but he overlooked the Athenian coins, unquestionably still older, on which the head of Minerva stands strongly forth on the obverse, as the owl does on the reverse. Of the many coins of the age of Philip and Alexander none have images slightly raised; some of the latter might be considered as in high relief. — GERM. ED.

32. Among the coins explained by Buonarroti (*Osservaz. Istor. sopra Alcuni. Medagl.*) are found not a few imperial coins in red or yellow metal which were silvered or gilded, or even first silvered and afterwards gilded. From the great number of such coins it would be impossible to say confidently that they were all counterfeit, because the deception was one of easy discovery. It is an allowable conjecture that it was done for good reasons, and probably in the Mint itself, for the purpose

of being presented as gifts to distinguished personages. Buonarroti (lib. 100, tav. 30, p. 373) thinks that they were gilded by orders of private persons on account of their beauty, and for the better preservation of them. — GERM. ED.

33. In introducing this inscription, I have followed the true reading, communicated in the *Giornale d' Letterati* (Tom. VI. Ann. 1772). There is evidently nothing said of gilding; but it speaks of one Caius Julius Thallus who was overseer of two workshops in which lead was manufactured. One of them was situated in Regione Transtiberina, "on the other side of the Tiber"; the other, in that portion of Rome which was named Trigarium or Trigaria, and which, according to Victor (*De Urb. Rom.*), belonged to the ninth district. Moreover, this C. J. Thallus was inspector over those who wrought on gold coins. — F.

34. Falconier, *Inscript. Athletic.*, p. 17.

Gruter also (*Corp. Inscript.*, Tom. I. p. 314, not. 2) has this inscription, with the same translation by the side of it. But it is a question whether the letter H in the words ΠΠΟΤΟΜΗ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΝΗ. Η. ΑΝΑΤΘΕΙΣΑ is intended to signify a number, and not rather the relative pronoun; so it is understood in the Latin translation. The Greek indeed in these words is not worthy of much praise; but the entire inscription is composed in a bad modern style. We should not be willing to approve of Winckelmann's explanation, because it is improbable that eight marble busts of one and the same man, Embes, should be set up, not in the temple of Serapis, but in a dwelling, the house of the Pæanistæ, a holy brotherhood. — GERM. ED.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. As the discovery of the buried halls in the Baths of Titus was made in the time of Raphael, the thought might have occurred to him to decorate the Loggie in the Vatican in a similar manner with Arabesques, or, as the phrase once was, with Grotesques. For when it is asserted that the paintings in the Loggie of the Vatican are imitations of the antique paintings in the Baths of Titus, the statement must be intended to apply, not to the historic representations, but only to the foliage and volutes, and the figures intermixed with these ornaments. But, in order to arrive at a fair judgment on this point, it must be considered: 1. That the Loggie are much more richly ornamented than the halls in the Baths of Titus: 2. That the embellishments, painted by Giovanni da Udine, after the designs and under the oversight of Raphael, are far more carefully and beautifully executed than the pretended originals; 3. That the best pieces in the ornaments of the Vatican Loggie, for example, the admirable Parcæ, are unquestionably original conceptions of Raphael himself. Amoretti is therefore perfectly justified in pronouncing it a base suspicion that the painted halls in the Baths of Titus were again buried at the instigation of Raphael. If this great artist had needed to enlarge his fame he would rather have wished the Halls to be left uncovered, that the world might see with what wisdom and fine taste he had selected and made use of the

ancient ornaments, and, in the appropriate places, drawn from the treasury of his own powers. — GERM. ED. after A.

2. In regard to this monument, one of the most important remains of ancient painting, we refer to Böttiger's treatise, *The Aldobrandini Marriage*. Yet it will not be superfluous to remark even here, that the author, without sufficient reasons, wishes to derive from ancient fable the subject represented in this picture, and to recognize gods and goddesses in the figures in which we, with other antiquarians, think that we see only men. Zoega also is of our opinion. — GERM. ED.

3. In this museum there are more than seventy paintings which pass for antique. It would take too much time to inquire here whether all or most of them are really ancient or modern works. They were held by many to be modern productions, and among others by the Abbé Amaduzzi, in his *Description of the Pictures of the Δαπίφεροι* (carpet-bearers). — F.

4. Of the paintings found in Rome at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mr. Middleton, an Englishman, bought one, which he made known in his *Antiquitates Middletonianæ*. Dr. Mead, also an Englishman, purchased another, of which a copperplate engraving was made by Digby for his edition of *Horace*, London, 1749; Du Bos also speaks of it. (*Réflex. sur La Poésie*, Tom. I.) The Cardinal Rohan carried another to France, which he afterwards presented to the Duke of Orleans; it was found in 1722 on the Esquiline hill. An engraving and description of it were given by Moreau de Mautour. (*Academ. des Inscript.*, Tom. V., *Hist.*, p. 297.) Du Bos (lib. C, p. 380) speaks of other paintings which were discovered in 1702 in the ruins of ancient Capua, as well as of those which were brought to light in 1709, in a villa between Naples and Vesuvius. The paintings which were discovered several years since at Rome, on the Esquiline and Cœlian hills, deserve especial mention. The former, thirteen in number, were found in 1777 in the Negroni villa. They are all painted in good style, and contain historic incidents and emblems of Venus, Adonis, Bacchus, and Ariadne, together with very beautiful embellishments. They were sold to an Englishman, and probably will have suffered from the lapse of time. However, copies were taken from them; the Cavalier Guiseppe Nicolo d' Azzara came into possession of three such drawings, executed with great care and exquisitely colored by Mengs, whose intention it was to make similar small copies of the remainder, if he had lived. By 1783, copperplate engravings had been made of nine of these pictures. Bianconi believed that the place where they were discovered might have been a summer-house for Lucilla, the wife of Lucius Verus, and daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. He drew this conclusion from a coin belonging to the king of France (Vaillant, *Numism.*, Tom. III. p. 145), on which nearly the same subject is represented as that of one of the three pictures copied by Mengs, namely, an altar with several Cupids, at the foot of which is kneeling a youth; near him stands a female figure wearing the stola, who with her right hand is shaking a tree, from which a little Cupid tumbles down backward. The obverse of the coin shows the head of Lucilla, with an inscription. A similar coin is in the possession of the prelate Gætani. (*Die Abbildung bei Fea*, Tom. II. p. 427.) — F.

5. In the seventeenth century, while the workmen were digging for the

foundations of the extensive Rospigliosi palace, on Monte Cavallo, at Rome, many small pictures together with other antiquities were discovered, which are still preserved in the palace. Most of them are painted on a white ground, and represent small Genii or Cupids gathering fruits, and pleasing female figures, some floating in the air, others sitting on branches. There are also two pieces with several figures. The largest of all, though not the best, contains Pygmies, who are occupied in hunting a wild bull, and who exhibit in different comical ways their fear of the animal. In all these pictures the style is of a higher character than the execution; it is also evident that they were painted merely for the purpose of decorating the walls.

Of the ancient paintings mentioned by Fea in the preceding note, only some are known to us in the originals. The one sent to France by the Cardinal Rohan appears to have had no special merit as a work of art, to have suffered injuries, and been repainted. Those, on the other hand, which were discovered during the excavations in the Negrone villa, in 1777, and which were bought and sent to England, may have been of the best. The walls were tastefully embellished; and the paintings interested Mengs so much that he took the trouble to copy three of them, with the surrounding embellishments on a smaller scale, in miniature colors. These really admirable copies we saw at the house of Giuseppe Nicolo d' Azzara, who received them as a gift from Mengs. In all, there were thirteen pictures found in the excavations of the Negrone villa, most of which, if not all, have been engraved. Of these engravings only six large ones are known to us, namely, the three that were copied by Mengs, and three others by his brother-in-law, Maron, all engraved by Campanella. Underneath these engravings it is stated that the ancient paintings were discovered in the ruins of the private residence of Antonius Pius; but we will not venture to decide whether this statement can be sustained by sufficient proofs. We will merely mention here that some ancient paintings have been preserved tolerably fresh on the partly demolished arches of the beautiful halls in Adrian's villa, near Tivoli. — GERM. ED.

6. Engravings of the best of the ancient pictures, very well executed on the whole, and accompanied by learned explanations, are found in the *Herculaneum museum*, in five volumes, under the title *Le Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano e Contorni incise, con qualche Spiegazione*. They constitute a portion of the *Herculaneum Museum* or *Le Antichità d' Ercolano*, a work in eight volumes, and a Catalogue, making the ninth, which may be found in every library of any extent. — GERM. ED.

7. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 19. The picture of *Theseus* (*Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano*, Tom. V. tav. 5) shows in its design a lofty meaning, and contains noble motives; the principal group is also well arranged. In regard to composition, the group of *Chiron and Achilles* (tav. 8) appears still more elegant, surpassing the *Theseus*. The *Birth of Telephus* is not so good as either (tav. 9). The picture of *Pan and Olympus* (tav. 9), in which the interpreters recognize Marsyas and Olympus in the two figures, is the most injured. It may be conjectured, not without probability, that the first and third of the pictures named are copies of works by celebrated masters. *Achilles* also was probably painted by another and better artist than the other three. — GERM. ED.

8. The ancients were accustomed to paint pictures of one color, either of gray on gray, or of red on red. To the former mode undoubtedly refers a passage in Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 9, sect. 2), and to the second another one (lib. 33, cap. 7, sect. 39). — GERM. ED.

9. In regard to the Bacchanti and Centaurs, the author has undoubtedly not expressed himself clearly. He means the four pictures (*Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, Tom. I. tav. 25, 26, 27, 28) in which a Centaur, as the principal figure, is united in a group with another accessory figure, and painted on a black ground, like the *Dancers*. In the first picture a Bacchante has sprung on the back of a Centaur and is driving him with the Thyrsus; as regards grouping, it is one of the most glorious examples in ancient art. The second Centaur is a female and carries on her back a young maiden; likewise admirably grouped. The third group consists of a male Centaur with a boy in front of him, whom he seems to be teaching to play on the lyre. In the fourth picture we again see a female Centaur, who is teaching a boy to play the cymbals. The execution has as much merit as that of the *Dancers*, and the light and shade are disposed in masses no less broad and admirable. The coloring may perhaps have lost somewhat of its original vivacity. It would not be an unreasonable conjecture to suppose that these groups with the Centaurs are the workmanship of the same artist who painted the *Dancers*. — GERM. ED.

10. The first volumes of the *Herculaneum Museum* were distributed by the Neapolitan Court merely as presents, and were consequently rare. Since then the work has been for sale, and hence is more widely distributed. — GERM. ED.

11. The under garment is white, and so thin that on the breast the color of the skin shows through it. It has a border of a sea-blue color. — F.

12. Two ribbons lie on the little box; one is white, the other reddish. — F.

13. It is impossible to say which of the celebrated Greek writers of tragedy is here represented. Both Sophocles and Euripides wear a beard, and Æschylus also is bearded on a gem of the Stosch museum which shows an eagle letting a tortoise fall on his head. — W.

14. Let the reader compare Book IX. ch. 2, § 44, note.

On the injured seated figure of Euripides, of which an engraving may be found in my *Ancient Monuments* (No. 168), with his name, from the Albani villa, the marks of a long staff of this kind were visible, and the elevated bend of the mutilated arm confirmed these traces. The comic writers carry a short, curved stick, termed *λαγωβόλον*, that is, *a stick to throw at the hares*, and the Comic Muse, Thalia, usually carries such a staff. We might put into the hands of Euripides, as well as of other tragic authors, a Thyrsus also, according to the inscription on this poet:—

Ἦν γὰρ ιδέσθαι

Οἶδά τε που θυμέλῃσιν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις θύρσα πίνασσω,

He might be seen

Waving a Thyrsus of this kind on the Athenian stage.

BRUNCK., *Analecta*, Tom. II p. 247, vers. 17, 18.

This was done when the figure was restored. — W.

15. The under garment is of a changeable color between green and yellow, the girdle rose-colored, and the upper garment or blanket, which falls over the thigh and upon the right leg, of a changeable color between lake and sky-blue. — F.

Barnes has, in Euripides (*Phœniss.*, vers. 1498), translated *στολῖδα κρόκεσσαν*, *stolam fibriatam*, “a fringed stola,” instead of *yellow stola*, as if he doubted that the ancients ever wore garments of a yellow color. — W.

16. Bartoli (*Admir. Antiq., Rom.*, tab. 48) has mistaken the sphinx for a griffin. (Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expliq.*, Tom. I. pl. 15, fig. 2.) — W.

17. Two long straight flutes were probably those which were called Dorian; and those must be Phrygian of which one was curved. For on all rilievi relating to Cybele we see two flutes of the latter kind, — a fact which has escaped the observation of Meursuis and Bartholinus who have written specially on flutes. — W.

18. The knowledge of this bandage of the flute-players was first obtained from Plutarch (*De Ira Cohib.*, p. 456) in the epigram of one of the earlier Greek poets, who makes use of the common expression, *ἰμάντες*, *thongs*. The usual name was *στόμις* or *χειλώτηρ*. We believe that the oldest passage in which *φορβεία* has this signification is to be found in the *Fragments* of Sophocles. (Brunckii, Tom. IV. p. 693, not. 80.) — GERM. ED.

Compare Book V. ch. 5, § 19.

19. We do not believe that the author would have been able to quote from the ancients a single passage confirmatory of this explanation of the word *ἐμβατήριον*. It also appears to us too far-fetched, and the usual meaning — drawn from its derivation, and generally adopted, according to which *ἐμβατήριοι* refers to the music of flutes, to the measure of which the ancients marched to battle, or by which they regulated their steps in solemn procession — is certainly the only correct one. (*Conf.* Pollux, lib. 4, segm. 53, 78, 82. Hesych. *vid.* *ἐμβατήριον*.) The *ἐμβατήρια*, *music to march by*, and *ἐνόπλια*, *military music*, of the Spartans, are familiar enough from Athenæus (lib. 14, cap. 7). — GERM. ED.

20. Lib. 16, cap. 35, sect. 66.

21. *Icon.* (lib. 1, note 24, p. 798; lib. 2, note 9, p. 825). The hair is called *ὑακανθίνη*, *blackish*. (Theocrit. *Idyll.*, X. vers. 28.) — GERM. ED.

22. Opinions are divided as to the picture of *Jupiter and Ganymedes*. Some hold it to be a modern work, executed by Mengs for the purpose of exposing the pretensions of connoisseurs, and at the same time of giving a proof of his consummate skill. Antoine Maron, the brother-in-law of Mengs, and a skilful portrait-painter, and the Councillor Reiffenstein, openly express this opinion. Besides these, Don Giuseppe Nicolo d' Azzara, in his *Memoire concernant la Vita di Antonio Raffaele Mengs*, and in Fea's edition of the *Opere di Ant. Raff. Mengs*, Roma, 1787, p. 32, speaks of it as an undoubted work of the great Mengs. “The nicety with which the artist imitated an ancient wall, the places in which the plaster was seemingly broken in detaching it from the wall, the scaling of the paint, the pretended restorations, and the difference of the handling in the pretended restored places from those which were meant to be considered as ancient, — all these circumstances show that skilfulness in deception could not be carried further.” Again: “I know that, under the coat of plaster

on which this picture by Mengs was painted, a mark was left for the purpose of showing it to be the work of his hand. Before his death however he had conscientious scruples in regard to the perpetration of this anti-quarian imposture, and he earnestly entreated his sister Theresa, the wife of Maron, to name him openly as the painter of the picture."

On the other hand, those who recognize in the picture a genuine antique adduce the following reasons in support of their opinion.

Although the skill of Mengs stands deservedly in high esteem, still it seems impossible that he had the ability to produce a picture like this. It has always been conceded that he possessed a great faculty of designing beautiful forms; but it will be difficult to find in all his works a figure which for simplicity of outline can be placed by the side of Ganymedes, and not one in which all the parts are so harmonious. How is it possible that Mengs, whose heads, it is justly objected, are feeble in expression and deficient in character, should at once so far excel himself and shape the truly glorious head of Ganymedes, not undeserving of the high praise bestowed on it by Winckelmann? Furthermore, it is incomprehensible how Mengs, with his usually labored handling, poverty of invention, and want of success in the easy disposition of groups, should all at once have painted a picture which so fully breathes the antique spirit, which is so easy and masterly in its handling, so elegant and yet so simple in its arrangement. If it was possible for him to paint so *once*, why did he not paint so always? The reputation which he enjoyed during his life would in that case always have sustained itself without diminution, and he would really have been a wonderful manifestation in the world. From the severe rectitude of idea which Mengs exhibited in his life not less than in his art, another reason may be deduced why he could not execute this picture. He was in no sense unfriendly to Winckelmann; the investigation of truth in things of antiquity was near to the hearts of both, and each was mutually indebted to the other. Without Winckelmann's assistance, Mengs would have found it difficult to accomplish his classic work, *Thoughts upon Beauty*; on the other hand, Winckelmann received from Mengs much instruction in works of art. How therefore could Mengs, earnest as his nature was, have conceived the student's trick of making his friend ridiculous by means of a picture painted in the antique style, and prejudicing the authority of a work which bestowed on him high praise?

We know well that these arguments for the genuineness of the picture do not properly prove it; they only help to render it probable; but they seem to be as admissible at least as those sayings which, when investigated, are found to originate, not in truth, but merely in a desire to exalt the fame of Mengs. Neither Maron, nor Reiffenstein, nor Azzara had any wish to lower by such remarks Winckelmann's fame, or to disparage his merits as an archæologist, or even to throw a doubt upon his knowledge; they merely desired to rank their favorite, whose judgment in regard to ancient works of art they held to be infallible, above all artists of modern times, and to show that he was esteemed equal at least, if not superior, to the ancient Greek artists. Azzara even presumes (*Memorie*, p. 34) to find fault with Raphael's Madonnas, and he expresses his opinions somewhat in this manner: "If Raphael had lived longer, he would have carried painting to the highest degree of excellence; but this glory was reserved for Mengs;

his heavenly figures have only the least possible marks of humanity ; his works are a selected combination of many perfect parts, — the less noble, the superfluous, and those which indicate the infirmity of human nature having been cast aside ; hence that exalted ideal beauty by which his works are distinguished.” — “The painter of Urbino imitated that which was most beautiful in nature ; so also did the German ; but the latter improved and ennobled nature ; the former sacrificed to Reason alone, the latter to Reason and the Graces.”

We ask if a man, not wanting in boldness in other respects, who pronounces such a judgment on matters of art should properly have a voice in deciding the question, not difficult in itself of solution, whether a picture is antique, or whether it was executed by Mengs ?

Our intention however was no other than to present, as impartially as possible, what is said for and against this painting. Yet we will not deny that our private opinion is in favor of its genuineness. At the close of the previous century, it was still in the possession of a Madame Smith, at Rome, to whom it was bequeathed by her former friend, M. Diel of Marseilles, the person mentioned in the text. At that time she was unwilling to allow copies of it to be made, thinking it unfavorable to her interest ; hence we can give only a sketch drawn from a lively remembrance of it, from which perchance one may form an idea of the invention, grouping, and shape of the figures. (Pl. XI.)

\* In the first edition, p. 277, Winckelmann continues in this manner : “Some time afterwards, the owner of this picture brought secretly to Rome two others, also in separate pieces, which were carefully united by skilful persons. These two pictures are smaller, and the figures two palms (1 ft. 5 in. Eng.) high. One of them represents three female figures, gayly dancing after the vintage, who have embraced each other, and form a beautifully arranged group ; all three are lifting up the right leg, as in a measured dance. They wear only an under garment of length sufficient to reach to the knees, but in jumping a portion of the thigh is bared ; so also is the breast ; two of them wear a girdle, which confines the chemise below the breast. The upper garment or peplon of two of them is thrown over the shoulders, and on one of them it floats in serpentine folds, after the manner of Etruscan drapery ; the third figure is without this garment. A male figure, with a wreath on his head, and wearing a short jacket, leans against a pillar, his legs straight and his feet forwards, and plays on a reed-pipe for them to dance ; near him is a base against which leans a lyre. Between him and the dancing figures stands a tall pedestal or cippus on said base, and on the pedestal a small figure, it is not easy to determine what, but it appears to be an Indian Bacchus with a beard. On the other side, as if by a wall, we see three thyrsi of the dancers, and nearer to the front is a basket with fruits, the cover of which has been taken off ; it lies behind it, together with a flask that has been upset.

“The second picture of the same size represents the fable of Erichthonius. Pallas, wishing to bring up this child secretly, gave it, enclosed in a basket, into the keeping of Pandrosos, daughter of Cecrops, king of Athens. Her two sisters, who could not but see the deposit intrusted to her, induced her to open the basket, and they saw with astonishment a child, who, instead of legs, had the tails of serpents. The goddess pun-

ished their curiosity by making them insane, and the daughters of Cecrops threw themselves from the rock on which the citadel at Athens was built; but Erichthonius was brought up in her temple in that city. This is the way in which Apollodorus (lib. 3, cap. 14) relates the fable. The temple is indicated by a simple portal on the right side of the picture, standing on a rock (Euripid., *Hippolyt.*, vers. 30); in front of the temple is a large round basket, shaped like a *cista mystica*, the cover of which is a little opened, and out of it crawl seemingly two serpents, — which are the legs of Erichthonius. Pallas, with her spear in her left hand, reaches the right to the cover of the basket for the purpose of replacing it; at her feet stands a griffin, and on a base a vase. Opposite to her stand the three daughters of Cecrops, by their gestures and action seemingly exculpating themselves and excusing what they have done, while the goddess earnestly regards them. The first of the daughters of Cecrops wears a diadem, and bracelets near the wrist which go three times around the arm. From the garments, it seems to be the most ancient of all the ancient pictures.”

“The owner of these pictures died suddenly in August, 1761, without having disclosed to any one the place in which they were found, and it remains a secret even at the time when I write, April, 1762, notwithstanding all the investigation made. After his death a receipt for three thousand five hundred dollars was found, from which it appeared that he had withdrawn from the same place three other pictures, two of which had figures of the size of life; the third represented Apollo with his favorite, Hyacinthus. Nothing more is known of them, and the pictures probably went to England, together with the seventh, — of which also I have seen only a copy, — which was sold for four thousand dollars; it is placed at the beginning of the second part. [It was not put in.] The principal figure is Neptune, of the size of life like the other figures, and naked to the middle. In front of him stands Juno, with the mien and gestures of a suppliant, holding in her hand a short sceptre, of the length which it has when carried by Juno in other instances (Beger., *Spicileg. Antiq.*, p. 136), and by a Herculeum figure (*Pittur. d' Ercolan.*, Tom. I. tav. 24). Near her stands Pallas, who is listening attentively with her face turned towards her. Behind the seat of Neptune stands another figure, a young female, who is wrapped in her mantle; her face is full of thought, and she rests her head upon her right hand, which is supported by the left hand placed beneath the elbow. The robe of Neptune is sea-green; the chemise of Juno is white, and the upper garment light yellow; the drapery of Pallas is of a reddish violet, and that of the fourth figure dark yellow. I have read somewhere that Thetis discovered a conspiracy of some of the gods against Jupiter, of which Juno was the chief. Probably the incident is represented here, and the youngest figure would be Thetis.”

Copies of the picture of the *Dancing Girls*, and also of that from the fable of Erichthonius, are not only in the first edition, but they are also repeated in the Vienna edition, although without any description, because it was afterwards learned that they were not antique, but had been executed by Casanova, afterwards Director of the Dresden Academy, for the purpose of vexing Winckelmann: the consequence was a quarrel between them which continued till their deaths. Having reason to doubt the genuineness of

these pictures, we have not incorporated into the text the description of them, though from its clearness and spirit it seemed to merit a place in the *Notes*.

Where these two of the pictures counterfeited by Casanova are at present, if still in existence, we do not know. It almost seems as if no further trouble was taken in regard to them, after the object was attained of deceiving Winckelmann. If, on the other hand, a considerable value was attached to the *Jupiter and Ganymedes*, and the picture was the actual property of M. Diel, the fact may be another proof in his favor.

The additional statements made by Winckelmann to prove the genuineness of the other pictures, some of which he had never seen, for instance, the receipt, etc., appear to show only the continuation of the imposture which gave rise to the variance between him and Casanova. — GERM. ED.

The painting *Jupiter and Ganymedes* was still in Rome in 1796, in the possession of a Madame Smith, the heiress of the French nobleman who brought it back on his return from a journey to Naples. It is highly probable that it was one of the Herculean discoveries. It is known (!) that the picture was restored by Mengs, and hence originated the report that he painted it. It is certain that it possesses all the characters of pure antiquity. — HIRT.

23. Jeremiah, Chap. XXII. v. 14.

24. The author continues: "This is proved also by the inscriptions found there, not one of which is earlier than the times of the Cæsars. I will cite two of the oldest:—

DIVAE· AVGVSTAE·  
L· MAMMIVS· MAXIMVS· P· S·

ANTONIAE· AVGVSTAE· MATRI· CLAVDI·  
CAESARIS· AVGVSTI· GERMANICI· PONTIF· MAX·  
L· MAMMIVS· MAXIMVS· P· S·

Several are of the time of Vespasian, like these:—

IMP· CAESAR· VESPASIANVS· AVG· PONT· MAX·  
TRIB· POT· VIII· IMP· XVII· COS· VII· DESIGN· VIII·  
TEMPLVM· MATRIS· DEVM· TERRAE· MOTV· CONLAPSVM·  
RESTITVIT·

We thought it necessary to remove from the text into the notes these inscriptions and what relates to them, because, if strictly considered, they afford no proof of Winckelmann's assertion. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER IV.

1. PLIN., lib. 35, cap. 9, sect. 35, not. 2. Hirt, in a lecture upon *The Different Methods of Painting among the Ancients*, p. 4, of the year 1799, understands by this manner of Zeuxis not the drawing in chalk on a black ground; he refers the words *pinxit et monochromata ex albo*, "he painted monochromes in white," to the manner which is called *en camaieu*, "like

a cameo." Böttiger (*Ideen zur Archäol. der Malerei*, Seit. 153) also coincides in this explanation. — GERM. ED.

2. Böttiger's *Ideen zur Archäol. der Malerei*, Seit. 160–172, comprehends everything upon the monochromes of the ancients.

Figures of a profile kind painted entirely of a dark color, so that they stand distinctly forth in the same manner as the usual outlines on a bright ground, seem to have a higher antiquity than the paintings with lines or outlines of one color. Such figures are found on the most ancient vases of burnt clay; but, as we may infer from the better style of drawing on others, they were also common even in later times. Outlines or monochromes of a white color, painted on a dark ground, still remain in the Baths of Titus, where an entire chamber is decorated with them, and a few pieces of a similar kind are preserved in the Herculaneum museum. — GERM. ED.

3. The special process of the ancients, both in the manipulation of the clay and in the preparation of the black color, is still very imperfectly known. — GERM. ED.

4. Lib. 35, cap. 5, sect. 11. "Deinde adjectus est splendor, alius hic quam lumen, quem, quia inter hoc et umbram esset, appellaverunt *τόνον*": — "Then was added brilliancy, a quality different from light, to which as something between light and shade was given the name of tone." — GERM. ED.

5. Plin., lib. 9, cap. 39, sect. 64.

A remarkable passage upon coloring is found in Xenophon (*Memorabil. Socr.*, lib. 3, cap. 10, note 1), in which Socrates says to Parrhasius: "You imitate by means of colors closely resembling the objects copied things deep and high, dark and bright, rough and smooth, youthful and old." — GERM. ED.

6. The ancients made use of different colors for the priming of their pictures, as we see in some of the ancient paintings, and as we are also informed by Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 6, sect. 26), for he states that the ancients primed their pictures with sandix (factitious red lead), and then laid in the purpurissum or purple-red color mixed with the white of egg, by which means it acquired the brilliancy of vermilion. If they wished to obtain a purple, they made the priming coat of ultramarine, and then covered it with the purpurissum or purple red, mixed with the white of egg. Protagenes adopted another mode with his Ialysus, on which he worked seven years. On this picture he is said to have laid four coats of color, for the purpose of protecting it against the ravages of time. — A.

7. The Mosaic which was found in 1780 in the villa of Count Fede; near Tivoli, is more beautifully and delicately wrought than any other of this kind; it now adorns the floor of a cabinet in the Vatican museum. In the middle is a small picture with theatrical masks, surrounded at some distance by a broad wreath of leaves. (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. pp. 86, 87, tav. 48.) — GERM. ED.

8. Many passages in this and the previous chapter, belonging to the first edition, but which were omitted in the Vienna edition, have seemed to us worthy of being again placed in the text. The connection, which otherwise is somewhat loose, has not been improved by the process. This last paragraph also belongs to those which have been replaced, and it

might seem to contradict what has been previously said of fresco-painting, because the paintings which were coated with wax were probably not painted on wet grounds. The remark which the author makes in regard to the wax being melted off does not refer to pictures, properly so called, with figures, but merely to decorated walls. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK VIII.

### CHAPTER I.

1. ON it is VM instead of ΣΥ, and the Sigma, Σ, on the cited coins of Posidonia is shaped in the same way, namely, like an M. The Rho, Ρ, has a small tail, Ϝ. Kaulonia is written, ΑΥΑΗ. (*Conf. Magnan., Miscell. Numism.,* Tom. I. tab. 33, 35; Tom. IV. tab. 47-51; Tom. I. tab. 12, note 1.) — W.

2. Some of the Athenian silver coins are among the most ancient of all coins. In the engravings of this volume will be found under C and D (Plate XII.) copies of two of these coins: the former is in the ducal cabinet of coins at Gotha; the latter is copied from No. 604 of the coin-pastes of Mionet. The much raised Minerva's head on the obverse points by the rudeness of its shape to so remote antiquity that there is hardly one of the marble images yet extant which exceeds it. — GERM. ED.

3. In the *Nouv. Traité de Diplom.*, Tom. I. Part 2, sect. 2, ch. 15, p. 679, pl. 10, in which a copy is given of the oldest Greek alphabet, we see the Gamma shaped almost like the usual Γ; so too in the celebrated inscription, written *Βουστροφύδον*, that is, from right to left and left to right, discovered by Fourmont. (*Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. XV., *Mem.* p. 395.) We find this letter shaped like a C or a G only on later monuments belonging to the fourth century before Christ, and on others of the third Christian century until the fifteenth (*loc. cit.*, p. 681, pl. 11). It might therefore follow from this, that the Gamma shaped like this Γ is more ancient among the Greeks than that in the form of C or G. — F.

4. Lucian (*Contempl.*, cap. 24, *Rhet. Præc.*, cap. 18) and others (*Val. Max.*, lib. 3, cap. 2, *extern. num.* 4) say that the hero wrote with his blood. Plutarch (*Parall. Ἀργείων*, Tom. VII. p. 219, edit. Reisk.) remarks that he wrote on his shield the two words ΔΙΙ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥΤΧΩΙ, "To the victorious Jupiter." The artist has either followed a different account, putting upon the gem the word "victory," or the want of space was his reason for making use of a word which contains and expresses the meaning of the hero, and the thought of the inscription. The word "victory" is written in the Doric dialect, which was peculiar to the Spartans, and is the dative case ΝΙΚΑΙ, instead of ΝΙΚΗΙ. The reader is referred to the treatise on this gem in the *Description of the Engraved Gems of the Stosch Museum.* — W.

5. In the *Notes to the History of Ancient Art*, first edition, Dresden, p. 32, we read as follows: "This older style can be specially studied and dis-

tinguished in three statues, one of which, representing a nude athlete of the size of life, is in the Farnese palace. The other two are draped; one of them is a Pallas in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani; the other is the large Muse in the Barberini palace, of which I have made mention at the beginning of the second part of these *Notes*. The head of the supposed athlete, which has never been separated from the body, denotes an individual, and resembles the most ancient male heads on Greek coins, and the Etruscan conformation. The hairs also, not only on the head, but around the private parts, are arranged in rows in small curls, — which is an unvarying and infallible sign of art prior to its highest stage of excellence. But the whole figure displays so much science united with masterly workmanship that it would be worthy of the best days of art.

“The Barberini Muse cannot be quite so old, for the conformation of the face is different from that of the Pallas, and the features are regular and beautiful; but the drapery, the folds of which hang perpendicularly, enables us to infer the period in which I have placed it, according to the conjectures stated in the second part. This statue is rather to be regarded as a work which was executed by Ageladas, the probable master of it, when art was on its way to perfection. The Pallas of painted marble, in the Herculaneum museum, is probably as ancient as that Pallas, which it perfectly resembles in the idea of the face.”

We have not adopted this entire passage into the text, in order not to interrupt the connection, and also because the statue of the athlete in the Farnese palace and the large Muse in the Barberini palace do not belong to the older style, as even the author has distinctly decided in regard to the latter, and intimated in regard to the former. — GERM. ED.

6. This statue of Pallas is undoubtedly very ancient, and we have no hesitation in holding it and the bas-relief of Leucothea (Vol. I. pl. XIII.), in the Albani villa, for the most ancient of the marble monuments of Greek art of which we at present have knowledge. The Capitoline Well-Curb (Book III. ch. 2, § 16), and the three-sided altar in the Borghese villa, might perhaps follow next in the order of time. Here is the place also of a Minerva executed in low-relief in the same ancient manner, which is set in the wall, on the outer side, of the former palace of the Senator of Rome, on the Campidoglio. Like the Minerva on the Well-Curb just mentioned, she holds her helmet in her left hand, and in her right a spear; from her bared head long locks of hair fall down upon her shoulders and bosom. The mouth and eyes, as in all such monuments belonging to high antiquity, are drawn obliquely upwards; the workmanship, as far as one can form an opinion of it from a distance, shows much diligence.

The head of a Minerva, about the size of life, in the Florentine gallery, could not have been executed at a much later date. Of all the ancient Greek monuments it evinces the most industry and the greatest carefulness of execution, and it is in a state of good preservation. The eyes are large, and slope a little towards the nose; the eyebrows have the same direction, and are placed high above the eyes. The eyes are set superficially, and the eyelids do not project much beyond them. The corners of the mouth, which is closed, are turned slightly upwards; the depression between the lower lip and the chin is only slight, hence the latter seems flat and hangs somewhat down. The ears are set very high; a horizontal line, drawn

from the lowest part of the lobe of the ear, will strike the nose at about its middle. The larynx, Adam's apple, is quite prominent in the neck, as are the two large muscles which turn the head; the pit at the lower end of the neck and the collar-bones are on the other hand scarcely visible. We can still see the beginning, about two fingers in breadth, of a plaited garment, plaited however in flat folds, which rises towards the neck, but does not meet it by a space two fingers broad; it appears to be that piece of the under garment which was visible above the breast-armor; for without doubt this head was originally joined to a figure. The hair projects from beneath the helmet about a finger's breadth; then, lying close, it spreads itself in waves towards the temples, from which broad flat locks fall down, which are turned up at their ends. The beginning only however of these locks is antique; the remainder is a restoration, but, still visible near the lobes of the ears, are the places where they were joined to the cheeks. Behind the ears fall longer locks, the ends of which also have been restored, down upon the shoulders; at the nape of the neck, locks of hair come from under the helmet, and are again carried back beneath it. The helmet is round, fits closely to the head, and has no projecting rim in front; over the forehead is a border beautifully executed. On the top of the helmet we can still see the eight places on which were set the feet of the figures of horses; on the sides of it, a pair of griffins still remains. Other ornaments appear to have been removed by the modern repairers at the time when the lost crest was replaced. The face has not suffered except in the nose, the tip of which is modern.

The bas-relief of Callimachus, in the Capitoline museum, might be placed next in order after this monument. Its figures, when compared with those of the Well-Curb above cited, or of the three-sided Borghese altar, show more movement, more elegance, and generally more correct proportions. The head being taken as a measure, each figure contains at least seven times the length of it, whereas the figures on the Well-Curb have not more than six and a half heads. The faces have on the whole more regular features, although the mouth and eyes are still drawn slightly upwards towards the corners; the cheeks are fuller, and the cheek-bones somewhat higher. Hence the eyes seem to be more deeply set and receive more shadow. The handling is somewhat freer, and in the figure of the Faun the familiar ideal of this kind of beings is already presented in tolerably characteristic perfection. A copy of this figure made from a correct drawing, may be seen in Plate XIV.

Immediately after the bas-relief by Callimachus might come the fragment of another bas-relief in the Capitoline museum. It represents an aged man with a long beard, a staff, and a lyre. The head, a portion of the breast, and the left arm are wanting, and the right leg, so far as it projected from beneath the robe, together with the foot; also a portion of the lyre, robe, and staff. Here the drawing is more flowing, less hard, and not so exaggerated in the rendering of the muscles and sinews, as in the figures of the Well-Curb. The folds of the drapery have more sweep, and a more natural arrangement. The bas-relief of Callimachus has probably as great merit in regard to technical dexterity and scientific drawing, but the position of the figure in this fragment is much easier, and even the arrangement of the folds of the drapery more simple.

Two female sitting figures in the Pio-Clement museum are probably a little younger than the monuments just mentioned. One of them has the legs crossed, and while the left hand is supported on the stone which serves her as a seat, she rests on her thigh the elbow of the bent right arm in such a manner that her position expresses either thinking or listening. Great hardness cannot be objected to the workmanship either of the face or of the folds of the drapery, or of the hair; the fingers however are somewhat stiff, and the joints of them not well marked. The artist shows a better knowledge of the neck, and the tendons in it are powerfully rendered. In the mouth, as also in the eyes, we notice a pleasing, good-natured expression, and in neither feature are the corners turned upwards. The folds in the drapery are numerous yet naturally disposed, and adapt themselves to the flexures of the body. A broad band passes around the forehead and confines the hair. The nose, the upper part of the head, the right hand, the right leg, and the left foot are restorations.

The other figure is more angular in its whole shape; every part, even the hair, appears to be treated in a harder, stiffer manner; all the lines of the folds continue on without a break. Something of an ideal character however predominates in the forms of the face; here also the eyes and mouth are not turned upwards. The eyeballs were originally inserted, and of a different material from that of the body. The mouth apparently has been retouched, and therefore has lost its original expression. On the other hand, the elaborately wrought ears have been preserved uninjured. The nose, the neck, both arms, as also a lyre, which was added to the figure, and both feet are new.

We are induced to believe by reasons springing from the consideration of the style of the workmanship, and from the conjectured progress of art, that the torso of a Pallas, and also a three-sided altar or the foot of a large candelabrum, in the Dresden collection, should now be allowed to follow. Engravings of both monuments may be seen in Becker's *Augusteum* (Taf. 5, 6, 7, 9). Here belongs also the statue of Pallas, of marble, in the Herculanæum museum, at Portici, which, in the exaggeration of its attitude, and the cast of the folds, has some general resemblance to the torso in Dresden, mentioned above.

The reason why we assign to the two sitting figures in the Pio-Clement museum a later age than to the bas-relief by Callimachus is that the outer corners of the eyes and mouth are not turned upwards, — a characteristic which, if we do not mistake, is decisive in regard to monuments of the highest antiquity. If the eyes and mouth were turned upward, we should not hesitate to assign to these two figures an origin in times yet more remote, because the former of the two, like the very oldest works recognized as Greek, bears in its features some resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. The other shows, in connection with very great industry, a highly antique rudeness, awkwardness, and stiffness in the workmanship. Hence we might not inappropriately compare it with the Barberini Genius, of bronze, as well as this with it, since the Genius also has the aspect of remote antiquity, although we do not find in it the corners of the mouth turned upwards, nor the eyes sloping towards the nose. (See Book III. chap. 2, § 10, note.)

To the torso of the Pallas in Dresden we give a place among the later

monuments of the ancient style, because the figures of the giants overcoming the gods, in the small bas-relief on the band running down the forepart of the mantle, have thick, stout forms and lively action ; also because there is a certain manifestation of art in the disposition of the groups observable in no one of the monuments cited as presumably more ancient.

The three-sided monument in the same collection may likewise belong among the later monuments of the older style, as the heads of the figures have absolutely nothing of the upturned corners of the mouth, nor of the obliquity of the eyes towards the nose, but show for the most part features of good shape, and in some degree even of an ideal conformation. The proportions also are better observed, that is, the proportion of the head to the rest of the body is less, and in some figures the height is even seven times that of the head. The bodies and limbs are still made generally too slender ; hence the shape on the whole continues to seem superfluously long, and the head, compared with the rest of the body, too large. Some of the garments show symmetrical folds lying flat against and upon one another, after the ancient manner ; others again are freer, disposed very simply, and executed with much skill. Hence another reason may be inferred why the origin of the work should be attributed to not a later age than when art was gradually obtaining more freedom, and was soon to pass over from the old style, which we have hitherto considered in its different stages, to one bolder and grander ; even the freer treatment of the ornaments below the bas-relief seems to indicate such a stage of transition.

In regard to the Pallas last mentioned, in the Herculaneum museum, we are unable to give any more particular account than that she seems as if engaged in fight, and stepping forward quickly with the right arm raised as if to throw a spear ; indeed in gesture and also in the arrangement of the drapery she has a general resemblance to the torso in Dresden, mentioned above. The Herculaneum monument is however larger, and together with the head in a good state of preservation. It is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable in its relation to the history of art. —GERM. ED.

7. Engravings and explanations of these vases are found in the *Illustration of the Heracleian Tablets* by the canon Mazzocchi in the royal museum at Portici. But the engravings give a poor idea of them, because they are made from wretched drawings, which I have seen. The author seems to have studied the originals less than the drawings, otherwise the deception would have been apparent to him in another smaller vase of this museum, on which, as the inscription shows, are Juno, Mars, and Dædalus. The inscription is not painted, as on other vases, but engraved ; and on another vase in the same collection the word ΔΟΡΔΩΝΟΣ is engraved in large letters. The inscription, ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ, on a painted vase in the collection formerly belonging to the advocate Joseph Valetta, at Naples, may likewise awaken a doubt as to its genuineness. I have not been able to learn whence this vase came ; but it is not to be found in the Vatican library where the other Valetta vases are. — W.

8. Through the author's instructions inquirers have been enabled to distinguish the antique Greek style in most of the monuments which formerly without distinction passed for Etruscan ; consequently there is no further complaint as to the rarity of such works. On the contrary, fortune seems

to us to have made full provision in this direction ; for in every collection of antiques of any size, either coins or small figures in bronze or painted vases are certain to be found, and in many of the larger museums bas-reliefs and statues of marble, which give a fair idea of the ancient Greek style. — GERM. ED.

9. The author undoubtedly refers to two monuments by Andrea Contucci Sansovino which are in the choir of the church S. Maria del Popolo, at Rome. We admit that the statues on them are not among the best works of this great master, but it would really be too harsh a judgment to charge them with mediocrity ; in particular we must praise the one which represents Strength, and another with an hour-glass in its hand. The ornaments of masks, foliage, and figures wrought in semi-relief, deserve the commendation bestowed on them ; they are tasteful in invention, and delicate in execution. Hence we find them very frequently as models of their kind in the workshops of artists, by whom they are usually regarded as antiques. — GERM. ED.

10. Lib. 12, cap. 1, note 6. — *Beschreib. der Geschnitt. Steine*, Kl. 2, Abth. 16, Num. 1718.

This objection seems insurmountable, for the notices of the ancients on the life of Stesichorus show reasons for setting the time in which he flourished earlier than that of Simonides. The popular sayings and traditions from which the earlier Greek poets drew their representations of gods and heroes were also at the service of the plastic artists, and we might therefore reasonably presume that they drew the subjects of their creations from the myths believed and related by the people, rather than from the songs of contemporaneous poets. — GERM. ED.

11. It cannot be said that the Etruscans had no colonnade about their temples and the cellas of them. They were, on the contrary, rather the inventors of it, as Father Paoli has shown at length. (*Antichità di Pesto*, Dissert. 3.) — F.

12. Lib. 4, cap. 7. *Supra trabes et supra parietes trajecturæ mutulorum, quarta parte columnæ projiciantur* : — “ Above the beams and the walls the brackets projected, the projections being equal to a quarter part of the height of the columns.” In this case the author confuses the customs of antiquity. In the earliest ages the Etruscans made a large projection over the walls of their temples for the purpose of being under cover, and the Etruscans themselves added the columns in order to give the needed support to so large a projection : this is the origin of the colonnades. Father Paoli (*loc. cit.*) explains in an entirely new way this chapter of Vitruvius, which hitherto has not been understood. — F.

13. The author continues thus in the first edition, p. 240 : “ This conformation it has in common with the head of Pallas from the hand of Aspauius (Stosch, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. 13), of which the style is similar to that of an age apparently more ancient than that denoted by the shape of the letters in the artist's name. Hence Gori also (*Mus. Etrus.*, p. 91) conjectures that the Greek master of it must have had some Etruscan figure before him.” We hesitated to restore this passage again to the text, because it has been decided by later investigations that the Pallas head in question is either an admirable copy of a work in the grand style of Grecian art, or an actual original in this same style. — GERM. ED.

14. On the base of this figure is the following inscription, first made known by me in another place (*Description of the Engraved Gems, etc.*, Class 2, Divis. 17, No. 1832): —

Q. AQUILIVS. DIONYSIVS. ET.  
NONIA. FAVSTINA. SPEM. RE  
STITVERVNT.

Q. Aquilius and Nonia Faustina, his wife, restored Hope. — W.

15. They are intended to appear as if floating in the air. — GERM. ED.

16. Bands which run crosswise over the breast and back must be thought of as the fastenings of wings only perhaps on figures like Icarus, in the two bas-reliefs of the Albani villa. But on figures of Victory and many others having such bands, they are to be considered merely as supports of the drapery. (Zoëga, *Bassi Rilievi*, p. 174.) — GERM. ED.

17. In the first edition (p. 241), the following passage also is found : "Generally, the hair hangs down in strings on each side, as on Etruscan figures." In order not to interrupt the connection, this interpolation seemed to find a more suitable place in the *Notes*. — GERM. ED.

18. These Caryatides have been already mentioned in Book VI. ch. 1, § 19. The statue with the inscription CAPΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΛΟC on the hem of the mantle came into the Pio-Clement museum. Besides the engraving of it in the *Monuments*, No. 163, where the author treats of it at length, there is another in Cavaceppi. (Tom. III. tav. 27.) But the explanation is more acceptable and the engraving better in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. II. tav. 41), in which Visconti makes it highly probable that it represents a bearded or Indian Bacchus, so called. Another good copy is in the *Musée François*, by Robillard Peronville (*Livrais*. 43). — GERM. ED.

19. This coin is in the museum of John Casanova, a Polish painter at Rome, who receives a pension from his sovereign, of whose rare and unique coins I have an explanation in preparation. — W.

20. In the first edition (p. 142) the passage upon the Sardanapalus is somewhat different, and therefore we communicate here, for the purpose of completing the explanation, what could not easily be fitted into the text : "We are supposed to understand that this statue represents the celebrated king of Assyria, but this cannot be the fact for more reasons than one. It will be sufficient to say that this king, according to Herodotus, wore no beard, and was always shaved, whereas the statue in question has a long beard. It evidently belongs to a good period in art, and from all appearances it was not executed during the times of the Cæsars." — GERM. ED.

21. There are some remarks to be made on the shape of the letters. In those which form an angle at the upper part, one line projects beyond the other ; and, drawn in this manner, they occur on inscriptions and also on earthen lamps. (Passeri, *Lucern.*, Tom. I. tab. 24.) But the projecting member has hitherto been considered a characteristic of later times, perhaps of the Antonines ; consequently the statue could not be so ancient as it appears to be from the artistic indications. But in the Herculeanum manuscripts, and on a piece of wall-work in that place (*Pittur. d' Ercol.*, Tom. II. p. 221), the letters are shaped in exactly the same way ; among other manuscripts is the treatise by Philodemus, who lived at the same time with Cicero, and this essay seems from the numerous emendations and changes

to be in the handwriting of the Epicurean philosopher. Greek letters with projecting members were therefore already in use in the days of the Roman Republic. An idea of the Herculaneum letters may be obtained from three pieces of a similar paper in the imperial library at Vienna (Lambec., *Comment. Bibl.*, Vindob., Tom. VIII. p. 411); they are exactly like the former, with the sole difference that the Vienna letters are about a ninth of an inch larger. — W.

22. Des Piles, *Remarques sur l'Art de la Peinture* de Du Fresnoy, p. 105. — GERM. ED.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. IF we carefully study the progress of art in its transition from the ancient stiff and constrained style to the severe and broad, and then to the powerful, grand, and lofty style, we see the artists acquiring more technical dexterity, and a greater power over their materials. At the same time they were obtaining a more complete knowledge of the structure and proportions of the human body, in consequence of which they were enabled to imitate nature more correctly.

But the greatest benefit to art proceeded from the change or rather elevation in the way of thinking which began at this time. Previously the gods were seen almost always only in lively motion, in action, in hasty walk : Neptune was shaking his trident ; Minerva fighting, in the act of hurling the spear ; Apollo also seldom otherwise than in pursuit of Hercules, or with bow and arrows in hand ; but now the god of the Muses appears calm and peaceful, with the lyre by his side ; Minerva, although still armed, has forgotten battle and enemies ; her attitude is thoughtful, earnest ; the female warrior is changed into the goddess of wisdom. If more monuments of this age had been preserved, we should certainly see Bacchus also no longer as a conqueror ; for on the more ancient works, or on imitations of the ancient style, he appears armed, but as the genial giver of wine and joyousness ; Neptune, no longer with threatening trident, but as the peaceful sovereign of the seas ; Jupiter, not with the fearful thunderbolt, but seated on his throne in calm sublimity, as the gracious father of gods and men.

The few known monuments from this important period of the transition of the ancient style to the lofty might perhaps — since the duration of it cannot be accurately stated — be the following.

The Giustiniani *Vestal*, so called ; according to others, a Juno. It is not possible that she can have originated long after the monuments mentioned above. (Book VIII. ch. 1, § 1.) We see indeed neither greater sweetness nor more grace than in those older works, but the cast of the folds is freer, more unrestrained ; the quiet gestures, the fuller and more powerful forms of the limbs, denote a striving after dignity and grandeur. The conformation of the face, although it has not much that is pleasing, shows a similar feeling, a similar effort, the same progress in art. The diligence, accuracy, and great precision with which each single part of this

statue is completed permit the conjecture that it was the work of a very skilful artist of the day.

An Apollo of the size of life, in one of the halls of the Pitti palace, at Florence, stands on the right leg, almost without a sign of movement; the left is a little advanced; near him is a large lyre, barbiton. The whole build of this figure shows that the artist had a thorough knowledge of his subject; the breast and the parts about the ribs may be considered as admirable in this respect; so also the thighs and knees, although the muscles and sinews are expressed too strongly for the proposed presentation of a figure of youthful age. The forehead is low; the hair is bound with a band passing around the head, from beneath which it falls from the top of the head to the neck, behind the ears down upon the shoulders in long curls, very diligently wrought in the old wire-like manner. The eyes are large certainly, and of good shape; but they slope a very little towards the nose; the upper eyelids also project so slightly beyond the eyeball as not to produce any effective shadows, precisely in the manner pointed out above (Book VIII. chap. 1, § 13), as in the head of Minerva of the older style in the gallery at Florence. So also the lips are not parted, although the mouth in other respects is well shaped. The chin in proportion to the other parts of the face is somewhat long and very projecting, but the ears are in due proportion and at the proper height. In despite of the too long and projecting chin, and also of the low forehead, the profile is pretty enough and youthful. Notwithstanding the severe treatment, we see everywhere much truth, naturalness, vigor, and fulness, limbs well shaped without exception, although the artist was not yet able to rise successfully to the ideal shape of a god. The nose and both arms, together with the great toes, are modern restorations.

In the Capitoline museum is a statue of a youth of the size of life, which, so far as we may infer from the severe treatment of the hair, face, and whole body, was also executed prior to the introduction of the grand style. In this instance the upper eyelids project a little more beyond the eyeball, and we may confidently assume the work to be a portrait on account of the individuality in the features of the face. The characteristics of a portrait consist indeed, not merely in the features of the face, but also in all the other parts of the figure, since, as in an academic model, some portions appear to be of better shape than others; for example, the thighs are elegant; the chest is proportionately too high and full; the muscularity of the arms is very great; the ribs and serrated muscles are rendered strongly and correctly, but not beautifully; the region from the extremity of the breast-bone to the navel — which latter is executed with extreme care from nature — is represented of almost superfluous length; the belly seems short. The nose, both forearms, and the legs below the knees, together with the feet are modern. (Plate XVI.)

In the Medici villa, at Rome, there stood the fragment of a Minerva, without head or arms, far above the size of life. It shows the style of Greek art after it had reached that stage in which the representation of power and grandeur was characterized by force of expression. The master of this monument expended everywhere much carefulness, a religious diligence indeed, in the execution of each part. Two points are to be noticed as especially prominent; in the first place, the artist strove to produce

above all things the grand and powerful ; and he succeeded in his efforts to such a degree that the figure approximates even to the fearful, so angular, broad-shouldered, and straight its appearance, so heavy and solid its tread. Anciently it must have been by no means deficient in ornaments, as there are distinct traces of the studs with which perhaps the bronze serpents on the breast-armor were fastened. She is not attired ; her robe hangs in negligent disorder about her limbs, as though the goddess — since she did not seek to please so much as to impress with reverence — despised even elegance in dress.

In the second place, we do not see any striving after masses and variety in the folds of the drapery, and no attempt to oppose broad, reposing parts to narrow, frequently broken ones ; consequently this torso seems to approve itself as a work prior to the time of Phidias ; for in all monuments which, on the highest probability, proceed from the age of this great master, we do not as yet notice any pictorial masses based on light and shadow ; but yet we discern a finer taste, a more careful selection, and a search for the beautiful so far as it is appropriate to the expression of grandeur and godlike loftiness.

Number XV. of the Plates is intended merely to give a hint, not a clear idea, of this monument, as it was made merely from a hasty sketch representing the monument not even down to the feet.

To this class of works belongs also the four-sided altar in the Capitoline museum on which is represented the Deeds of Hercules, of which mention has already been made. (Book III. ch. 2, § 15). The greater breadth in the disposition of the folds of the drapery is the reason which induces us to hold the workmanship on this altar to be later than that on the fragment just described.

Finally the large Barberini Muse (*Frontispiece*), of which mention will be made hereafter (Book IX. ch. 1, § 29), must have originated in this period, — provided it should be recognized as an original, — at a moment when the high style had become almost entirely perfected, for the glorious head has not only a grand character, but it is also beautiful ; the hair is tied up with much taste, almost in the same manner as on the Apollo Belvedere. Hence some opinions hold this statue to be a figure of Apollo the *Harp-player*. The folds of the drapery, which are somewhat numerous, fall straight down, and are separated from each other by deep incisions, particularly on the right side of the figure, and are on the whole executed somewhat more elegantly but by no means so carefully as on the fragment of the Minerva in the Medici villa. — GERM. ED.

2. Instead of "A certain degree of beauty of form was sacrificed," it would probably be more correct to say, "A certain degree of grace in the forms was wanting." For tenderness, beauty, and grace, properly so called, were first seen in the works of Praxiteles ; they were not as yet known in their full extent to Phidias and Polyclethus, and even if they had been, they would not have been compatible with the loftiness of their works, of the Jupiter, the Juno, the Minerva, and others. — GERM. ED.

3. The relievi of the Parthenon, or the temple of Pallas at Athens, have over all other monuments of art coming from the age in which the high style prevailed the superiority of undoubted authenticity, and they represent most unquestionably the taste introduced by Phidias. It is well

known that this temple was built in the time of Phidias, and that the large image of the goddess, together with other toreutic works on it, were by his hand. It is also highly probable that the sculptures ornamenting the outside of the building were executed, if not immediately after his designs, yet under his influence and oversight, since he was the most celebrated artist of his time, and the one most favored by Pericles. A bas-relief consisting of eight figures, taken from the frieze running around the outside of the cella of the temple, is now in Paris, and has been published by Millin. (*Monum. Ant. Ined.*, Tom. II. pl. 5, p. 23.) Other portions have been taken to England (by Lord Elgin), and some, although not in the best preservation, still adorn the glorious ruins of the temple.

Even though the wonderful statue of the Amazon in the Pio-Clement museum may not have been executed by Polycletus's own hands, but be merely a copy of his celebrated masterpiece in bronze, still it can give us some information in regard to the skill of the great sculptor, — as it was executed unquestionably near to his time, and by a very excellent master, — for the technical treatment expresses the subject spiritually and perfectly well.

With this Amazon are connected in regard to style, and consequently also in time, those figures of the family of Niobe which can pass for undoubted originals. The reason why we hold the best figures belonging to the family of Niobe to be the production of a later artist than the master of the Amazon is, that we perceive him carefully striving to attain the most nicely balanced beauty of the forms, and we are not surprised that Winckelmann frequently breaks out into the warmest praises of these wonderful monuments ; nowhere else is the lofty seen blended with the beautiful in so glorious a union.

We cannot here pass over in silence the torso in the Capitoline museum, unfortunately restored by Monot as a dying gladiator, and now known by this name, because it originated from a figure resembling the celebrated Discobulus of Myron ; consequently, as probably a contemporaneous or even later copy, — executed however with admirable care and truth, — it throws upon us a reflection at least of the art of the greatest master in athletic shapes.

Of other monuments of this kind which are to be considered not as copies but as probable originals, we also mention in addition to the torso in bronze in the Florentine gallery, which has been described at length (Book VII. ch. 2, § 22, note), the marble figure of an athlete, larger than life, to be found in the same place.

The forms are generally powerful, assuming, especially in the neck, a certain angular character ; the ribs are strongly manifested, as are also the muscles and joints in the thighs and legs. These characteristics are too significant for any one to doubt the period and style to which the work belongs. We recognize at the same time in the features of the face, besides the general characteristics of the Greek national conformation, the individual traits of a portrait, apprehended with much truth. For example, the mouth is proportionately somewhat large ; the eyes small, etc. This monument is in a pretty good state of preservation ; only both arms and the tip of the nose have been restored ; the upper lip is somewhat injured.

The Ludovisi Juno (Plate XVI., Letter A, Vol. I.) may indeed worthily

represent the ideal of this goddess, perfected by Polyclethus in his celebrated masterpiece at Argos. Yet this head apparently belongs to a later age. We might even regard it not as a copy, properly so called, but merely as an imitation in general of the features of the masterpiece exhibited by Polyclethus, and by the ancients held to be unsurpassable, in the same way that we recognize in the numerous heads of Jupiter imitations of the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias. But when we compare the Ludovisi colossal head with the Amazon above mentioned, we learn from the treatment of the hair, which is very much softer and slighter, and also from the diminished sharpness with which the forms are rendered, that it was not executed until after the time of Polyclethus. If we may venture to fix the time in which it probably originated, we may assign it to the age in which the lofty style still existed, yet as a later creation of that style, and as a forerunner of the softness and pleasing grace that were about to make their appearance.

Finally, we mark with the celebrated work of Agasias, or the Borghese Gladiator so called, the termination of the grand and severe style, and the gradual introduction of the pleasing, beautiful, and soft style. The technical treatment of this statue may be termed expressive, masculine, and decided; exact truth is in an especial degree a predominating characteristic; even the hair is no longer so wire-like as we see it in all the monuments mentioned above, with the exception of the Ludovisi Juno; it however still retains sufficient traces to recall the severe manner which existed in the age when the lofty style flourished. In regard to freedom and ease of movement, this masterpiece well deserves its superiority over all other monuments of ancient art now extant. We cannot imagine a more lifelike figure. — GERM. ED.

4. We venture to point also to the beautiful and pleasing style in a few of the most authentic monuments, that is, in those works of art in which grandeur of forms is united with tenderness and softness in execution, so that though the beauty and sweetness predominate, they do not detract from the expression of character, in short, in monuments of art of the age of Praxiteles and Lysippus, the originators and greatest masters of the beautiful style.

The two wonderful heads — one of which bears the name of the Capitoline Ariadne (Vol. I., Frontispiece), and the other of the Dying Alexander — justly deserves the first place here.

The so-called Dying Alexander is a head larger than life, and probably the fragment of a statue whose peculiar significance it is difficult to ascertain. Like the Laocoön it expresses pain and distress in the highest degree, but in a still grander, nobler sense than in the statue. The forms are inconceivably soft, flowing, noble; the technical treatment is altogether perfect.

We must admit that the statue of which this head was a part anciently stood against a wall or in a niche, since it was the intention of the artist that the left side of the face principally should be presented to view. Consequently the eye, ear, etc., of the right side are negligently handled, or rather less finished. Fortunately the left side of the face, as the principal side, is also in a tolerably good state of preservation. The injured places are the eyebrow over the left eye, and the lower eyelid, the upper eyelid of

the right eye, and the lips also slightly ; the nose is almost entirely new work, as is also a considerable piece of the hair on the top of the head towards the right side of the back of the head ; also some of the locks of hair on both sides of the face, and the lower part of the neck together with the breast. These modern restorations cannot be called bad in themselves, but they do not fittingly correspond to the admirable character of the antique portions, and it seems as if the artist who made the restorations had not generally apprehended the meaning of the monument. On this account there is a discordance of action between the original antique parts and the modern restorations which disturbs the unity of expression, so that it is necessary to mentally separate and calmly study the marble parts by themselves. It is almost impossible to form an idea of the great merits of this work of art from the casts usually taken.

The infant Hercules strangling the serpent in the Florentine gallery, and the large Bacchus child in the Capitoline museum, are connected in style and therefore also in time with the Dying Alexander, and the Ariadne so called. (Upon the young Hercules, compare Book V. ch. 1, § 19, note (Plate IV. Vol. I.) ; upon the Capitoline child, Book VIII. ch. 2, § 28, note.)

In the torso of a seated Bacchus figure, formerly among the Farnese antiquities, we have another example in which grandeur is admirably united with beauty and softness. Compared with this, the Bacchus in the Ludovisi villa seems indeed less vigorous, but it possesses more fascination on account of the exquisite beauty of the limbs, and the wonderfully soft flow of the outlines. The admirable torso in the Pio-Clement museum is a softer presentation of the same god in boyhood.

In the bas-reliefs with which the Watch-tower or Lantern of Demosthenes, so called, the Choric Feast of Lysicrates at Athens, is ornamented, we still possess works well preserved and absolutely authentic of the age in which the beautiful style of Greek art flourished ; for Lysicrates, in the second year of the one hundred and third Olympiad, consequently three hundred and thirty-five years before Christ, under the archon Euænetus, won the prize by means of his Choral Dance ; and, according to Pliny, Praxiteles lived about the one hundred and fourth Olympiad. That building therefore was erected either whilst this great artist was still alive, or shortly after his death. We can form an opinion as to these bas-reliefs only from engravings (Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, ch. 4) ; but even with so imperfect copies before us we do not fail to see that the style of the work is admirably beautiful and at the same time noble. In regard to invention, the work also satisfies its purpose, that of adorning a frieze, which it does with so much spirit, versatility, taste, and skill, that it may stand as a model, and be regarded as entirely worthy of the age from which it proceeds.

If we wish to get the fullest idea of the beautiful style, or the highest degree of refinement which art attained among the Greeks, we must also not neglect the copies still extant of celebrated works by esteemed masters. The almost countless figures of Venus in the attitude of Venus de' Medici are probable imitations of the world-renowned Venus of Cnidus, by Praxiteles ; so also there are numerous copies of the celebrated satyr, *περιβόητος*, by the same master, of which full mention has already been made. (Book V. ch. 1, §§ 5, 6, 8.)

Copies of the Apollo Sauroctonos, another masterpiece by the same artist, are also found in numbers almost as great. Some of them are very beautiful, especially that of the Borghese villa.

We may also state positively that copies of the celebrated Thespian Cupid by this artist are still extant. But which of the several ancient statues representing Cupid are really copies of that work which was esteemed equal to the Venus of Cnidus, or which were perchance modelled after the other Cupid, also a celebrated production of Praxiteles, that stood at Parion, on the sea of Marmora, we are unable to form any well-grounded conjecture, because we have no particular account of the attitude, treatment, and attributes of the originals.

In the so-called Genius in the Pio-Clement museum, and also in the beautiful statue of the Borghese villa, likewise named a Genius, we imagine that we see copies of the Thespian Cupid; and there is nothing improbable in the conjecture, inasmuch as the Genius in the Borghese villa seems to indicate an original of which the style and taste corresponded to the style and taste that prevailed at the time of Praxiteles.

But we can scarcely imagine the half-figure in the Pio-Clement museum, the legs and arms of which are lost, to be a copy of a work by Praxiteles, because the handling of the hair and flesh denotes the severe style, and consequently, if the monument is a copy, an older original.

Another conjecture by Visconti is more admissible, namely, that we still possess copies of the Thespian Cupid by Lysippus, also a very celebrated statue, in the oft-recurring figures of a winged boy who is trying his bow. The best of these copies is in the Capitoline museum.

The action of this figure is full of grace; the forms are very elegant, soft, and flowing; but the unsupported limbs lead us to conjecture an original of bronze rather than of marble. Moreover the figures of Praxiteles, of which our knowledge is derived solely from copies, are all represented in a state of repose, and this Cupid is in lively action; hence it is more probable that the original was a work of Lysippus than of Praxiteles. — GERM. ED.

5. Lucian, Tom. II. p. 393, not. 13. *Conf.* Tom. III. p. 200, not. 245.

The author has given a wrong meaning to this passage, for the words *αἱ χεῖρες αἱ Πολυκλείτου* do not apply to beautiful hands executed by Polycletus, but to his artistic dexterity, as the next verse also clearly shows. — GERM. ED.

6. The friendly relations which existed between Parrhasius and Socrates is shown in the conversation of the two men, as recorded in Xenophon. (*Memorab.*, lib. 3, cap. 19.) — GERM. ED.

7. In the *Notes to the History of Ancient Art*, p. 47, this passage is expressed somewhat more clearly in the following manner: "Then arose the idea of that grace which characterizes the heads of Correggio, and which is better felt in his works than described; they have not the lofty grace." — GERM. ED.

8. Brunckii, *Analecta*, Tom. I. p. 27, not. 95, vers. 3, in this passage undoubtedly refers to the shape of the nose of Eros, which, like the noses of children, was blunt; for as Aristotle (*Probl.*, 33, 18) teaches:—

Τὰ παῖδιά πάντα σιμά,

All young children have flat noses.

GERM. ED.

9. *Sueton., in Galba, cap. 18. Venit io Simus e villa* (others with Muretus read *Onesimus*), "The flatnose came, alas, from the city," is not to be referred altogether to the nose of Galba, but rather to his niggardly, repulsive character. These words, borrowed from a *fabula Atellana*, "a comic farce," have reference probably to some avaricious comic ancient who on account of his nose was jestingly called Simus in the play, and who, when his return from the city was announced, caused as great a fright as Galba did on his first appearance at the theatre in Rome on his return from Spain. — GERM. ED.

10. See note 1.

11. This statue has gone into the Pio-Clement museum. It was held by Visconti to be a copy of the celebrated Palatine Apollo, by Scopas, of which Pliny makes mention. (Lib. 36, cap. 5, § 4, not. 7.) Its merit is not very great, although it awakens the idea of a good original from which it was copied. An engraving of it is in the Pio-Clement museum. (Tom. I. tav. 23.) — F.

12. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, § 36, not. 19.

Aristides was a contemporary of Apelles; he painted not a dead mother, but a mother dying of a wound, and her child crawling to her breast. The mother seemed to notice it, and to be in dread lest the child might lick the blood when the milk ceased to flow from her dead body. In the Greek *Anthology* (*Analecta.*, Tom. II. p. 275, not. 1), an epigram by Æmilianus Micæus is found which seems to have been suggested by this painting of Aristides. — GERM. ED.

13. This child is a boy embracing the neck of a swan with both arms, and pressing it joyfully to his breast. (*Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. III. tav. 64.) The expression in the face as well as in the whole position is exceedingly lifelike, artless, pleasing; the grouping is admirable, simple, and elegant; the style of the forms noble; this workmanship very good. The tip of the nose, a small portion of one arm, half of the left thigh, the leg down to the heel, the toes of the left foot, and the whole head of the swan are new. A few smaller injuries have been repaired with stucco.

In the Capitoline museum is another seated boy of much nobler art and grander style of forms. He seems in the act of removing a comic mask from his face. The position and turn of the figure, the soft character of the flesh, the flow in the outlines, the largeness in the forms, everything in fact fills with astonishment the connoisseur spectator. Unfortunately the lower part of the face and also the left arm have been very much injured and repaired. Both legs below the knee together with the feet and right hand are new.

The young Hercules strangling the serpents, previously mentioned (Book VIII. ch. 2, § 5, not. 4), in the Florentine gallery, is justly esteemed as one of the most glorious shapes. As an illustration of what is merely natural, soft, lovely, and tender, a small Genius with wings, lying asleep on his robe spread beneath him, in the same gallery, is especially deserving of praise. In his hand he holds a poppy-head; near him lies a butterfly, which also is seemingly asleep. This figure, from the elegance of its forms and the childish grace, the innocence and repose of its sweet sleep, has a truly fascinating, a resistless charm. One of the wings, the tip of the nose, both little hands, a portion of the robe on which he lies, as also the

legs from the knees downward, and the head of the butterfly, seem to be new. These restorations however are of the best kind, and undoubtedly executed by an excellent master of modern time. There is a tradition that this Genius is one of the antiques which the munificent Giuliano da San Gallo begged from the king of Naples as a present for Lorenzo de' Medici. (Comp. Vasari, *Vita di Giuliano ed Antonio da San Gallo*, Tom. III. p. 144). In the Borghese gallery at Rome there are also two very beautiful antique children; both are standing figures. One of them holds exultingly a bird in his hands; the other has fetters on, and the expression is of grief and distress. The handling of the marble is exceedingly soft and tender, and in this particular neither has any marked superiority, but the one with the bird is as a whole more pleasing and artless. — GERM. ED.

14. This small Satyr or Faun was taken into the Pio-Clement museum. (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. IV. tav. 31.) When it was restored, a cup was put into his hands, which he holds as if about to carry it to his mouth and drink. In this museum there is another sitting child, also in white marble, who lifts up his right hand as if triumphantly, and with his left supports himself, for the purpose of getting up, on a goose, which he presses to the ground. This monument was found not long since near Genzano. — F.

15. Both figures are more than half the size of life, and Icarus has very beautiful flowing forms. According to Zoëga (*Bassi Rilievi*, Tom. I. p. 203) the antique portion of this monument consists of two fragments, the larger of which contains the figure of Icarus from the crown of the head to the middle of the thighs; besides the legs however there are also wanting the whole of the right arm, and the left hand. The other fragment consists merely of the right foot of Dædalus, and a portion of the foot of the work-bench at which he sits and works. (*Ancient Monuments*, No. 95.) — GERM. ED.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. CAN it indeed be altogether true that the gods and heroes had been already figured in every possible position, that the forms were already exhausted, and it had become impossible to invent any new ones? If we reflect upon the nature of the art of design, we shall not hesitate to admit that any single subject can be represented in many, always new, ways. How many times has the Holy Family not been painted by the most celebrated artists, indeed by Raphael alone, without exhausting the subject?

A co-operative cause of the downfall of art was, according to Vitruvius (lib. 7, cap. 5, § 3), a certain longing after novelty, which, departing from truth and nature, the sole guides of the ancient artists, misled to extravagance and singularity. According to Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 1), painting suffered greatly from the false taste, of a later growth, for marble slabs and works in gold, with which instead of pictures the walls of rooms were covered. Petronius (*Satyric.*, cap. 88, p. 423) assigns several other grounds for the decline of painting. — A.

2. Fea remarks very justly that the author has misinterpreted Quintilian (lib. 2, cap. 3), whose words are : "A distinguished orator would be able to teach in the best manner not only the most important principles of oratory, but also those of less weight." He makes his meaning still more clear by a comparison, for he asserts that "Phidias fashioned Jupiter in the best manner, and it would be absurd to believe that another artist could have executed the ornaments on that glorious monument better than Phidias." This excellence of Phidias in details is confirmed by Pausanias (lib. 5, cap. 11), and Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 5, § 4, not. 4). Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, § 19, not. 6) makes a similar remark of Lysippus, who was also distinguished for his intelligent workmanship of accessories. — GERM. ED.

3. This remark is undoubtedly correct ; it applies however only to art among the Greeks after the time of Alexander, and that excess in softness and roundness was probably a characteristic of art principally among the Asiatic Greeks of that age. The works which on the highest probability were executed during the time of the Ptolemies show no superfluous softness ; but they frequently exhibit a deficiency of breadth, for example, in the folds of the drapery. In the monuments of the Roman emperors, when art had sunk still deeper, sharp angles and straight lines are again found ; and this very deficiency in softness and roundness is one of the characteristics by which this period in art is recognized. — GERM. ED.

4. The inscription is ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΗΓΟΗΣΕ : — *Apollonius, the Athenian, son of Archius, made* ; not ΑΡΧΗΟΥ, as Baiardi has read it (*Catalog. de' Mon. d' Ercol.*, No. 219, p. 170) ; also not ΕΓΟΙΗΣΕ, as Martorelli reads it. (*De Regia Thec. Calam.*, lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 424.) The former holds ΕΠΟΗΣΕ, which is meant for ΕΓΟΙΗΣΕ, for a very ancient mode of writing the word ; but his opinion is true only so far as this, that it is a form taken from an ancient Æolic verb, ποέω. (Chishull, *Antiquit. Asiat. ad Inscr. Sig.*, p. 39.) But this verb however is found in certain poets (Aristoph., *Equit.*, vers. 464 ; Theocrit., *Idyll.*, X. vers. 38), and even, as stated above, in the inscription on the Venus de' Medici, and in an inscription of the chapel of Pontanus, at Naples, which belongs indisputably to a later age. (De Sarno, *Vita Pontani*, p. 97.) I have moreover found this word in the following inscription among the manuscripts of Fulvius Ursinus, in the Vatican library : **COΛΩΝ ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ ΤΥΧΗΤΙ ΕΠΟΗΣΕ ΜΝΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ** : — *Solon, the son of Didymus, made something for Fortune, as a memorial.* It is also found in another inscription in the Altieri villa, and in the work of Count Caylus (*Rec. d' Antiq. Grecq.*, Tom. II. pl. 75). It is not therefore very uncommon, as Gori thinks (*Mus. Flor. Stat.*, tav. 26, p. 35), still less is it so great an error as Marietta (*Traité des Pierres Gravées*, Tom. I. p. 102) supposes, when he infers from it that the inscription on the Venus de' Medici is spurious. — W.

5. Such paintings are called at the present day Grotesques or Arabesques, and probably those described and censured here by Vitruvius were similar to those which were discovered in the time of Leo X. in the Baths of Titus, at Rome, and were imitated by Raphael in the Loggie of the Vatican. These paintings on the walls of said Baths, having been discovered anew in 1770, were published in a large folio by Ludovico Mirri, and explained by Carlettii. (*Le Antich. Camer. delle Terme di Tito.*) — A.

6. Tom. I. p. 288. En la représentant comme les femmes se mettent aujourd'hui. — F.

7. See Book XI. ch. 3, § 33.

There began in the time of Pliny, earlier indeed, a practice which was not only much ridiculed, but also was very injurious in its effect on art. It consisted not only in consecrating statues to other gods than those for whom they were originally intended, by a change in the inscriptions, μεταγράφειν (μετέπιγράφειν), but also in removing from ancient statues and figures the original heads, and replacing them by new heads of the gods, heroes, etc., to whom it was desired to pay homage, μεταρρυθμίζειν. (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 2, § 2.) — GERM. ED.

8. These colossal fragments may be found in the court of the palace of the Conservatori. Two feet, of which the handling is extraordinarily soft and flowing, are of the utmost beauty; the heels of both are wanting. The hand of similar colossal proportions, which is arranged above the feet, lacks the thumb. All the parts are more strongly expressed here than in the feet, probably on account of the greater distance at which the hand of the colossus, when upright, would be viewed by a spectator standing near to it. The veins are denoted both on the feet and hand; hence we may entertain some doubt whether these pieces really belonged to an Apollo, as mentioned in the modern inscription attached to them.

In the same place are found other enormously large fragments of marble, namely, an elbow, on which likewise the veins are expressed, a knee, pieces of a foot and leg. To these probably belonged also an enormous head, which passes for a likeness of Domitian. The whole of the back part of it is wanting; the face together with the ears is well preserved, and the execution is good and flowing. But it is lacking in ideal grandeur of style and forms; the eyes are disproportionately large, and notwithstanding the corners are small and pointed; the mouth is small; the lips thin. We might almost assert that the master of this monument did not possess the ability and skill requisite to such a colossus, and that the individual copied was also not a suitable model for such a work. — GERM. ED.

9. These sarcophagi vary greatly in the degree of skill with which they are executed, and certainly proceed from different ages. The first bears the name of the Trojan marble. It is very large; on the cover are two recumbent figures of the size of life, wrought in very high relief. A similarity is imagined to exist between their features and those of the images of Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mammæa, and hence this monument is held to be their funeral urn. But in Book XII. ch. 2, § 22, the author satisfactorily refutes this supposition. The workmanship is not above mediocrity, and is undoubtedly of a time when art had already greatly degenerated. The bas-reliefs also on the four sides are nothing more than copies of older and better works of art. A copy of this monument may be found in the *Capitoline Museum* (Tom. IV. tav. 1-4), and in Piranesi (*Le Antichità Romane*, Tom. II. tav. 33-35), in which may also be seen an engraving of the celebrated Barberini vase, so called, now in the British museum, which was found in this large sepulchral urn.

The workmanship of the second (*Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. VI. tav. 26; *Monuments Antiques du Musée Napol.*, Tom. IV. pl. 22-23), although better than that of the first, can by no means be termed excellent. But the

figures of the Muses collectively are extraordinarily valuable on account of their noble attitudes and well-arranged drapery. They were probably copied from statues formerly very celebrated, because we can perceive from the arrangement of the folds in their robes that some of the figures were intended by the artist who conceived them to receive the light from one side, and others from the opposite side, in order to form unbroken and effective masses of light and shadow, whereas the workman of the sarcophagus omitted to group the figures with that regard to the principles of illumination and masses which was required to produce the necessary effect. The corners of the cover are ornamented with masks; between them is a long slender bas-relief which represents Fauns and Nymphs, in groups admirably conceived and arranged, lying down and drinking. Hence it is probable that this monument is merely an imitation of older and more admirable works.

The third is in regard to the skill shown in the execution about equal to the one just described. But in the design of the whole there is more connection, a higher, nobler spirit; the forms, hair, arrangement and cast of the drapery seem to point to an original of the time when the grand style prevailed. The cover is embellished at the corners in a similar manner with masks, between which is a long slender bas-relief representing figures of vanquished Amazons with their weapons, arranged with an unsurpassable excellence. (*Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. IV. tav. 23.)

The skill shown in the execution of the fourth, in the Albani villa, is not deserving of especial praise, yet there is much that is pleasing in all the figures; and as a whole it has a rich and decorated look. In the representation on it we also see with the author the *Nuptials* of Thetis and Peleus, although Zoëga (*Bassi Rilievi*, Tom. II. tav. 52, 53) will not concede to the figures any heroic signification, seeing in it only an ordinary marriage. Zoëga was the first to notice that this monument was wrought, not from Parian marble, but from the alabaster of Volterra.

The sarcophagus in the Borghese villa, showing the *Death of Meleager* in high-relief (*Sculture del Palazzo della Villa Pinciana*, Stanza 3, No. 12), has especial value from the fact that the figures are admirably conceived and, on the whole, very beautifully arranged; and as this subject, represented in a similar manner, is found on several antique sarcophagi, it may well be that all of them are copied from one celebrated ancient work. This Borghese monument may have but little superiority in point of execution over the Trojan marble mentioned above; on the other hand, there is scarcely a better executed monument of this kind than the other Borghese one having on it the fable of Actæon. (Stanza 7, No. 16-17.) Drapery and figures are absolutely in the best style, and in every part the hand and mind of a skilful master are visible. — GERM. ED.

10. An exception to this remark may be found in the temple at Nismes, in France, known by the name of the *Maison Carrée*, "the square house," which Barthélemy (*Mém. sur les Anciens Monuments de Rome*, *Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. XXVIII. *Mém.*, p. 580) thinks will bear comparison with the most beautiful remains of Rome or Athens. All connoisseurs and learned men agree with him generally in this opinion. (Clérisséau, *Antiquités de France*, Première Partie, *Antiq. de Nismes*, Princ.) This temple was dedicated to Lucius and Caius, the adopted sons of Augustus, as shown by the following inscription on the front of the temple: —

C. CAESARI. AVGUSTI. F. COS. L. CAESARI.  
AVGVSTI. F. COS. DESIGNATO.  
PRINCIPIBVS. IVVENTVTIS.

"To Caius Caesar, Son of Augustus, Consul Elect; to Lucius Caesar, Son of Augustus, Consul Elect; Imperial Princes." — F.

11. Both are portrait figures; only the former has its original head; the head of the latter is bad and modern. Both figures were restored in 1780 by the skilful sculptor, Carlo Albicini, that they might be received into the royal museum at Naples. — F.

12. This figure more probably represents Sallustia Balbia Orbiana, the wife of Alexander Severus, of whom mention has already been made. — F.  
(Compare Book VIII. ch. 4, § 3, note.)

13. If the head here mentioned is the portrait of an imperial prince, and therefore a copy from nature, we must acknowledge that the artist by whom it was executed was something more than a mere imitator. The same may be said of the beautiful head of a Roman matron, of the busts of Macrinus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, previously mentioned by the author, in which he found traits of especial beauty and finish. — A.

14. Thomassin, *Recueil des Stat. Group., etc., de Versailles*, Tom. I. pl. 9. The *Musée François*, by Robillard Peronville, contains (*Livrais.* 52) a still better representation of this statue. Visconti states in the accompanying explanation that it was found at Ben Gazi, a village on the coast of Barbary, that it is about six feet in height, made of Pentelic marble, and one of the best preserved monuments of antiquity, for there is no visible injury about it except the loss of a small bit of the drapery. According to his belief it is a portrait of Julia, the wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus. — GERM. ED.

15. Giulio Romano and the other admirable pupils of Raphael certainly cannot be censured for bad taste. Sebastian del Piombo, Pellegrino Tibaldi, and Daniel di Volterra were, it is true, imitators of the style of Michael Angelo, and severe judges may perhaps say that their works showed mannerism, but notwithstanding they are great artists. It is the same in sculpture. The younger Sansovino (let the reader think of his youthful Bacchus in the Florentine gallery) and several other meritorious artists were, it is true, inferior to Michael Angelo, but it would not be just to accuse them peremptorily of a want of taste. — GERM. ED.

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CHAPTER IV.

1. SALLUSTIA and Helpidus, freed slaves, dedicated this statue Veneri Felici "To happy Venus," that is to say, to their mistress, Sallustia Balbia Orbiana, wife of the Emperor Alexander Severus, as shown by the inscription :—

VENERI FELICI.

SACRVM.

SALLVSTIA.

HELPIDVS. DD.

(*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. tav. 52.) — F.

2. DINDIA. MACOLNIA. FILEA. (filia) DEDIT. NOVIOS. PLAVTIOS. MED. (me) ROMAI. (ROMAI. (Romæ) FECID. (fecit) :—"Dindia Macolnia, the daughter, gave; Novius Plautius made me at Rome." This inscription shows the most ancient form of Roman letters; it seems to be even older, more Etruscan at least, than that of the letters in the inscription of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus in the Barberini library, — which is however the most ancient Roman inscription in stone, — of which I have spoken in the *Notes upon the Architecture of the Ancients*. — W.

3. Lib. 34, cap. 7, § 18.

It may be inferred also from the small number of Roman artists that the Romans did not have any style that was peculiar to them. Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 4, § 7), the greatest zealot for Rome, mentions very few Roman artists, and these are mostly of the time of the Cæsars. The native rudeness and sternness of character of the Romans, in connection with their constant occupation in war, closed their senses against any feeling for the fine arts, and made it impossible for them to originate any peculiarity, or acquire any distinction in this direction. The arts were at almost all times held in contempt among the Romans (Cic., *Tusc.*, lib. 1, cap. 2. *In Verr.*, Act. 2, lib. 4, cap. 59. Valer. Max., lib. 8, cap. 14.)

Exudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo, equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,  
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!  
Hæ tibi erunt artes.

Virg., *Æn.*, lib. 6, vers. 848.

"Others, perchance, may brass more softly mould,  
Or skilful draw from marble forms that live,  
Plead causes better, or with rod define  
The heavenly movements and the rising stars;  
Not these thy arts, O Roman! thine shall be  
With power imperial still to rule mankind."

4. Pliny, Livy, Seneca, and Plutarch speak of the statue of Clœlia as though it was actually in existence during their lifetime. Dionysius (*Antiq. Rom.*, lib. 5, cap. 35), who lived so many years in Rome during the time of Augustus, assures us that it was no longer to be found, and that according to the tradition it had been destroyed by a fire which happened in its vicinity.

For the purpose of removing the contradiction, we might assume that the statue had been remade after the time of Dionysius, if it were not that Pliny and Plutarch speak of it as an ancient work. Perhaps when the fire occurred the statue was removed to a less noted place, and was not again set up in public until after the death of Dionysius. (*Consolat ad Marciam.*, cap. 16. Plutarch, *in Poplic.*, cap. 19.) — F.

5. Varro, *De Re Rustica*, lib. 2, cap. ult. Plin., lib. 7, cap. 59, § 9.

The custom of shaving the beard was general until the time of the Emperor Adrian, who concealed by means of his beard the mother-marks on his face. — GERM. ED.

6. Liv., lib. 43, cap. 8, not. 7.

The number of statues in Rome became gradually so great that, in the

words of Cassiodorus (*Variar*, lib. 7, *form.* 15), there were in Rome two populations equally numerous, namely, one of statues and one of men.—F.

## BOOK IX.

### CHAPTER I.

1. PAUSAN., lib. 2, cap. 4; lib. 9, cap. 40. In the latter passage Pausanias cites among other works of Dædalus still in existence in his time also a work in stone, of which mention had already been made by Homer (*Iliad.*, lib. 18, vers. 590), which represented the chain-dance of Ariadne. But as according to concurrent tradition all the other works of Dædalus were of wood, it may be conjectured that the work made of stone was by a later hand, and, as the true author of it was not known, it was, after the usual manner of the Greeks, attributed to Dædalus as one of the oldest heroes in art. — GERM. ED.

2. Probably the case is the same with Dædalus as with Homer. As the latter has been the representative of the oldest epic poets, and as all the fragments of the earliest epic songs have been attributed to him; so also a multitude of inventions and works have been piled upon Dædalus, all of which indeed belong to the mythic age, but probably to seven centuries later than his time. This is evident also from the fact that Dipænus and Scyllis—who, according to Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 4, sect. 4), lived prior to the reign of Cyrus, about the fiftieth Olympiad, five hundred and eighty years before Christ—still passed for scholars of Dædalus (Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 15). — GERM. ED.

3. Fragm. 105, pp. 358, 359. Bentley's notes upon this passage show how many conjectures in regard to this name have been made by others as well as by himself. — W.

4. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 26. In the Parthenon at Athens was the statue of a seated Minerva, the votive gift of a certain Kallias, and a work of Endæus. At Erythræ, in Ionia (Pausan., lib. 7, cap. 5), a colossal statue of a seated Minerva Polias of wood passed for the work of this artist. She held in both hands a distaff, and on her head she carried a globe, or, as others explain the word *πόλον*, a sundial. Heyne (*Opusc. Acad.*, Vol. V. p. 343) proposes to read *πίλον*, “a hat or cap,” instead of *πόλον*. The statue of a Minerva Alea of ivory (Pausan., lib. 8, cap. 46) must likewise pass for a work of Endæus, since, according to Heyne (*loc. cit.*), *Ἐνδοίου* is the correct reading. Athenagoras (*Legat. pro Christ.*, cap. 14, p. 292) mentions also a Diana at Ephesus by the same artist. — F. and GERM. ED.

5. In the first edition we read, “And until the eighteenth Olympiad mention is found of none of them.” In order not to interrupt the connection, these words have been taken from the text into the *Notes*.

The Homeric songs and single hymns of the Homeric poets furnish much material to fill up the gap noticed. It is remarkable however that nowhere in the Homeric songs is mention made of a statue or figure of marble or

other kind of stone, at a time indeed when the arts of building, casting, and hammering images out of metal had already arrived at a considerable degree of refinement. — GERM. ED.

6. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 8, sect. 34 ; lib. 7, sect. 39.

The correctness of this statement has been much doubted. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, Tom. V. p. 253.) It is remarkable that Pliny, without citing any picture from the earlier ages, should suddenly begin with the battle-piece of Bularchus. Yet we may infer, in part from this circumstance, that even the Greek writers from whom Pliny derived his information contained no more definite accounts in regard to the beginning of the plastic arts than they did of the arts of rhetoric. It is also difficult to determine the date of the battle represented by Bularchus, as history mentions several wars of the Magnetes with the Lydians. — GERM. ED.

Several instances of the high prices which works of art brought among the ancients can be cited from Pliny. The whole wealth of cities scarcely sufficed to purchase a picture by Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 7, sect. 32). M. Agrippa paid for two paintings, the Ajax and the Venus, ten hundred thousand sesterces (\$44,250) (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 4, sect. 9). Attalus purchased a picture by Aristides for six hundred thousand sesterces (\$26,550) (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 4, sect. 8), and another by the same artist for one hundred talents (\$120,442) (Plin., cap. 10, sec. 36, not. 19). Nicias refused to sell to Attalus his picture of the *Necromancy of Homer* for sixty talents (\$71,077), preferring to make a gift of it to Athens, his native city (Plin., cap. 11, sect. 40, not. 28). Winckelmann cites similar instances in the third chapter of this book. The same value was also attached to statues and works of sculpture. Lucullus ordered from Arcesilaus a statue of Felicity for sixty million sesterces (\$265,500) (Plin., cap. 12, sect. 45). The Diadumenus, "He that ties a band around his head," of Polyclethus was estimated at one hundred talents (\$120,442) (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 2) ; and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, was willing to pay all the heavy debts of the inhabitants of Cnidus, if they would surrender to him their statue of Venus by Praxiteles (Plin., lib. 7, cap. 38, sect. 39 ; lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, 5). — A.

7. Pausan., lib. 4, cap. 30. A few years ago there was found at Salone, not far from Rome, directly on the road to Palestrina, a beautiful pedestal with the inscription ΒΟΥΠΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, *Boupalus made*, and near it the figure of a Venus, very beautifully executed, sitting on her heels, which has been taken into the Pio-Clement museum. Visconti (Tom. I. par. 10, p. 17) remarks of this Venus that, even if the pedestal really belonged to the figures, it would not on that account be possible to admit that a work so elegant and pleasing came from the hand of Boupalus, but the name must either denote a later Boupalus, or have been falsely placed upon the base in ancient times. — A.

8. According to Pausanias (lib. 3, cap. 17) there was at Sparta an image of Jupiter in bronze, the oldest work in this metal, executed by Learchus ; each portion of the statue was cast separately, and then fastened firmly by nails to the others. — GERM. ED.

9. Pausan., lib. 7, cap. 23.

This statue was wrapped from head to foot in a thin drapery. — GERM. ED.

## 10. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 14.

Milo had been victor six times at Olympia; one of these victories he obtained in the sixty-second Olympiad (Euseb. *Chronic.*, p. 41). The passages of the ancients in regard to Milo have been industriously collected by Father Faber (*Agonist.*, I. 27, in Gronov. *Thes.*, Tom. VIII. p. 1903). — GERM. ED.

## 11. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 4 (Book IX. chap. 2, § 31).

Pythagoras of Reggio must have been celebrated especially after the seventy-third Olympiad, as he executed the statue of Astylus, who conquered in the stadium in the seventy-third, seventy-fourth, and seventy-fifth Olympiads (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 13; Euseb., *Chronic.*, p. 41), and that of Euthymus, who won the prize in boxing (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 6) in the seventy-sixth and seventy-seventh Olympiads (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 4). — GERM. ED.

## 12. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 14.

Among the older artists whose age can be determined with great probability we may enumerate also Kritias, to whom Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 8) attributes the images of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and according to Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 4, sect. 9) they seem to have been erected immediately after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. — GERM. ED.

In Lucian (*Philopseudes*, not. 18) the *Τυραννοκτόνοι*, the *Tyrannicides* of Kritias τοῦ νησιώτου, the *islander*, are mentioned, but he must not be confounded with the Attic Kritias of Pausanias (lib. 6, cap. 3), who was probably a citizen of Ægina. (Mülleri *Ægneticor.*, p. 102.) — S.

13. Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 32. Kallon of Ægina belongs to a later period, as he was a contemporary of Kanachus of Sicyon, and is cited by Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19) among the artists of the eighty-seventh Olympiad. This is probably the Kallon to whose works Quintilian's (lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 7) remark, *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima*, "harder and resembling the Etruscan," was probably intended to apply. — GERM. ED.

## 14. Pausan., lib. 5, cap. 25.

By their teacher is to be understood the *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, *he who taught music and dancing*. — GERM. ED.

15. In the first edition the following passage occurs: "In this period Iphion of Ægina might be placed, who made a statue of Angelia, the daughter of Mercury (*Schol. Pindar. Olymp.*, VIII. vers. 106)." Winckelmann has *himself* corrected the error in the *Notes* in the following manner: "I have been led into an error in regard to a supposed Iphion of Ægina by an inaccuracy in the text of the more ancient scholias of Pindar. It is asserted there that Iphion made an image of Angelia, the daughter of Mercury, but this statement must be understood not of the Iphion whose ancestor Pindar celebrates in song, but of the poet himself, who introduces Ἀγγελία, Angelia, *a message*, personally as a daughter of Mercury, the messenger of the gods, and represents her to be a daughter of the god. The more modern scholias of Pindar explain this point more correctly, and in accordance with them the former reading must be emended; the mistake lies in the word οὗτος." — GERM. ED.

## 16. Pausan., lib. 8, cap. 42.

Onatas is not mentioned by Pliny; he was the son of Micon of Ægina, and lived at the time of Hegias and Ageladas. In the temple of Minerva

Area at Platea there was a painting on a wall by him (Pausan., lib. 9, cap. 4) of the first campaign of the Argolians against Thebes; the companion-picture was Ulysses taking vengeance on the suitors, by Polygnotus; and Phidias executed the colossal image of the goddess in wood and marble. The work cited in the text is described by Pausanias (lib. 5, cap. 25). According to his account there were originally nine statues of the Greek princes who were casting lots for the fight with Hector; they stood together on a platform; yet when Pausanias saw the work there were only eight of them remaining, because, as it was said, Nero had removed to Rome the statue which represented Ulysses. Opposite to the eight champions, on a separate pedestal, stood Nestor, casting the lots into a helmet. Moreover there was at Olympia a Hercules also, armed with club and bow, by Onatas, dedicated by the Thasians, and a chariot with the statue of Hiero of Syracuse, the horses of which with the boys seated on them were executed by Kalamis. Dinomenes, the son of Hiero, erected this votive gift (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 12). A young Apollo by Onatas was especially beautiful (Brunck., *Anal.*, Vol. II. cap. 14, not. 30), and probably is the same of which Pausanias also speaks with praise (lib. 8, cap. 42). All the works of this artist were of bronze. — GERM. ED.

17. Bentley's *Dissert. upon the Ep. of Phalaris*, p. 72.

It seems as if Winckelmann intended to put into the text the inscription which Pausanias communicates (lib. 5, cap. 27). The meaning of it was, "Phormis, of Mænalum in Arcadia, now a Syracusan, gave this monument." — GERM. ED.

18. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 9.

Not King Hiero, but Gelo. Pausanias believes that the quadriga, together with the portrait-statue of Gelo, executed by Glaucias, was dedicated, not by the ruler of Syracuse, but by a private individual of the same name, because the inscription on the votive gift speaks of Gelo, not as a Syracusan, *Συρακούσιος*, but as *Γελῶος*, of Gela. But Gelo was a native of Gela, and he probably wished, as ruler of Syracuse, to honor his native city by that epithet. Near this quadriga was the statue of Philo of Coreyra, whom Simonides has celebrated also in song (Brunck., *Anal.*, Vol. I. p. 140, not. 72), a work of Glaucias; so also a portrait-statue of Glaucias in a fighting posture (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 10), and of Theogenes (*loc. cit.*, cap. 6 and 11), the celebrated Olympic victor between the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth Olympiads. — GERM. ED.

19. *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.*, vers. 504. (Let the reader compare Book IX. chap. 1, § 30.)

Eladas is probably the Ageladas who has been previously mentioned, so that in the scholia we must read *Ἀγελάδου* instead of *Ἐλάδου*. — GERM. ED.

Suidas calls him Geladas. — S.

20. Thucyd., lib. 1, cap. 13.

Corinth was situated on two seas, and gathered to herself the riches of eastern and western commerce. The position of the city is more accurately described by Strabo (lib. 8, cap. 22). — GERM. ED.

21. Homer (*Iliad*, lib. 2, vers. 570) terms Corinth the rich *ἀφνειόν*, and Pindar (Olymp. XIII. vers. 4) the city happy in its wealth, *ὀλβίαν*. Strabo (lib. 8, cap. 23) also says that Corinth has always been rich, and that the

arts of every kind, nurtured by its wealth, found there many admirable masters. — GERM. ED.

22. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 3, sect. 5.

The first edition is clearer: "Kleanthes is said to have been the first one there (at Corinth) who indicated some other parts of a figure besides the mere outlines. But Strabo," etc. — GERM. ED.

23. *Æginetæ fictoris*, Plin., lib. 35, cap. 11, sect. 40, not. 41.

Hardouin and Fea wish to make a proper name of the word *Æginetæ* in this passage. But it more probably refers to the birthplace of the artist, whose real name has either been overlooked by Pliny, or omitted from the text through the fault of the copyist. — GERM. ED.

24. Herodot., lib. 3, cap. 39. Strab., lib. 14, cap. 16.

The rule of Polycrates over Samos was favorable to the arts and sciences, for he gathered around himself the most cultivated men of the age, invited foreign artists and learned men to the country, embellished the city with splendid buildings, and even founded a collection of books (Athen., lib. 1, cap. 2, not. 4). The same may be said of the rule of the Pisistratidæ. — GERM. ED.

25. De Bimard la Bastie, *Not. ad Marm. βούστροφος*.

The genuineness of this inscription is doubted; a copy of it is given in *Fisch. Animadv. ad Welleri Gramm.* The inscription must be read as follows: *Μανθεος Αἰθου εὐχαρίστει Διὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ (νίκη) πεντάθλου παιδός*, — *Mantheos, the son of Ethus, gives thanks to Jupiter for his victory in the Pentathlon for boys*. — S.

If the word *παιδός* has the same signification here as it has in Pausanias, it is evident that this inscription is not genuine, for he says, *Πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἡλείοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας*, — *For the Pentathlon of boys was instituted in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and Eutelidas the Lacedæmonian won the olive-wreath in it; but after this the Eleans were unwilling that boys should contend in the Pentathlon*. — TR.

26. Visconti (*Iconog. Grecque*, Tom. II. p. 16) renders it probable that the coins with the head of Theron, ruler of Agrigentum, about the seventy-seventh Olympiad, those which show the head of Gelo, — who died in the third year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, — and those with the likeness of his brother and successor, Hiero I., were stamped for the first time during the long reign of Hiero (Olympiads 128 to 141). He is also disposed to believe that the coins of Queen Philistis were likewise executed under Hiero II., and this princess, whose name has reached us merely through coins and an inscription found at the theatre in Syracuse, was probably the daughter of Gelo. — GERM. ED.

27. Herod., lib. 6, cap. 21. Phrynichus, notwithstanding the emotion which his drama occasioned in the audience, was punished by a fine of a thousand drachms, and the performance of the piece in future was forbidden, because the poet, as it was said by the Athenians, who were sorrowing deeply over the fall of Miletus, thereby seemed to renew the remembrance of their own misfortune. *The Capture of Miletus* by Phrynichus, and *The Persians* by Æschylus, are the only two pieces known to us the subjects of which are taken from recent and purely historical events. — GERM. ED.

28. Pausan., lib. 3, cap. 17.

It was not a Pallas, but a Jupiter. The work consisted of several pieces which were fastened together with nails, and the master of it was named Learchus, of whom mention has been made previously in Note 8 of this chapter. — GERM. ED.

29. Pausan., lib. 3, cap. 17.

Not merely the image of the goddess, but the temple itself, is said to have been of bronze; probably the walls of the temple, which was not large, were covered with plates of bronze, and on them Gitiadas had represented many of the achievements of Hercules and other fables. — GERM. ED.

Quatremère de Quincy (*Jupiter Olympien*, pp. 126, 181) puts him on mere conjecture in the twelfth or fourteenth Olympiad, but the reason — that the Messenian war ended in the fourteenth Olympiad — is not sufficient proof of it. — S.

30. Thucyd., lib. 1, cap. 18; Diodor. Sic., lib. 12, Princ.

The external political relations also of Greece became more solid after the glorious contest with Xerxes. The eastern world obeyed the Persian, whose arrogance had been deeply humiliated; there was nothing to fear from the Macedonian rulers in the north, whose lust of conquest had not yet been excited; Italy was in fragments, and the Roman lion slumbered. Not less favorable were the internal relations of Greece, which now for the first time assumed their proper order, since the supremacy of Greece was transferred, through the arrogance of Pausanias (Thucyd., lib. 1, cap. 95), from Sparta to Athens, and this city was enabled to begin an honorable strife for everything that was grand and beautiful. — GERM. ED.

31. Pausan., lib. 3, cap. 11.

This passage in Pausanias cannot be explained in any other way than that the statues of the Persians stood on the columns of the hall, and according to Vitruvius, who speaks of the same hall (lib. 1, cap. 1), the roof of the hall was supported by these statues. This idea becomes still clearer from what Vitruvius immediately adds: *Ex eo multi statuas Persicas sustinentes epistylia et ornamenta eorum collocaverunt*: — “From that time many arranged Persian statues sustaining architraves and their ornaments.” *Ἐπὶ τῶν κίονων*, upon the columns, is precisely the same as *ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονας*, above the columns (Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 17); and Amasæus translates it, *insistent columnis Persæ*, “Persians stand upon the columns.” — S.

32. Alexander of Macedon found at Susa the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and sent them back to the Athenians. (Arrian., *De Expedit. Alex.*, lib. 3, cap. 16, § 13; lib. 7, cap. 19, § 4.) — GERM. ED.

33. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 11.

See § 11. *Χίλιους*, a thousand, seemed to Amasæus as well as to me altogether too much, and he consequently omitted it in his Latin translation of Pausanias. — E.

34. It seems to me that Hunt is in error when, in his *Preface* to the first edition of Hyde's work on *The Religion of the Persians*, he wishes to derive the word “Barbiton” from the Persian language. For his proof is drawn from a statement relative to King Cosroes, and therefore belonging to a period when the Greeks had been long known to the Persians, who may consequently have appropriated the name of a Greek instrument. — W.

35. Although the grounds are not sufficient to authorize the conjecture

that the said Muse is a work of Ageladas, yet the grand style thereof is a sure guaranty that it belongs to an age which immediately preceded that of Phidias and Polyeletus.

Compare Book VIII. chap. 2, § 1, note 1. — GERM. ED.

36. Suid., *vid.* Γελαδας ; Tzetz., *Chil.* VII. *Hist.* 154, vers. 2 ; *Chil.* VIII. *Hist.* 192, vers. 376 ; *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.*, vers. 504. Eladas and Geladas are corruptions of Ageladas, as Meursius has already remarked. (Piræus, Tom. I. cap. 4, col. 554.) — GERM. ED.

Compare Book IX. chap. 1, § 11.

37. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. tav. 37, p. 73, not. 6) shows that Winckelmann has here fallen into a double error : in the first place, by supposing that the Dioseuri of Hegesias were made of marble, when they were of bronze ; and in the second place, by asserting that they were found on the Capitol hill, although Flaminio Vacca (*Mem.*, not. 52) relates that they were discovered in the quarter of the Jews, *ghetto degli Ebrei*. — F.

38. Although the colossal figures of Castor and Pollux, which stand at the head of the flight of steps leading to the Capitol, are by no means very excellent, yet they must be classed as decided examples of the antique severe and powerful style ; it is impossible however to deny to them an expression of grandeur generally in the forms and proportions. Both heroes and the horses have been broken into many pieces, and put together again without suitable care. The deficient parts have been restored negligently, and the entire head of the figure which stands on the left of the spectator is new. — GERM. ED.

39. *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. I. tav. 33.

It is the image of a young hero, perhaps of a young Hercules, — a supposition which is rendered probable by the short curly hair, powerful forehead, and other portions of the face. About the head is a twisted fillet, the ends of which fall down to the shoulders. The upper portion of the head, or the crown, is a modern restoration ; likewise the tip of the nose, and also the breast, on which the name is engraved. — GERM. ED.

40. Visconti (*Iconograph Grecque*, Tom. I. p. 227) says that the head of Herodotus is not, it is true, of superior workmanship, but that it is unique in regard to the name engraved on it. It is one half of a double Hermes which was sawed in two ; the other half represents Thucydides, likewise with his name. Both have been removed from the Farnesina to Naples. The author seems to suppose that both halves are portraits of Herodotus. — GERM. ED.

41. Fulv. Ursin., *Imag.*, no. 60.

The head of Euripides, with the ancient inscription of the name, is likewise in Naples, and we should be obliged to acknowledge that it possesses more artistic merit than any other similar head if Visconti (*loc. cit.*, Tom. I. p. 81) did not regard a head in the museum at Mantua as still better. It is indeed very beautiful, and has the superiority of being in perfect preservation with the exception of two locks of hair, whilst the nose of the other has been repaired. Engravings of both of them, as well as of Herodotus and Thucydides, may be found in Visconti. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER II.

1. WINCKELMANN during his whole life stood in lofty solitude, like a mountain. No answering sound, no emotion, no throb in the entire wide domain of knowledge, kindly encouraged his exertions. At the very moment when trusty companions were gathering around this excellent man, he was hurried away. And yet how much he accomplished. — SCHELLING.

2. Pausan., lib. 4, cap. 19.

Also when the news of the death of Sophocles was received, Lysander granted a truce to the Athenians. — GERM. ED.

3. Baudelot de Dairval, *Epoque de la Nudité des Athlètes dans les Jeux de la Grèce*, Acad. des Inscript., Tom. I. *Hist.*, p. 191.

Baudelot was led to this assumption by a passage in Thucydides (lib. 1, cap. 6), which, as he thinks, contradicts the passage in Dionysius Halicarnassus (*Antiq. Rom.*, lib. 7, cap. 72), to which the author refers in the previous line. Moreover he believed that his conjecture was confirmed by finding that the image of Victoria on the reverse of the first commemorative coins of Gelo and his brother Hiero, who were frequently crowned as conquerors in the gymnastic games of Greece, wore a tunic or shirt, and in the later ones, on which they were represented as kings, was without a shirt. We will merely remark that the words of Thucydides, *καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπνυται*, and ceased not many years before, where Meursius (*Miscell. Lacon.*, lib. 4, cap. 18; *Op.*, Tom. III. coll. 324) unnecessarily wishes to read *καὶ πολλὰ*, etc., leaving out the “not,” are so general in their statement as to the precise time, that nothing can be proved by them against Dionysius, especially as the Greeks like the Romans occasionally comprehend in expressions such as “lately,” “not many years,” etc., a term of several centuries. — GERM. ED.

4. In Aristophanes, Mercury is telling how the newly restored peace was broken. “First, the storm broke out over Phidias; then Pericles began to be apprehensive for himself, and by means of the war threw everything into disorder.” The simple Trygæus interrupts him: “By Jove! I have never known, never even heard, a word of all this; but what has Phidias to do with the Goddess of Peace? *ὅπως αὐτῇ προσήκοι Φειδίας* ;” The Chorus adds: “Neither have I. The goddess is a beauty, because she is a kinswoman of Phidias. How much indeed there is in the world which people do not know!” The satirical hit about beauty is meant, I think, to fall here; Phidias was a small, bald-headed man, and his external appearance was not prepossessing, as it may be inferred from Plutarch. (*Pericl.*, cap. 13.) — HEYNE.

5. Plutarch., *In Pericl.*, cap. 12, 13. Architecture had already made great advances in the age which preceded the Persian war, and many works highly esteemed by the ancients were called into existence. To this number belong the temple at Delphi (Herodot., lib. 5, cap. 62), the temple of Apollo at Delos, the temple of Juno at Samos, built by Polyerates, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, etc. About the same time also the Ionic order was invented in Greek Asia, where hitherto only the Doric order had been in use. — GERM. ED.

6. Polygnotus might have been included in this sentence with as much

justice as Parrhasius, for he likewise had obtained a high reputation in art, and was undoubtedly nearer to Phidias in point of time. According to Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 9, sect. 36, not. 3), the age of Parrhasius seems to be about the ninety-fifth Olympiad, therefore nearly fifty years later than the time of Phidias. . . . The age of Polygnotus is not determined with entire precision by Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 9, sect. 35); he includes him among the painters who had become celebrated prior to the ninetieth Olympiad, and we may hold him to be not much younger than Phidias. — GERM. Ed.

7. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 28.

According to this passage it was not the Pallas of gold and ivory whose shield Mys had ornamented with the battle of the Lapithæ and Centaurs after designs by Parrhasius, but a Pallas of bronze, also executed by Phidias, which was probably still more colossal than that in the Parthenon, because Pausanias relates that the mariners as they sailed around Sunium saw the crest of her helmet and the point of her lance. Hence Demosthenes terms her the great bronze Athene, τὴν χαλκὴν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθῆνην (*De falsu Legat.*, p. 428). She must therefore have towered above the walls of the Acropolis, and have been of unusual magnitude if the parts mentioned could be seen at so great a distance, for Sunium is probably five hours' distance from Athens. The spoils obtained at Marathon paid the cost of this statue, and in the time of Alaric she still looked over the walls like a guardian champion, πρόμαχος (Zosim., *Histor.*, lib. 5, cap. 6), in full armor, and as if she would assail advancing enemies. It is neither probable, nor can it be shown from passages in ancient writers, that her shield or the images which embellished it were of ivory, especially as the statue stood in the open air. The work of Mys was therefore undoubtedly of bronze, like the rest. — GERM. Ed.

Compare Book XI. chap. 1, § 16.

8. Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sec. 4, not. 3.

The word *floruit* in Pliny, and the word *ἤκμασε*, are not always to be understood as meaning the highest celebrity of an artist; it is no more than our phrase, *lived about the time*. Occasionally the idea was also expressed *ἐγνώριζετο*, which in Hieronymus is translated *clarus habetur*, "is considered famous"; in other places far more awkwardly by *agnoscitur*, "is known," as, for example, *Melissus physicus agnoscitur*, "Melissus is known as a natural philosopher." — H.

9. Let the reader consult the splendid and valuable work on this point, *Jupiter Olympien*, by Quatremère de Quincy. — E.

10. Thucyd., lib. 2, cap. 13.

The weight of the gold, according to Thucydides, was forty talents; according to Diodorus (lib. 12, cap. 40), fifty talents; and according to Philochorus (*Schol. Aristoph. ad Pac.*, vers. 604), forty-four talents. — H.

This learned man (Heyne) has also objected in regard to the calculation of the value of the gold, that Winckelmann has not only rated the Attic talent too low, but has computed the value in silver talents instead of gold talents, the value of which latter was ten times greater than that of the former. The forty talents of gold in the garment of the statue, if computed as gold talents, would therefore have been equal to \$295,400. — GERM. Ed.

11. Two different statements of Pausanias are mixed together here. In the eleventh chapter of the fifth book he is speaking of a youthful figure near the throne of the Olympian Jupiter which, as it was believed, resembled Pantarces, and of which the position was that of a person attempting to tie a band around his head. In another passage (lib. 6, cap. 10) mention is made, on the other hand, of an actual portrait statue, probably of bronze, which was erected to Pantarces as conqueror in wrestling; but we do not learn definitely whether the statue was executed by Phidias, nor in what position the beautiful youth was represented. — GERM. ED.

12. Tzetz., *Chil.* VIII. cap. 192.

His words are :—

Γελαδοῦ τοῦ Ἀργεῖου μὲν ἦν μαθητὴς Φειδίας,  
τοῦ ἐν Μελίτῃ Ἀττικῆς πλασάντος Ἡρακλέα.

“ Phidias was the pupil of Geladas, a citizen of Argos,  
Who made a statue of Hercules in Melite, a town of Attica.”

Melite (according to *Philochori Fragm.*, pp. 37, 55) was not a city in the Attic territory, but a portion of Athens; the work itself, according to the passage quoted, and the scholiast of Aristophanes (Meursius, *De Populis Atticis in Gronovii Thesaurο Antiq. Græc.*, Vol. IV., vid. *Μελίτη*), was also not from the hand of Phidias, but from that of his teacher, Geladas. — S.

13. *Schol. ad Aristoph. Pac.*, vers. 604.

This scholia contains a passage borrowed from Philochorus, which has a very important bearing on the history of Phidias, but is unfortunately very much mutilated. — H.

Heyne (*Antiquar. Aufsätze*, St. 1, Seite 200) makes it quite probable that Phidias began his work on the Pallas of gold and ivory in the eighty-third Olympiad, and finished it ten years afterwards, therefore in the second year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad. In the fourth year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad he began the work on the Propylæum, which lasted into its fifth year, that is to say, the fourth year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad. — GERM. ED.

14. Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 30. The word “triform” in the text stands for three-bodied, ἀγάλματα ἑκάτης τρία προσέχομενα ἀλλήλοις, *three images of Hecate joined to each other*.

15. Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, note 3; Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 19.

It is asserted of this Venus, which had received the epithet of *Venus in the Garden*, from that portion of the city of Athens in which it was erected, in a temple, that Phidias himself had given the last touch to it, and it was regarded as one of the most remarkable works of art. No ancient author gives any information in regard to its attitude, but it is supposed to have been draped. The form of her breast, the cheeks below the eyes, the hands and feet, were looked upon as marvels of beauty (Lucian., *Imagin.*, cap. 6). This artist also executed a very celebrated image of Vulcan (Cicero., *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. 1, cap. 30; Valer. Max., lib. 8, cap. 11, not. 3). The god was standing and draped; it was perceptible through the drapery that he limped, but the infirmity was indicated so slightly that the beauty of the figure was not impaired by the defect. Besides his contest with Agoracritus in making a statue of Venus, he defeated Alcamenes also, who is said to have challenged him in the execution of a Minerva. — GERM. ED.

16. The wrong translation of this passage in Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 33) renders *μελίαι* by *fraxini*, and this again is erroneously translated by "beech," whereas it signifies "ash." But in the passage cited, we must, according to Hesychius, read *μηλίαις*, *apple-twig*, instead of *μελίαις*, *ash-twig*. — GERM. ED.

17. In the Pancratium. — GERM. ED.

18. A portion of the *History of Art* which Winckelmann scarcely touched, because he had no materials for the purpose, has since been so fully illustrated that it would be a defect in the present collection of statements and inquiries in regard to art if no notice should be taken of it.

At a very early period in antiquity figures were clothed, for they were covered by actual cloth, of which permanent traces still exist in Asia and among us. Not only the wooden figures in the tomb of Osymandyas, but the idols of which Baruch speaks were certainly so clothed. This practice, which is both the cause and the effect of incompleteness of art, continued to recur occasionally even among nations which had reached the highest stage of the plastic art; for we find that the Greeks, even at the time when they were able to dispense with this accessory, frequently clothed with costly stuffs not only the wooden-jointed figures, but now and then also statues of marble and bronze. The intention was to create an exalted idea of the power of the deities, and persons were appointed and paid to take care of the clothing, *suas habebant ornatrices, vestitiores divinatorum simulacrorum*. The welfare of art is forced to yield to the interests of religion, and only a fortunate conjunction of circumstances ever unites the two in pursuit of a common object.

Whatever may have been the cause, artists afterwards executed colored reliefs as well as statues; of the former there were, according to Diodorus, examples in Babylon, and they are still found in Italy; of the other, Pausanias mentions several by name. The Venus de' Medici had gilded hair; the hair of another Venus in the Herculaneum museum, who is pressing her hair with both hands, is colored; this is also the case with a draped statue with an ideal head in the same museum. The celebrated Diana of the ancient style in the Herculaneum museum has hair similar in color to the trimming of her dress. The two following passages are likewise appropriate here:—

"Levi de marmore tota  
Puniceo stabis suras evincta cothurno."

Virg., *Ecol.* VII. vers. 31.

Thou shalt stand an entire image of polished marble,  
Thy legs girt with the lacing of the reddish-purple buskin.

"Marmoreus que tibi, Dea, versicoloribus alis  
In morem picta stabit Amor pharetra."

*Catalecta*, Vol. V. p. 219, Ed. Heyn.

To thee, O Goddess, a marble Cupid with variegated wings  
And quiver painted as usual shall be erected.

Hermæ, busts, and statues of different kinds of marble in the same image, or heads of bronze on marble bodies, are still in existence. The nails of the hands as well as of the feet, and the lips, were occasionally of silver; the eyes of colored stones, often of precious stones, traces of which are still visible in the colossal heads of Antinoüs at Montdragone and of the

great Barberini Muse. Statues were also delicately painted by an encaustic process.

Myron and Polycletus were rivals, not only in their art, but also in the materials of it. The former used no other metal for casting than the so-called Mixture of Delos; the latter, that of Ægina. The Corinthian bronze was bright colored, undoubtedly hardened, and mixed with gold and silver, but notwithstanding its costliness the skill exercised upon it was still greater. Alcon made a statue of Hercules of iron alone; Aristonidas mixed iron and bronze, and produced a blush in the face of his statue of Athamas. So too Silanion, by the addition of a little silver, gave to the face of his Jocasta a look of sickly paleness; and Praxiteles diffused over the whole face of an Eros in bronze, where not covered by hair, a bright red hue, and the face of another Eros by the same master showed a soft redness. Kallistratus relates something like this of the celebrated statue of Opportunity by Lysippus, and of the statue of Bacchus by Praxiteles.

The practice of coloring objects of sculpture is so little in accordance with modern taste, that for a long time it was denied also as a practice of the ancients, because a belief in it was an imputation on their perception of beauty. But the process will present itself to us in a different light as soon as we think, not of statues represented in colors entirely after nature, — which would always be unpleasant, by destroying the illusion, — but of those to which art has given, if we may so say, only a semblance of color.

The loftiest works of art of the Greeks, the Minerva in the Parthenon at Athens, the Olympian Jupiter at Elis, — both by Phidias, — the Juno of Polycletus at Argos, the Æsculapius of Thrasymedes at Epidaurus, etc., are all examples of this colored mode of sculpture.

Before the time of Phidias the statues of gold and ivory seem not to have exceeded the usual size of man, according to the accounts given us by Pausanias. But this great artist, after executing a Minerva of gold and ivory at Pellene in Achaia, another at Plataea from the spoils of the victory at Marathon, of which the body was of gilded wood, and the face, arms, and feet of Pentelic marble, and the whole size equal to that of his bronze Pallas on the citadel at Athens, and the statue just named, whose helmet and spear could be seen by the mariners sailing around the promontory of Sunium, created the immortal colossal images of the Minerva in the Parthenon at Athens, and the Olympian Jupiter at Elis of gold and ivory.

It is not yet ascertained which of the two works was executed first, nor the date of their beginning; for it is highly probable that Pliny, in giving the time when the great artists lived, has regarded, as Heyne shows, not so much the period in which they had their greatest reputation or made their principal works, as other historical epochs which he found in the writings used by him in his great compilation. Thus he places the bloom of Phidias in the eighty-third Olympiad, which is the date when Pericles began to govern, — his rival Cymon having died in the fourth year of the eighty-second Olympiad, — and was able to begin the embellishment of Athens, the superintendence of which he intrusted to Phidias. About this time the artist must have begun his Minerva of gold and ivory for her temple at Athens, because it was finished in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, as Pericles enumerates among the other resources for the war also the forty talents in gold, (about \$500,000), in the garment of the god-

dess, which could be taken off. It must indeed have been finished several years earlier, for in the comedy of Aristophanes, *The Peace*, Mercury names as the first among other secret causes of the war an accusation against Phidias, which at first was based upon embezzlement of the gold, but afterwards on the crime of having put his own likeness and that of Pericles on the shield of Minerva. The accusation had its effect; although Phidias did not die in prison, as Plutarch relates, he was obliged to flee. According to Eusebius, the artist completed the Minerva of the Parthenon in the second year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad, and he placed his name below it.

If Phidias made the Jupiter at Elis before the Minerva of gold and ivory at Athens, where did he get the time to work on the Minerva at Pellene, on the large statue of bronze at Athens, and on the thirteen statues at Olympia, — fifteen works in all from the spoils of the victory at Marathon? Besides, it is usual to advance in excellence with increase of practice, and the Olympian Jupiter far excelled, by the unanimous assent of the ancients, all the other works of the same master. Moreover Phidias introduced conspicuously as a rilievo, on the front of the throne of Jupiter, the beautiful youth Pantarces, whom he loved, in the act of binding a fillet around his head, having won the prize in wrestling offered to youths, in the eighty-sixth Olympiad. As the incident was the occasion of the representation, it could not have taken place at an earlier date.

The Minerva in the Parthenon stood upright; the eyes and the rest of the face, the hands and the feet, were of ivory, not of gold. Phidias proposed white marble for the nude parts, because it retained its whiteness longer than ivory, and also because, he added, "it is cheaper," but at these words the assembly ordered him to be silent.

The garment down to the feet was of gold; the other accessories were probably of gold and ivory. The noble metal on the goddess is reckoned by Thucydides at forty talents, at forty-four by Philochorus, and at fifty by Ephorus in Diodorus, — a difference which probably arises from the fact that the first has computed the value only of the robe of the goddess, which was so constructed that it could be taken off and weighed; the other two included also the gold of the helmet, shield, and other accessories. In determining the value the accounts expressly state talents of gold; now in the age of Pericles gold bore to silver the proportion of one to thirteen, or, which we now assume with more probability, of one to eleven and a half. The value of the gold therefore, reckoned only on the statement of Thucydides, amounts, according to the first proportion, one to thirteen, to 2,720,000 francs (\$544,000), and according to the second to 2,406,000 francs (\$481,200), of which sum each double louis d'or (equal to an American gold eagle) would have to furnish a golden surface of four hundred square feet. It is not known whether the metal in the garment of the goddess was cast in sheets or hammered; the latter is the more probable.

The goddess wore a helmet, on the top of which was a sphinx, on the sides of it were griffins. The pupils of the eyes were formed of a stone which in color resembled ivory. It may perhaps have been a chalcedony, a gem which is somewhat lighter in color and more brilliant than ivory, just as the artist of another Pallas in the temple of Vulcan at Athens gave to her blue eyes. In the middle of the Ægis was a head of Medusa, of

ivory. According to an amended reading of Pliny, the *Ægis* was painted by Panæus, a brother-in-law of Phidias; but according to the usual reading it was the work of Colotes, who was an assistant of Phidias in the execution of his Jupiter at Elis. In her left hand she held a Victory, nearly six feet high, the nude parts of which were probably also of ivory, but the clothing and certainly the wings were of gold; in her right hand she held a spear, beneath which lay a bronze dragon. The shield, which stood at the feet of the goddess, and undoubtedly served as a support to the hand which held the great Victory, was embellished within and without with figures in raised work. Within, was the battle of the gods and giants; without, was that of the Amazons, and here were found the portraits of Pericles and the artist, the latter of which had such a connection with the mechanical arrangement of the whole work, that it was a sort of key to it.

Even the edges of the soles of the goddess were embellished with small figures in relief, representing the battle of the Lapithæ and Centaurs. On the sides of the pedestal was seen the story of the birth of Pandora, likewise in relief.

The height of the Minerva, according to Pliny, was twenty-six ells, or thirty-seven French feet (39.44 Eng.), not including the base; with the base the whole height must have been forty-five feet.

After the completion of this splendid work, and during the prosecution above mentioned, which threatened the life of the artist, Phidias fled to Elis, where he found an opportunity to immortalize himself by a still more glorious monument, and to avenge himself of the ingratitude of his native city by his Olympian Jupiter, which he executed for the magnificent temple of Doric architecture at Elis. — E.

We feel compelled to look upon the colossal figure on Monte Cavallo at Rome, on the base of which may be read the words *Ophus Phidiæ*, "The Work of Phidias," as one of the most wonderful and authentic monuments of the high style of Greek art. It is now generally assumed that the two statues represent the Dioscuri, and the one of which we speak, Castor. (Pl. I.)

This monument excels every other ancient work of art in the true grandeur with which its signification is presented, in the style of its forms, at once noble and powerful, and in expression. The drawing is excellent and correct, and evinces the thorough science of the artist. The character of the limbs, and their nice adaptation to the grandly constituted whole, deserves yet greater praise. The proportions in general are excellent. How otherwise could the figure have obtained its vigorous, powerful character? The artist has indeed taken less pains with the details or the proportions of single subordinate parts. Thus the space between the upper eyelid and the edge of the bone of the socket of the eye is too narrow; the wings of the nose are small and mean, etc. At the time when this monument was executed, the rules of proportion for such subordinate parts were probably not entirely settled. As there is no reason for denying it to be the work of Phidias, he probably executed it before Polyclethus had perfected the rules of proportion, and created his canon.

In the handling, even in the few places where the epidermis has remained uninjured by air and moisture, there is no display, no pretension

to bold dexterity in the use of the chisel. The great divine artist, forgetting himself, thought solely of the means by which he could present in marble the ideal floating before his soul, not troubling himself whether the artistic dexterity with which he accomplished his purpose should be instantly visible. We find in all genuine monuments of the high style a similar renunciation of the fame of technical skill.

The hair on this work of art is somewhat wiry, but yet on the whole treated more broadly and freely than is usually the case with statues of this style which can be examined more closely. On the back of the head of the hero and also on the shoulder-blades may be noticed some inserted pieces; these are probably the places to which was formerly fastened a large *nimbus* for the purpose of protecting the head from the effects of the weather. The little finger of the right hand is new, so also the tip-joints of the fore, middle, and ring fingers. — GERM. ED.

19. Hence Polyclethus is also named *ὁ πλάστης*, *he who moulds*, and Phidias, *ὁ γλύφευς*, *he who engraves*. (Dionys. Halic., *Jud. de Dinarcho*, Tom. II. p. 115.) — GERM. ED.

In Plutarch (*Pericl.*, cap. 31), Phidias also is termed, *ὁ πλάστης*, *he who moulds*. — S.

20. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 2.

The Diadumenus, "he who ties a ribbon about his head," was represented as a tender, delicate youth, *molliter juvenis*; the Doryphorus, "he who carries a spear," as a vigorous youth, *viriliter puer*, and perhaps was a different work from the canon of Polyclethus, for the words of Pliny (lib. 34, sect. 19, not. 2), *fecit et quem canona artifices vocant*, may according to the connection be translated thus, — "he executed also another statue, the Doryphorus, which artists term the canon." — GERM. ED.

21. Pausan., lib. 5, cap. 11.

This statue undoubtedly was very frequently copied in ancient times, and the one in the Farnese villa is probably made after a copy at least of the Diadumenus. It is an undraped figure, somewhat smaller than life, tying around its forehead a band, which, somewhat singularly, has been preserved, together with the hand that holds it. A similar small figure, wrought in relief, was a few years ago to be found on a small funeral urn in the Sinibaldi villa with the inscription, DIADVMENI; on the marble bases of the antique candelabra in the church of St. Agnes outside of Rome, and also on two similar bases in the Borghese villa, Amorini, tying ribbons about their foreheads, project from elegantly wrought leaves. Just such a child is on a piece of an antique frieze in the possession of an amateur in Rome. — W.

The above-mentioned figure in the Farnese villa on the Palatine has been removed thence for some time, and must be sought in Naples. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. p. 90) also mentions it, and remarks that an engraving of it may be found in a work bearing the title *Insigniores Statuarum Urbis Romæ Icones*, No. 74. This work is not known to us, but we have found a copy of the same monument in another work, probably not very much unlike it, *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romæ*, Jo. Baptistæ de Cavalleriis, No. 97. The cippus which was formerly in the Sinibaldi villa may be found at present in the Vatican museum, together with two of the candelabra pedestals from the church of St. Agnes, in which

a third one still remains. Where the fragment of an antique frieze may be found at present we do not know.—GERM. ED.

22. This rilievo of terra cotta is now in the British Museum. — GERM. ED.

23. The boy afterwards went to London, into the collection of Lord Townley, and may now be found, together with the other antiques of this celebrated amateur, in the British museum. — F. and GERM. ED.

24. In the *Notes to the History of Art*, p. 91, whence we have taken a few lines relative to the boy formerly in the Barberini palace, and incorporated them into the text for the completion of the sense, it is further said, "The celebrated Borghese Gladiator, so called, should therefore be named Alexeter, from a statue by the same artist, which Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 2) calls Alexetera, *arma sumentem*, 'taking arms.' For the word 'Alexeter' means 'one who protects from violence,' which is the true signification of the attitude and action of this figure."

It is strange that the author does not mention in this place the celebrated Amazon of Polyclethus, since probably we still possess some antique copies of this masterpiece. — GERM. ED.

Book V. chap. 11, § 21, note. An outline representing this figure may be seen in Vol. IV., Plate III.

25. Plat., *In Protag.*, p. 328. Fea is correct in his remark that Paralus and Xanthippus were sons, not of Polyclethus, but of Pericles. The sons of Polyclethus, whose names are not mentioned by any ancient author, were, according to Plato, of the same age with Paralus and Xanthippus, but were not to be compared with their father in skill. — GERM. ED.

26. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19. Heyne (*Antiquar Aufsätze*, St. 1, Seit. 230), in order to remove the contradiction of Pliny in regard to the time in which Scopas lived, has endeavored to make it probable either that his name was inserted by a strange hand into the passage cited, or that the error may even have originated with Pliny himself.

That the statement which assigns to Scopas a later date is the more correct one, we have proofs in the refined taste, the tenderness, sweetness, and variety which we perceive in the design, in the forms of the limbs, and in the arrangement of the drapery of different monuments, which for cogent reasons may be looked upon as antique imitations of celebrated works of this artist.

Among such presumed imitations the Bacchante of the Borghese villa (*Sculpture*, Stanza 2, No. 14) seems worthy of the first mention, for in regard to execution it is one of the most admirable bas-reliefs which have come down to us from antiquity, and the figure coincides with what Kallistratus (*Philostr.*, *Oper.*, p. 892), in his description of different statues, relates of the Bacchante of Scopas, so that we may almost assume it as certain that the master of the bas-relief imitated in his work the statue of Scopas. An outline of this Bacchante may be seen in Plate IV. — GERM. ED.

27. *Denkmale*, Th. 4, kap. 14, No. 3. *Anmerk, üb. die Baukunst der Alten*, kap. 1, § 39.

The usual reading in Pliny is not *uno a Scopas*, but *una a Scopas*. Winckelmann's proposed emendation might give occasion to opposition; the word *singulæ* must still necessarily stand in the phrase *calatæ uno e scopo*, if it

is intended to signify that all the columns were wrought from one block. — GERM. ED.

When the phrase *ex iis xxxvi. calatae* precedes, Latin scholars have no need of *singulae*, and *uno e scapo* is very well expressed. — E.

28. It was the opinion of Mengs that the Family of Niobe were on the whole only copies from better originals. (*Opere di Mengs*, Edit. di Carlo Fea, pp. 359, 367.)

The Capitoline museum has among its antiquities a repetition of the fourth son and of the fifth daughter of Niobe; but it is proved in regard to this so-called daughter of Niobe at Florence that she does not by any means belong to the family, but properly represents a Psyche. In a note by Fea (Tom. II. p. 299), he makes mention, in addition to these repetitions, of one in the Colonna house, and of another of still smaller proportions in the Albani villa; moreover there is said to be still another in Verona, and also in England. The author himself in the first edition (p. 336) made mention, although only indefinitely, of the figures (two sons) which were to be seen in the Medici villa, but which are now set up with the rest of the Family of Niobe at Florence, and also of the son lying dead, in the Dresden collection of antiques. The merit of this figure is in no wise inferior to that of the similar figure at Florence, but it is not in so good preservation (Becker's *Augusteum*, taf. 36). An amateur in Vienna is said to be the possessor of another repetition of a son of Niobe; it was brought there from Prague, and is very beautiful. — GERM. ED.

29. Mengs owned the gypsum-cast (*Opere di Mengs*, p. 361); the marble went to England. — F.

30. Probably the Antinoüs, so called, which formerly was obliged to pass as Meleager. — GERM. ED.

31. Pretty good copies may be seen in Fabroni, *Dissert. sulle Statue della Niobe*, and also under Plate XI. of this volume.

The heads of the two figures, as well in regard to workmanship as to the conformation of the parts, seem to bear a close relation to the children of Niobe. We observe, especially in the head of the victorious athlete, an uncommonly strong family resemblance to the two beautiful daughters of Niobe, that is to say, the third and fourth. The conformation of the eyes and of the bones of the forehead shows absolutely the same style; the mouths and chins are likewise seen to resemble each other; even the handling of the hair is quite the same. It is moreover a fact deserving of careful notice, that the hair on the right side of the head is more elaborately executed than that on the crown and the left side, — a circumstance which is in part a sure proof that this head cannot have belonged originally to either of the two combatants, and partly increases the probability that it may be the head of a son of Niobe, because the figures of that family of statues were wrought mostly for niches, and were intended to be viewed only from one side. On the other hand, all the parts of the group of wrestlers, as a work originally designed by the artist, to be set up in a detached position, must have been open to examination from every side, and consequently must have been finished on every side with equal carefulness.

The head set on the conquered wrestler is of a similar character in the outlines of the eyes and the formation of the bones of the forehead; but it seems to be executed on the whole not altogether with so much accuracy

and precision, because it has suffered, it may be from time and accident, more than the other. The face is somewhat longer than that of the conqueror. However they resemble one another as brothers. The right side also of this head, which is turned towards the ground, is finished with more care than the left, — a care which would have been superfluous if the head belonged originally to the figure.

The marble of both heads is very soft, and of a close, fine grain, as in the figures of the Family of Niobe to be regarded as originals, and is essentially different from that of which the bodies are wrought.

Of both heads the nose is a modern addition ; the restored part on the head of the victorious wrestler is greater than on that of the conquered ; the neck also of the former seems to have been retouched somewhat in order that it may fit better to the trunk. The head of the conquered wrestler makes, it is true, a better union with the body, but the difference in the workmanship is very obvious if we compare the face and neck with the adjoining parts of the trunk, the collar-bones, and the breast.

Yet the modern artist who conceived the idea of adapting these two heads to the figures of the two wrestlers does not merit any severe censure, for the proportions of size seem not only to have been observed, but even the expression of the features corresponds in some measure to the action of the figures. The head of the victor has indeed the same expression of passive lofty suffering, the same elevated and tragic character and sentiment, which we perceive in the children of Niobe ; the face of the conquered exhibits a somewhat greater degree of pain and anger, and thus the relation of the expression of the faces to the action continues to be appropriate. — GERM. ED.

32. The horse stands at Florence apart from the Family of Niobe, because it is acknowledged that it does not belong to it ; it is also asserted that it was found in a different place from the Family of Niobe, and at a different time. Considered by itself it is a well-executed work ; the action is lively, and the head is full of expression, but the body is somewhat too slim. It seems to be in the act of rearing, and was originally restrained by the bridle, which is still visible. It is a matter of doubt whether a rider stood near it, or whether it made one of a two-horse or four-horse span. The restorations, in addition to the cloud of dust, are the front part of the nose, all four legs, and the tail. — GERM. ED.

33. Propert., lib. 2, *Eleg.* 23, vers. 14.

Also on a funeral urn of moderate size in the Pio-Clement museum, Niobe with her children is represented in relief. The execution of this monument, as usual with funeral urns, is not of extraordinary skill, but the arrangement is admirable, and indicates a glorious original of the beautiful style. (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. IV. tav. 17, p. 33.) — F. and GERM. ED.

34. Pythagoras is said to have executed not only the hair more carefully than his predecessors, but also to have been the first to mark the sinews and veins : *Hic primus nervas et venas expressit.* (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 4.) According to Pliny he executed the figure of a man who limped, which expressed in so forcible a manner the pain occasioned by a sore, that the spectators sympathized with the visible suffering. The figure probably represented Philoctetes, and a copy of this statue perhaps still exists in an intaglio which Winckelmann introduces in the *Monuments*,

No. 119. Moreover an Apollo slaying a serpent with arrows, Europa seated on the bull, and the mutual fratricide of Eteocles and Polynices, were among his celebrated works. (Tatian., *Orat. ad Græcos*, cap. 53, p. 116; cap. 54, p. 118.)—F. and GERM. ED.

35. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 14.

We have the means of obtaining a better knowledge of the art of Ktesilaus than of that of Pythagoras, for it is hardly to be doubted that the Amazons found in collections, which with an expression of pain on the countenance point to a wound in the breast, are copies from the anciently celebrated Amazon of Ktesilaus, who executed it in competition with Phidias, Polyclethus, Kydon, and Phradmon for the temple of Diana at Ephesus. His work was surpassed by those of Phidias and Polyclethus, but was preferred to those of Kydon and Phradmon. Among the copies of the Amazon of Ktesilaus still in existence, that in the Capitoline museum with the name ΚΩΙΚΑΗ has very great merits, and it consequently gives us some idea of his skill; yet when we compare it with the copies from the Amazon of Polyclethus, we recognize the correctness of the judgment of the ancients upon the five celebrated works mentioned and their masters in the nobler character and greater beauty in the forms of the work of Polyclethus. We also observe the same age and the same style in the handling of the hair and in the arrangement of the drapery; indeed there is scarcely a perceptible difference in the ideal of the features.—GERM. ED.

An outline of this wounded Amazon may be seen in Plate V. of this volume.

36. It is difficult to say to what age this monument of ancient art properly belongs. The skilful arrangement of the whole figure, the natural presentation of a dying man sinking to the ground whose vital powers are gradually departing, the knowledge and the spiritual expression in the face harmonizing so admirably with everything else, are qualities which make the work worthy of the Greek chisel, and of the reputation it has won. On the other hand, there is not one of the monuments of purely Greek art which has forms of so little elegance, we might say so entirely natural; and the shape as a whole is not pleasing, notwithstanding the great skill and knowledge with which it is executed in other respects. The outlines may be called flowing, yet the folds of the skin and the angles formed by the bent limbs are rendered deeply and powerfully. It was obviously the prime idea of the artist to give a truthful copy of a common but physically strong man with perfectly developed limbs.

The expression, so artistically sustained throughout all parts of the work, so poetically conceived, might undoubtedly have been esteemed worthy of a nobler vestment, and it is uncommonly successful, especially in the head. The breath seems to be crowding from the open mouth; the eyes are fixed and growing dim; the forehead is knit as if in the shudder of death; and the hair stands up. Although this work is smoothly polished, still the indications of a boldly handled chisel are visible in several places. The restorations are the tip of the nose, the right arm from the shoulder down, the left knee-pan together with the toes of both feet, and the portion of the sole on which the right hand rests, with a sword and a double horn. All these restorations have been made by a master's hand, and are said, not improbably, to have been done by Michael Angelo. (See Frontispiece of this volume.)—GERM. ED.

37. Copies of the Dying Gladiator are given by Bottari in the *Capitoline Museum* (Tom. III. tav. 67, 68), by Maffei (*Raccolta di Statue*, tav. 65), and by Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expl.*, Tom. III. Part 2, p. 155). — GERM. ED.

38. But this is precisely the point to be proved, especially since it was stated shortly before that the heralds carried a staff and spear, and that not a single passage can be found in any author to show that they used horns. The staff has always been the badge of heralds when they wished to announce peace (Thucyd., lib. 1, cap. 146, and *Scholium* to this passage; Servius, *Ad Æneid.*, lib. 4, vers. 242). The lance served as a sign of the declaration of war (Polyb., lib. 4, cap. 52). The herald was regarded as a sacred personage, a messenger as it were from the gods; no enemy therefore was allowed to do him an injury, nor was he permitted to harm his foes in any way (Diodor. Sic., lib. 5, cap. 75; Suidas, *vid. κηρύκειον*). On this account they went unarmed (Chrysost., *Orat.* 37, p. 83); consequently they did not carry even a shield as a weapon of defence, nor a sword as a weapon of offence. From these facts we should be authorized to conjecture that the figure on the vase in question represents something quite different from a herald, because a sword hangs by its side, — even if we admit it to be a production of Greek art. From the testimony of Pollux (lib. 4, cap. 12, segm. 94), it is clear that the heralds made use not of horns, but of their voices only. — F.

39. Hence Petronius says of Myron (cap. 88): “His skill embraces almost the souls of men and animals.” — GERM. ED.

40. Quintil., lib. 2, cap. 13. Lucian., *In Philops.*, cap. 18.

If we compare with these passages the statue almost entirely uninjured, together with several other trunks of similar figures, — among which the Dying Gladiator, so called, in the Capitoline museum, is wrought in the most admirable manner, — which were disinterred about 1730 in the Palombara villa at Rome, and came into the possession of the Massimi family, it is very evident that they must have been copied from the mentioned masterpiece of Myron. On the other hand, light is thrown by these copies upon the passage from Lucian; and Fea correctly remarks (Tom. II. p. 212) that, under the word *τὴν δισκόφορον* must be understood *the hand holding the quoit*, and under the word *τὸ ἑτέρον*, *the left half-bent foot*. The ancients speak of the Discobulus as a work in bronze (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 3; Lucian., *Philops.*, cap. 18–20), and this masterpiece seems to have been still in Athens in the time of Lucian. — GERM. ED.

41. Brunk., *Analecta*, Tom. III. p. 196, not. 127, 128.

It stood at Athens, and was seen there by Cicero (*Verr. Act.* 2, lib. 4, cap. 60). In the time of Procopius (*De Bello Goth.*, lib. 4, cap. 21), it was at Rome. — GERM. ED.

42. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 3.

This passage has given occasion to the error of making Myron the contemporary of Anacreon and Erinna.

Although we do not possess any indisputable original of Myron, there are still in existence some very good copies in marble of his Discobulus. The one found in the Palombara villa, which came into the possession of the Massimi family, may not indeed be the best in execution, but it is in a state of better preservation than any other, for with the exception of a piece of the right leg below the knee to the ankle-joint, it has received no restor-

ation ; hence it was recognized at once as a copy of the Discobulus, on account of its correspondence with the passages in Quintilian and Lucian. A similar piece, which was found in Adrian's villa near Tivoli, and repaired after the slightly injured figure just mentioned, is in the Pio-Clement museum ; a similar fragment was converted into a Diomedes with the Palladium, and has gone to England. Yet another trunk with a head set upon it which does not belong to it, with a restored right arm, left thigh and leg, together with the right leg from the knee downward, is at Florence, and has heretofore passed for a son of Niobe. In the Pamfili villa may be found a statue composed of fragments of just such a figure, especially well executed legs, mixed with other fragments and sorry restorations. Finally, in this class belongs also the torso in the Capitoline museum, which was restored by Monot, and is known under the name of the Dying Gladiator. It is executed in the best manner from the original by Myron, and is really admirable. The back may be regarded as a masterpiece ; the hips and the contraction of the left side deserve no less praise. A closer examination of the workmanship of the hair about the private parts may also prove of especial interest to the antiquarian inquirer, as an example of the taste of the more ancient style ; it is arranged in numerous flat locks, and even the separate hairs of these curls are executed with great industry. Even the Florentine figure, although the handling is softer and more flowing, and therefore denoting that the work may have been executed at a later date, shows in the same parts a trace of the same manner in the execution of the hair, which is quite short, curly, and arranged in rows of many small ringlets.

The outline of a Discobulus may be seen in Plate VI.

Visconti thinks that he finds an ancient copy of the cow of Myron among the animals in the Vatican (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. tav. 31), but the composition of this monument does not show mind and skill sufficient to awaken that degree of interest which would be expected from a copy of Myron's cow.

We are more disposed to believe that the group of a cow suckling her calf, which occurs on coins of Dyrrachium and Karystus, is a copy of Myron's work. The cow of the Aldobrandini villa, cited by the author, is reported to have gone to England about 1730, and it is not known even from good engravings. A dog is also mentioned by Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 3), among other works of Myron, and it may be conjectured that one of the two seated large dogs (Book V. chap. 6, § 23, note) is a copy from Myron. The powerful style, united with an extraordinary degree of naturalness, favors at least the conjecture. — GERM. Ed.

43. The artist Kalamis, whose name has been frequently cited, and who is celebrated for his Sosandra (*Lucian., Imag.*, cap. 6), deserved to have been mentioned here. According to Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 3), he executed a statue of Apollo Ἀλεξίκακος, *He that repels evil*, as late as the time of the Peloponnesian war. If, now, we compare with this statement another (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 12), that Kalamis executed the horses and the boys sitting on them of the votive gift of Hiero I., which was sent by his son Dinomenes to Olympia (Olymp. 75, 1st yr.), and that the boys in bronze, stretching their right hands to heaven in a suppliant position, which were made from the spoils obtained by the Agrigentines from the conquest of the

city of Motya, and consecrated by them to Olympia, passed for a work of Kalamis, — we ascertain nearly the time when this artist, whose birthplace is unknown, lived, and that he must have reached a great old age. According to Quintilian (lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 7) and Cicero (*De Clar. Orator.*, cap. 18), we may conjecture that he lived earlier than Myron. — GERM. ED.

44. Reinold., *Hist. Lit. Gr. et Lat.*, p. 9.

45. Let the reader consult what Spanheim (*De Præst. et Usu Numism.*, Dissert. 2, § 3, p. 96), Cuper, Schott, and others (Chishul., *Inscript. Sig.*, p. 23; Marehand, *Diction. Hist.*, Art. "Archelaus") have said upon the word ΚΗΡΟΝΟΣ. — W.

46. Another *Deification of Homer* has been represented on a vase of silver of the shape of an apothecary's mortar, among the articles discovered at Herculaneum. The poet is carried through the air on an eagle, and on each side of him is a female figure, seated on ornaments of foliage, with a short dagger at her side. The one on the right has a helmet; one hand grasps her dagger, and she sits in deep thought, her head resting on the other hand. The other has a pointed hat, like that given to Ulysses; she likewise has one hand on her dagger, the other holds a rudder. The former figure probably signifies the Iliad as the tragical portion of Homer, and the latter the Odyssey. The rudder and the conical hat without a flap, like that worn by the sailors of the Levant, symbolize the extended wanderings of Ulysses on the sea. The swans below the ornaments over the deified figure also have an allusion to the poet. Bajardi, in his catalogue of Herculaneum discoveries (*Catalog. de' Monument. de' Ercolano*, Vasi, No. 540, p. 246), has, without any apparent evidence, given to this representation the title of *Deification of Julius Cæsar*; now the beard alone of the figure upborne by the eagle should, without any other indications, have made him hesitate in adopting this fanciful title. If it were not for the beards, Caylus would interpret it to signify the deification of a Cæsar (*Rec. d'Antiq.*, Tom. II. pl. 41, p. 121), but he formed his opinion from a drawing which showed merely the figure on an eagle. — W.

### CHAPTER III.

#### 1. Xenophon., *Hist. Græc.*, lib. 100, cap. 1 to 4.

Through the influence of Thrasybulus, and the spirit of wise moderation which he sought to diffuse everywhere, Athens now enjoyed, though only for a brief period, a state of repose which was favorable to art and knowledge, and harmony began to prevail to a degree which had not existed there since the death of Pericles. (*Lysias contra Nicomach.*, pp. 849, 850; *contra Poliuch.*, p. 609.) — GERM. ED.

#### 2. Brunn., *Analecta*, Tom. II. p. 15, not. 35.

The author seems in this passage to make Kanachus the pupil of Polycletus of Sicyon, but he was the scholar of Polycletus of Argos (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 13), who was a brother and pupil of Naucydes, and entirely different from the master of the celebrated Juno. (Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 6; lib. 2, cap. 22; lib. 5, cap. 17.) — GERM. ED.

But in Pausanias (lib. 2, cap. 22) we read ἀδελφὸς Περικλείτου Ναύκυδης, *Naucydes, brother of Pericletus*, and this Pericletus is by the same historian (lib. 5, cap. 17) called pupil of Polycletus, the Argive. In the former passage some indeed wish to read Polycletus instead of Pericletus, and Clavier has so translated it. — S.

3. The author (Book IX. chap. 1, § 29) ascribed this Barberini Muse to Ageladas, the teacher of Polycletus; as he now says that we can form from it an idea of the style of Kanachus, he means to intimate the return of this artist to the older styles. — GERM. ED.

4. Pausan., lib. 4, cap. 30.

The Modius on the head is more appropriate to the statue of Fortune than the Nimbus, πόλος, and the goddess wears this symbol on several ancient monuments (Book V. chap. 1, § 30; Book IX. chap. 1, § 5). It was the custom to put Nimbi or small moon-shaped bodies, called by the Greeks *menisci*, on the heads of statues set up in the open air, for the purpose of covering them and protecting them from dirt. (Aristoph., *Av.*, vers. 1114, and *Schol.* to this passage.) Afterwards these Nimbi became a simple ornament of the images of the deities, of the Cæsars, and of the Christian saints. (Buonarroti, *Osservaz. supra Alcuin. Framment. di Vasi* tav. 9, pp. 60, 61. Borgia, *De Cruce Velit.*, § 14, p. 50; § 34, p. 126.) — F.

5. This passage reads thus in the first edition (p. 341); “Naucydes wrought for the city of Corinth a Hebe of gold and ivory, but they (Kanachus and Naucydes) did not attain the celebrity of their predecessors.”

Pausanias (lib. 2, cap. 17) says only that this Hebe stood near the Juno of Polycletus, but not that it had been placed there by Naucydes himself. It seems also not to have been in existence in the time of Pausanias. — GERM. ED.

6. According to Visconti's conjecture (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 34, tav. 36), the Discobulus in *Repose* (Plate VII.) may have been copied from a work of Naucydes that was celebrated in ancient times. (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 19.) This at least may be regarded as an established fact, that the beautiful statue in question is a copy from a superior work of art, because there are in existence two other similar figures of great merit, but not in so good a state of preservation. One of them formerly stood in the Vettori house at Rome, but it has since been taken to England (Cavacceppi, *Raccolta*, Tom. I. tav. 42); the other is in the Borghese villa (*Sculpture*, Stanza 7, No. 9). The hand with the disk attached, in the latter place, is an antique fragment of a fourth similar figure. — GERM. ED.

7. Plutarch., in *Lysand.*, cap. 15. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 17.

Pausanias (lib. 7, cap. 18; lib. 9, cap. 32) saw the statue of Autolycus still in the Prytaneum at Athens, but he does not note the name of the artist. — GERM. ED.

8. Tatian., *Orat. ad Græc.*, cap. 56, p. 121.

The base on which the Ganymedes of Leochares formerly stood in Rome is now in the Medici villa (Spon., *Miscell. Erud. Antiq.*, § 4, p. 127), with the inscription:—

ΓΑΝΥΜΗΔΗΣ  
ΛΗΟΧΑΡΟΥ  
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ.

The mode of the inscription communicating the name of the work, *A work of Leochares*, instead of the simple phrase, *Leochares made it*, and moreover the shape of the letters shows that it is not coeval with the artist; the base was probably not brought from Greece at the same time with the statue, but was made in Rome. Besides, the Greek sculptors did not always put their names on the socle of their statues, but sometimes also on the base. Some of these, with the name of the artist or of the person represented, which were left in Greece when the statues themselves were transported to Rome, have been communicated by Pausanias (lib. 8, cap. 38, 49), but it may be that the inscriptions were placed upon the bases afterwards, in order to perpetuate the names of the statues carried off. A base of this kind, on which stood the statue of Menippus, a victor in the Games, according to the inscription on it, has been found in our time (Caylus, *Rec. d' Antiq.*, Tom. II. p. 105) at Sparta. — W.

Antique copies in marble of the Ganymedes of Leochares (the original was in bronze) are still extant, in addition to the marble base just mentioned, which at the present time is set up at the entrance of the Gallery at Florence. One of them has been published by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. tav. 49, p. 65); the other, though not in so good a state of preservation, is perhaps of better execution; it is in the library of St. Mark at Venice. — GERM. ED.

9. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19.

The following passage is found in the *Notes to the History of Ancient Art*, p. 97; it relates to the period following the restoration of liberty to Athens by Thrasybulus. It was not taken into the text, partly because the event occurred at an earlier date, and partly because it interrupts the connection. "To this time of general rejoicing in Athens may, I believe, apply the remark of Plutarch, that the Athenians expended more money upon a few tragedies of Euripides, as, for example, the *Bacchanti*, the *Phœnician Women*, the *Edipus*, the *Antigone*, the *Medea*, and the *Electra*, than upon the entire Peloponnesian war." — GERM. ED.

See Book IX. chap. 11, § 19.

10. Thouin (*De Vita Sua*, Tom. VII. lib. 1, p. 14) speaks of a sleeping Cupid in the possession of the ducal house of Este of Modena, which was held to be a work of Praxiteles. Others relate the well-known story of a Cupid executed in the same city by Michael Angelo, and supposed to be the one which he, as it is said, buried, and afterwards sold as an antique statue. (Condivi, *Vita di Michael Angelo*, p. 10.) It is added that he requested that his Cupid should never be shown except at the same time with the antique Cupid, in order to prove the superiority of the ancient artist over the modern. But there is no more reason for assuming the first Cupid to be the work of Praxiteles than for claiming the same origin for a Cupid in Venice which is allowed to pass under the name of this great artist. A small Venus with a Cupid is wholly unworthy of Praxiteles, though some one (Bernini, *Vit. del Caval. Bernini*, p. 17) wishes to persuade us to the contrary. — W.

11. Three of the celebrated works of Praxiteles, the Faun (Plate IX.),

the Apollo Sauroctonus (Plate X.), and the Venus of Cnidus, are especially deserving of note, because it is possible by means of copies and imitations of them still extant to form a clear idea of the originals. We intentionally make a distinction between copies and imitations, because the young Fauns already mentioned by us, resembling each other in character, shape, and attitude, with some trifling points of difference, seem to us to be actual copies of the Periboëtus. It is nearly the same thing also with the numerous figures of the young Apollo watching a lizard, for we may justly hold them to be copies of the Sauroctonus. Not less inclined are we to regard the images resembling in attitude and features the Medicean Venus as *imitations* of the Venus of Cnidus; for the successors of Praxiteles, when they found the ideal of the goddess set up by him to be unsurpassable, adopted as a canon the attitude, conformation of face, etc., which he had given to her, but in the execution of their figures they practised their art each one according to his opportunities and especial aims. This may be the reason why the goddess in so many images with similar gesture and similar features appears sometimes older and sometimes younger; why like the Medicean she often has a dolphin; often, like the former Capitoline Venus, has a vase near her with drapery thrown over it; at times also, like the Venus of Menophantus, modestly holding the end of some drapery in the hand which is in front of her private parts.

We have no other guaranty for the opinion that the young leaning Fauns are copied from the Periboëtus of Praxiteles than the probability that repetitions so very numerous must have been copied from one of the most celebrated works. The elegance of the attitude, the noble style in the forms, the finely sustained ideal of the features, correspond to the manner of Praxiteles. Visconti also thinks that he perceives in the repetition in the Capitoline museum that a statue in bronze must have served as the original of it. The position of the feet, and the taste and style prevailing through the whole figure, enable us to see a certain relationship between it and the Apollo Sauroctonus.

Of the Apollo Sauroctonus Winckelmann knew only three or four copies, but there were more in existence even in his time. Since then several others have been discovered, so that the number of them is only a little less than that of the copies of the Periboëtus. It appears moreover from what Pliny mentions of the Apollo Sauroctonus and from the epigram of Martial (lib. 14, Epigr. 72) in regard to it, that these youthful figures were copied from that masterpiece of Praxiteles.

The still more numerous figures of Venus, which in gesture, features of the face, and elegance of the hair, are similar to the Venus de' Medici, formerly passed and would still generally pass for copies or imitations of the celebrated Venus of Cnidus, which Pliny acknowledges to be the best of all the works of Praxiteles, if several of the most distinguished antiquarians did not favor another opinion, according to which the Venus found on rare medallions of the Cnidians, struck in honor of Caracalla and Plautilla, in an attitude somewhat different from the other, is supposed to be really the true image of the celebrated statue of Praxiteles.

On the coins in question we see a naked Venus whose right hand is placed in front of the private parts, and whose left holds a garment which she seems to have just lifted from a vase standing by her side; she is in

the act of covering herself with it. The folds of the garment fall down upon the vase, and leave scarcely a doubt that the statue copied must have been a marble one, and that the garment served as a support; and this latter circumstance seems applicable to the Venus of Praxiteles. Besides, no indication can be anywhere found to explain why the Cnidians should have copied on their coins any other Venus than the world-renowned one of Praxiteles. Moreover there are extant several ancient marble statues in an attitude nearly similar, which favor the supposition that they and the Venus on the mentioned medallions were copied from an original which was celebrated in antiquity.

These grounds have been adduced by those who believe that they see copies of the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles in the just-mentioned Venus on coins and in marble. But notwithstanding the earlier opinion is rendered highly probable by the passage in Pliny just quoted, and the statements made by Lucian, taken in connection with a consideration drawn from the spirit and rules of art.

According to the accounts in Pliny and Lucian, it is certain that the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles could be viewed on every side, that it was finished throughout with equal carefulness, and presented beautiful views from every point. *Ædícula ejus tota aperitur, ut conspici possit undique effigies Dææ, favente ipsa, ut creditur, facto; nec minor ex quacumque parte admiratio est*: — “Her little house is entirely open, so that the effigy of the goddess can be seen on every side, she herself, so it is believed, being pleased with such an exhibition of herself; and she is equally admirable from whatever side she may be viewed” (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 4). Lucian says: “The temple of the goddess has a door on each side, partly for those who wish to view the goddess particularly and from behind, and partly also that no portion of her may be unadmired. Hence those who come through the other door can easily and fully contemplate the beautiful shape from behind. As we were desirous of seeing the goddess thoroughly, we went into the back part of the chapel (*Amor.* cap. 13), for the goddess, wrought from Parian or, according to another account, from Pentelic marble, stood in the middle of the temple.”

It is manifest therefore from these statements that the statue was set up detached from everything, and that it was also finished by the master with such intention. For the attainment of this object a far more perfect preparation of the limbs was required than we see in the Venus on the coins of Cnidus and in statues similar to her, for these statues, as well as the original of them, were as it appears originally intended for niches or for standing against a wall. Consequently the artist, in the composition of his figure had regard principally only to the good effect of the front; the views from the sides and from the back received less attention because his intention did not extend to them, and also because the erect position was not favorable to such views.

On the other hand, the glorious forms of the back of the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles have been an object of admiration, as we know to a certainty, also the fulness of the sides below the ribs down to the hips, the beautiful outlines in the curve of the fleshy parts of the buttocks, neither too thin nor yet superfluous, the lovely hollows in the loins, and especially the beautifully sustained line described by the hip, and the straight stand-

ing leg down to the foot. In this Venus therefore the spectator especially admired and prized those parts which in the other statue were withdrawn from observation and neglected in the finish, because the artist had a different object in view ; hence the circumstantial description of Lucian is not applicable even remotely to those pretended copies of the Cnidian Venus, but is entirely appropriate to the Venus de' Medici and figures similar to her. That the slight stoop in the attitude of these statues also agrees with the statue of Praxiteles is probable enough from the rapture felt by Kallistratidas at the sight of the parts behind, and especially of the *παῖδικα μέρη*, *the private parts*.

Of the Venus of Cos, which according to Pliny was somewhat draped, it cannot be positively asserted that any copies are in existence, though it may indeed be presumed. It was undoubtedly an admirable work, though excelled by the Venus of Cnidus, probably in the style of the Florentine Venus Urania so called, and of the one at Dresden, the thighs draped, and the upper part of the body bent slightly forward ; now as there are several other similar figures besides the two mentioned, the work which served them collectively as an original must have been highly esteemed.

Copies are likewise to be found of the celebrated Cupid of Praxiteles at Thespia, and of the other which stood at Parium, on the Sea of Marmora ; but as there are numerous repetitions of several statues of Cupid, it is doubtful which of them is copied from Praxiteles, and still more doubtful which of the copies represent the Thespian and which the Parian.

The Genius so called in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. I. tav. 12) and the one in the Borghese villa, as well as the *Cupid trying his Bow*, have been repeatedly declared to be copies of one or the other of the above-mentioned works of Praxiteles. In regard to the Genius so called in the Borghese villa there is no valid reason why it may not be a copy from the Cupid of Parium.

The Genius in the Pio-Clement museum deserves on account of its pure beauty to be regarded as worthy of an origin not less noble ; but the execution is somewhat angular and hard, which does not seem consistent in a copy from a work of Praxiteles, but rather denotes an original of a somewhat earlier date. The *Cupid trying his Bow* in the Capitoline museum, according to Visconti's opinion, is not a copy, as it was believed to be, from the Thespian Cupid of Praxiteles, but probably a copy from the bronze figure which Lysippus also made for Thespia. This conjecture is supported partly by the action, which seems too hazardous for a marble statue, and partly by the observation that in other probable copies from Praxiteles we notice only easy positions. (Plate XII.)

It is conjectured that Praxiteles's ideal of Bacchus and Diana was represented by him as consummately as that of Venus and Cupid. This conjecture seems to be based upon the very character of his style, in which the most elect beauty, the highest grace, and soft and flowing outlines are united with dignity and worth. Pliny, Pausanias, and other ancient authors, mention several celebrated images of the Bacchus and Diana of Praxiteles, and hence it is very probable that, among the statues of these deities still in existence, there are extant copies from them, although no investigations have hitherto been successful in positively determining them. — GERM. ED.

12. According to the Roman law (*Institut.*, lib. 1, tit. 22, princ.) puberty began with males after the fourteenth year, and with females after the twelfth, and *puber* or *pubes* is one who has reached this age; hence this epithet is very appropriate to the Apollo Sauroctonus, who seems to have the shape of a youth of about fourteen years of age. If there is no instance in which ancient art has formed an Apollo with a beard or with hair about the private parts, then it follows that *puber* cannot have the signification given above. *Puber* in Pliny signifies about the same as *βοῦπαις*, a boy who has attained his virility (Brunck., *Analect.*, Tom. II. p. 14, not. 30. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 2). — F. and GERM. ED.

13. This opinion is too favorable to the statue. (Compare Book VII, chap. 2, § 21, note 22.) Of the two repetitions in marble in the Borghese villa, one is very meritorious (*Sculpture*, Stanza II. tav. 5); the outlines are tender and flowing and the forms elegant; but there is a degree of carelessness in the handling, and a want of expressiveness, especially in the left eye and in the corners of the mouth, where the borer has been used, and in the collar-bones, that shows it to be a copy. The tip of the nose, the hands, and the left arm, are modern. The other, which stands in the garden of the villa, is in no wise superior. A beautiful figure of this kind is in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. I. tav. 13); and in the group called Castor and Pollux at St. Ildefonso in Spain, the younger youth, who leans against his companion standing upright, must have been originally such an Apollo Sauroctonus upon which has been placed a head of Antinous; the arms are modern restorations. In the Florentine gallery there is a beautiful torso of such an Apollo, into whose hand a lyre has been put by the restorer of the extremities. — GERM. ED.

14. Instead of again repeating here the anecdote in regard to the trick played by Phryne upon Praxiteles in reference to his Cupid (Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 20. Athen., lib. 13, cap. 6, not. 59), we much prefer to cite it as a voucher that in the age of high art no private individual in Greece wished to own a statue; for even Phryne dedicated the Cupid to Thespiæ (Pausan., lib. 9, cap. 27. Cic., *Verr.*, 2, lib. 4, cap. 2, 3). — GERM. ED.

15. Cic., *De Divinat.*, lib. 1, cap. 36.

The two oldest manuscripts, the one in the library of St. Mark at Venice, and the other in the Laurentian library at Florence, have the reading of the printed volumes. — W.

In the *Preliminary Treatise to the Monuments* (chap. 4, § 157), the author remarks that we must also in a passage of Pliny (lib. 33, cap. 12, sect. 55) read Pasiteles instead of Praxiteles, since it is highly probable that the historian intended in this place to speak of the former artist, of whom he makes mention in the passages just cited. — GERM. ED.

16. According to Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 6) the *Symplegma* stood at Pergamus. Kephissodorus, or, as he is more correctly named by Tatian (*Orat. ad Græc.*, cap. 52), Kephissodotus, was also a moulder in bronze, and he was especially celebrated for his statues of Hetairæ and his statue of Æsculapius, which was seen by Pliny. — GERM. ED.

17. We have already mentioned (Book IX. chap. 2, § 28, note) the circumstances connected with the heads of the two wrestlers at Florence. If one of the celebrated *Symplegmata* of which Pliny speaks has been preserved in them, we should rather conjecture it to be that of Kephissodotus

than of Heliodorus (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 10), although the words of Pliny (*loc. cit.* not. 6), *digitis corpori verius quam marmori impressis* — “fingers impressed upon flesh rather than upon marble” — seem to denote a hug and impress of the fingers on the body, which is not strictly the case with the Florentine wrestlers. (Plate XI.)

The artist of these two figures manifestly aimed to produce the delicate, tender, and soft, rather than the lofty and beautiful. Flesh lies on flesh, and the parts press and fit themselves with wonderful pliability one to another. The limbs and muscles are all in violent tension, but they are moved with exceeding elegance and carefulness. They who have claimed these figures as members of the family of Niobe should have considered this trait as well as the roundness and softness in the treatment of the flesh, and thus they would have recognized the different styles of the two works.

The artistic relation of the two wrestlers is not only beautiful but astonishing; the whole is in equilibrium; all the limbs, from whatever point of view seen, are wisely distributed; no view is empty, no one is crowded, and the beautiful triangle of the group is everywhere visible.

This monument has yet another glorious characteristic of art in common with the best works of antiquity, namely, that the will of the figures and the future moment of the action is denoted by the play of the muscles. We see how the wrestler who lies underneath is striving to get up, how the muscles of his back and thighs are powerfully swelling for the purpose, how the left arm with the hand planted firmly against the earth supports and seeks to lift the weight of the body. So too we see how the conqueror vigorously presses his adversary and holds him down, and how in the muscles of the right breast and in the hip the future blow or push is already prepared which he intends to return to his opponent.

The pleasing character of the style, the tenderness and smoothness of the technical treatment where the outlines are continually turning and bending, twining about, and flowing into one another with wonderful softness and charm, together with the perfect art of the composition, seem to us sufficient grounds to conjecture that this work may have originated in the times of Alexander the Great, or under his immediate successors.

Both figures have been broken several times, and it was necessary to patch the breaches in divers places with small pieces. We doubt whether the right hand together with the arm of the victor is antique, and we have a similar doubt in regard to the left hand of the defeated. The marble is of coarse grain, but of a soft, pleasing color, and more translucent than that of which the heads are wrought. The socle is made of a poor white marble with dirty spots, and seems to be a modern addition. The marks of the chisel are seen but rarely on both figures, and only in a few not conspicuous places. — GERM. ED.

18. Two years ago a head, having on it the name of Eubuleus, the son of one Praxiteles, was lost from the Negrioni villa. The form of the letters of the inscription as it is seen in books (Stosch, *Pierr. Gravées*, Pref. p. 11) is somewhat different from the actual. I give the inscription from a correct drawing: ΕΥΒΟΥΛΕΥΣ ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ. The mode of writing does not indicate the age of the celebrated Praxiteles. — W.

The monument mentioned (probably not a head, but perhaps a Hermes)

is not lost, for Visconti relates (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 36) that it passed from the Negroni villa into the possession of the Roman sculptor, Carlo Albaccini, and he has not a doubt that this Eubuleus was a son of the celebrated Praxiteles. — GERM. ED.

19. Quintil., lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 4. In this passage Quintilian is speaking of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, but not of Apollodorus. Plutarch (*De Gloria Atheniens.* princ.) says of Apollodorus that he was the first to introduce into his pictures the mixture of colors and the use of light and shade. — GERM. ED.

Compare Book IV. chap. 1, § 30.

20. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 8.

By his advice the authority at Sicyon decreed that the free-born boys should learn drawing before anything else, and that it should be accounted the first of the liberal arts. — GERM. ED.

21. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 16.

The works of Euphranor probably had heads too small and bodies too slender only in comparison with the works of his contemporary Praxiteles, and those of the most excellent artists in painting and plastic who immediately followed him. As Euphranor himself had written upon symmetry, and as a universal artist had worked in color, marble, and bronze, since he had executed Colossi and engraved beakers (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 11, sect. 10, not. 25), he cannot have been wanting in an accurate knowledge of the rules of proportion as established by the more ancient artists. The anecdote in relation to his Paris may teach us at least that the character befitting Paris was admirably presented, and beauty, grace, and dignity were united in his figure. There is nothing improbable in Visconti's conjecture (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. p. 69) that the celebrated Paris in marble, which was carried from the Altemps palace into the museum of the Vatican, is an antique copy of Euphranor's Paris in bronze. For among known monuments there is not one which represents Paris so worthily and heroically; his gesture — for he seems in the act of presenting the apple to the goddess — might perchance induce a panegyrist to say that we recognize in him the judge of goddesses. The noble beauty and soft features of the face proclaim a lover worthy of the most beautiful woman in the world, and the powerful forms of the limbs denote a hero who might easily conquer another hero. — GERM. ED.

22. The words of Pliny should not be interpreted to mean that Parrhasius possessed little knowledge of the structure of the human body, or of that which we call anatomy. If it were so, how could he have excelled in outline? That he was a great draughtsman we may infer with much probability from the fact that his pencil-drawings and sketches on tablets and parchment were valued in ancient times (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 5). Hence it is probable that the statement that Parrhasius expressed the shape of the body within the outline less perfectly than he made the outline itself imputes no fault to his skill, but merely says that he could not be surpassed in the tender, flowing, and vanishing lines of the contours of his figures, but that in the representation of the parts which lie within the outline his contemporaries may have had as much merit as he, — a statement which, especially in its application to those who were younger than he, as Timanthes, Euphranor, etc., is also conformable to the law of

progress in art. The words of Pliny confirm this explanation, and Quintilian (lib. 12, cap. 10, princ.) seems, in the passage in which he compares the pictures of Zeuxis with those of Parrhasius, to express precisely the same idea ; for Zeuxis gave to the limbs of his figures more fulness and expression of bodily power, — *nam Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit*, — but Parrhasius made the whole outlines so admirable that he was named the Law-giver, — *Ille vero ita circumscripsit omnia, ut eum legum latorem vocent*. — GERM. ED.

23. Timanthes, the contemporary of Parrhasius (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 3), should on account of his merit have been mentioned here. All his pictures were remarkable for their invention, and they had the peculiarity of suggesting even more than they represented. Hence he ranked higher as an artist for fertility of invention than for technical skill, although his pictures always received the highest degree of finish (Plin., *loc. cit.*, not. 6). With his Ajax he excelled Parrhasius himself (Plin., *loc. cit.*, not. 5) ; but the most celebrated of his pictures was the one which represented the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Quintil., lib. 2, cap. 13. Valer. Max., lib. 8, cap. 11, not. 6. Cicer., *Orat.*, cap. 22. Eustath., *Ad Iliad*, lib. 24, vers. 163). — GERM. ED.

24. Aristot., lib. 3, cap. 7.

In this passage neither *ethos* nor *ethikon* signifies *action*, but Aristotle shows in the whole chapter that a speech can be termed appropriate only when it is *ethike*, that is to say, only when it is suitable to the place and the circumstances, and conformable to the character of the speaker. — GERM. ED.

25. Lib. 35, cap. 9, sect. 36, not. 2.

Aristotle in his *Poetics* (cap. 6, § 12), particularly excludes the signification of action from the word where he says, “ Without action, *ἄνευ πράξεως*, there cannot be a tragedy ; but there may be *ἄνευ ἠθους*, without morals.” When therefore a well-expressed character, *ἠθος*, *mores*, is attributed by Pliny to the Penelope of Zeuxis, he does not mean to say that the figure was represented in lively action, — which would not have been decorous in a Penelope, according to the opinions of the ancients, — but to allude to the higher moral expression which the artist had skilfully introduced into his work. — GERM. ED.

*ἠθος*, *cujus nomine caret sermo Romanus, mores appellantur. Sed ipsam rei naturam spectanti mihi, non tam mores significari videntur quam morum quædam proprietates.*

“*ἠθος* (*ethos*), a word which is wanting in the Latin language, means *mores*, morals. But it seemed to me on careful consideration that it did not so much signify morals, as a certain propriety of conduct.”

Quintil., lib. 6, cap. 2, not. 8, 9.

26. Dati, *Vite de' Pittori*, p. 68.

27. Senec., *Epist.*, 86. The passage runs thus : *Pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt ; nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt ; nisi illis undique operosa et in picturæ modum variata circumlitio prætexitur*, — “ He seems to himself to be a poor, mean fellow, unless the walls of his house are refulgent with large and precious medallions in marble ; unless the marbles of Alexandria are inlaid with plates of Numidian marble, and embellished with elaborate borders in varied colors after the manner of pictures.”

Lipsius thought quite correctly that the words *in picturæ modum variata circumlitio* might be interpreted "Mosaic work." — GERM. ED.

Quatremère de Quincy, in his *Jupiter Olympien*, thinks that *circumlitio* was a kind of encaustic painting which in ancient times was frequently applied to statues, — as he attempts to show in several places in his book. The object was not to give to them the semblance of reality, but, as it were, the faintest approach to a resemblance to color. — E.

I offer an opinion here with much diffidence in regard to the meaning of this passage, and especially of the word *circumlitio*. If it had been applied to a painting, instead of a marble table or slab, there would be no hesitation as to its interpretation, literally a placing of colors around a canvas or a wall in stripes or meanders. Now, as I understand the passage, it will read thus : "The Alexandrian tables of marble were inlaid in the central parts with African marble, and around the circumference were placed other marbles of different colors in stripes or bands, such as we see in the paintings of Pompeii." I have accordingly rendered the passage very nearly in this manner. — TR.

## BOOK X.

### CHAPTER I.

1. QUINTILIAN (lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 9) expresses the following opinion of him : "We are assured that Lysippus and Praxiteles made the best approximation to nature, for Demetrius, the contemporary of Lysippus, aimed at a likeness more than at beauty, and is censured for the anxious accuracy of his representations of nature."

From the conversation of Lysippus with Eupompus, and from the remark of Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 6), that Lysippus allowed himself to be directed in his style by the answer of Eupompus, it may be inferred that he did not strive so much to produce in his works the highest ideal of art as to ennoble the reality of nature. Eupompus, on being asked by Lysippus what one of his predecessors he should imitate, pointed to a group of men, and said, "We must imitate nature itself, and not the artist." He avoided *common* reality, "for he represented men, not as they are, but as they seemed to him to be." (Plin., *loc. cit.*) He made the body more slender and the head smaller than his predecessors (Plin., *loc. cit.*), bestowing upon the hair especial pains, and by the careful execution which he devoted to the least portions of his works he imparted to them an elegance which distinguished them above the works of all his predecessors. — GERM. ED.

2. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 7, sect. 17.

According to the best manuscripts of Pliny, Lysippus executed fifteen hundred works, for he was the most prolific of all artists (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 6), and attained a ripe old age (Brunck., *Analect.*, Tom. III. p. 45, not. 35, vers. 1. Vellei, *Paterc.*, lib. 1, cap. 2. Ruhnken., not. p. 603).

It is probable that when Pliny made this statement in regard to the

number of works executed by Lysippus, he reckoned each single statue in the larger groups as a distinct work. On this assumption the statement will seem less incredible, especially when we reflect that Lysippus prepared only the model, and retouched the casting, — which was done under the care of others, — whenever such labor was needed, which was not often the case, so great was the certainty of the ancients in moulding, as we see by ancient statues and fragments in bronze. — GERM. ED.

3. The opinion is adopted by many antiquarians, and also by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. p. 93), that the *Cupid trying his Bow*, of which numerous repetitions exist, is a copy of the one executed by Lysippus in bronze, and which Pausanias saw at Thespiae (Pausan., lib. 9, cap. 27). The most beautiful figure of this kind is in the Capitoline museum (Plate XII. of this volume). That the Thespian Cupid of Praxiteles had been copied in ancient times we know from Pausanias (lib. 9, cap. 27), who saw at Thespiae, on the spot where the original formerly stood, only a copy from the hand of Menodorus the Athenian. — GERM. ED.

4. This name was not noticed by the illustrator of ancient statues (Maffei, *Raccolta di Stat.*, alla tav. 49, col. 49), otherwise he would not have supposed the statue to be a work of Polyclethus. This Hercules gives no very favorable idea of either artist. — W.

The inscription reads not ΔΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, but ΔΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΝ, written on the rock against which the club of Hercules leans. — F.

5. As Phædrus shows (*Fabul.*, lib. 5, *Prolog.* vers. 5) : —

Ut quidam artifices nostro faciunt sæculo,  
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo  
Si marmori adscripserunt Praxitelem suo,  
Myronem argento. Plus vetustati nam favet  
Invidia mordax, quam bonis præsentibus. — W.

“As certain artists of our time contrive,  
Whose modern works sell for a greater price  
If on the marble they inscribe Praxiteles,  
And on the silver Myron. For carping envy  
Is more favorable to ancient than to modern merit.”

6. The figure of the Hercules in the Pitti palace, at Florence, resembles in its attitude the Farnese Hercules, and is nearly of the same size, but far inferior to it in regard to execution. D'Hancarville speaks of this statue as a Greek monument of primeval antiquity upon which an idealized head of Commodus was afterwards set. The inscription may indeed be ancient, but it was applied with fraudulent intent. Although the head was broken off, and the present head may possibly not belong to the statue, still it would be quite difficult to recognize in it the features of Commodus, as the face is badly damaged. Still less probable is D'Hancarville's opinion (*Antiq. Etrusc. Grec. et Rom.*, Tom. IV.) in respect to the body and the limbs, because the workmanship on these parts indicates absolutely nothing of the peculiar severe and angular character of the older style of Greek art. At the first view of this Hercules we felt disposed, without any consideration, to hold it for an ancient imitation of the Farnese statue. But Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 66) prefers to report them both as enlarged imitations of a small bronze by Lysippus. His conjecture becomes the more probable as the inscription on the statue in the Pitti palace might

indicate that it was based on a work of Lysippus, and as the Farnese Hercules was undoubtedly a freer and more characteristic copy, Glycon might consider himself warranted in attaching his name to it as the master of the Venus de' Medici also did, although he copied the prototype of Praxiteles.

The portraits of Socrates, mostly as Hermæ, of which quite a large number exist, may also probably be counted as copies of works of Praxiteles. It is known from Diogenes Laertius (lib. 2, cap. 43) that the Athenians caused an image of that philosopher to be cast by Lysippus, with the intention of setting it up publicly in the Odeon. In fact the better heads of Socrates proclaim a glorious prototype. According to another statement (Phædr., *Fabul.*, lib. 2, in *Epilog.* Brunck., *Analect.*, Tom. III. p. 45, not. 35), Lysippus also executed from tradition likenesses of the seven wise men of Greece, and thus it is possible that the Hermæ of Bias and Periander (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. tav. 23, 25) are probably copied from the originals by him.

Of some few portraits of Alexander the Great we might believe with the best reason that they were executed after originals of Lysippus. But whether the celebrated Hermes with an inscription, which was disinterred at Tivoli, belongs to this number we do not venture to decide, because no external characteristic is visible in it by which we can determine with any degree of confidence that it is a copy of a bronze original, and therefore of a work of Lysippus. We find ourselves in a similar perplexity in regard to a head of Alexander in the Albani villa, which is not less beautiful but wears a helmet.

We infer from the handling of a naked statue less than life-size among the Gabini antiquities (No. 23), that it belongs to the time of Caracalla. As we know that this emperor honored the memory of Alexander, and that he also caused numerous copies of his portrait to be made, it is probable that said figure was copied from a work of Lysippus. This we may conjecture also of the small bronze equestrian statue from Herculaneum (*Bronzi di Ercolano*, Tom. II. tav. 61, 62), though it is older and of much better execution than the Gabini figure in marble.

Whether the dying Alexander at Florence is a likeness of the Macedonian conqueror or not (see Book VIII. chap. 2, § 5, note 4), we feel convinced that it belongs to the art of this age; indeed we would scarcely desire to have it acknowledged as an authentic likeness of Alexander. For the workmanship is so wonderfully excellent and full of soul, that it seems more appropriate to suppose it to be an original of some one of the best masters of the time, than a mere copy of a bronze of Lysippus, however glorious. The case is somewhat different with the large head also named Alexander in the Capitoline museum. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. p. 28) holds that the said Capitoline head represents the sun, and in support of his opinion trusts principally to the fact that, in the band which confines the hair, holes are visible in which bronze rays may originally have been stuck; similar holes may be seen also in a statue of the god of the sun—an entire statue, though not of full life size—in the Borghese villa (*Sculture della Villa Borghese*, Stanz. 3, No. 2). He might also have added that the arrangement of the hair on the Capitoline head has some resemblance to that of this statue. But the individual features of a portrait are very distinctly visible on the said Capitoline head;

we consequently offend against good taste, misjudge the spirit of ancient art, and degrade art itself, when we assume that it ventured to present a divinity, in a grand, worthy style of forms, it is true, as we perceive in this work, but absolutely with human, portrait-like traits. But the Capitoline head has, we repeat it, individual features, or, to speak more clearly, it has the appearance of an idealized portrait; the cheeks are flatter than they usually are in ideal divine shapes; the nose, of which only the tip has been repaired, is more sunken at the root and more curved on the back; the hairs of the eyebrows are rendered, and there is a slight depression in the eyeballs for the purpose of denoting the pupils. The conformation of the face generally indicates manhood, and notwithstanding this head is without beard with the exception of a few thin locks on the cheeks near the ears. But who will believe that a wise ancient artist has committed the indiscretion of conceiving and representing a shaved sun-god? As a consequence of the grounds adduced, we therefore declare the opinion that the Capitoline head is a god of the sun to be erroneous; but whether it is really a portrait of Alexander we leave to be decided by further impartial investigation. The turn of the head seems indeed a circumstance favorable to such a conjecture, but Visconti has allegorically interpreted this peculiarity in favor of his opinion in a very ingenious way, and explained it as a subtle allusion to the circumstance that the sun in his daily course from east to west shows himself as it were with averted countenance to the dwellers on this hemisphere. However the force of the arguments previously adduced would be no more impaired by such an explanation than by the assertion of Visconti that the physiognomy of the Capitoline head is exactly the same as that of a sun-god with the motto, *Oriens*, on golden coins of Trajan. For if this statement was strictly accurate, the artistic taste of the images on these coins would be just as deficient as in the Capitoline head, provided it actually represented the sun-god. But we have no reason to think so unfavorably of ancient art and its artists.

If however we agree to admit with Winckelmann that the Capitoline head is a genuine portrait of Alexander, then it may be assumed almost with certainty that it is a copy from a bronze original of Lysippus. Consequently this monument might give us some insight into the taste and style of Lysippus. Although the work is well executed, the fine taste and the conception of it are better, freer, grander, and more spiritual than the execution, and we can hence infer a nobler and more perfect original. That this original was of bronze is probable from the rendering of the eyebrows and from the slight depression which denotes the pupil of the eye, because each of these traits, expressed in this way, seems to have been adopted on works of bronze oftener, probably earlier also, than on works of marble.

We might further learn from this monument what Pliny meant to say when he praises Lysippus on account of the hair of his works. On this head it is disposed in beautiful large masses of locks, and used particularly as an aid to expression. The artist wished to represent the moment when the head is turned with a lively quick motion from the right to the left side, and with this intention he gave to the locks of hair the direction as though they floated, in conformity to the movement of the head to the left side, forwards against the face, but on the right side backwards away from

it ; and in fact it will be difficult to find in ancient works of art a more beautiful illustration of a skilful application of the hair to the purpose of expression. — GERM. ED.

7. Lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 11. Pliny makes no mention of the time at which Agesander and his assistants lived ; but Maffei, in his *Explanation of Ancient Statues* (Tom. I.), has pretended to know that these artists flourished in the eighty-eighth Olympiad, and other writers, as Richardson for example, have copied the assertion. Maffei has, as I believe, taken Athenodorus, a pupil of Polyclethus (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, princ.), for one of the artists of the Laocoön ; and as Polyclethus flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, he has placed his presumed scholar an Olympiad later ; he can have no other grounds. Rollin (*Hist. Anc.*, Tom. II. p. 87) speaks of the Laocoön as if it were no longer in existence. — W.

8. In 1717 the Cardinal Alexander Albani discovered at Nettuno, formerly Antium, in a large vault excavated in the bed of the sea, the base of a statue of blackish marble, now called *Bigio*. Near it was found a fragment of a hanging mantle, termed chlamys, — a portion of a statue of white marble which had been inserted in this base ; of the figure itself no remnant could be discovered. On the base was found the following inscription,

ΑΘΑΝΟΔΥΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΤ  
ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ.

“Athanodorus, the son of Agesander, a native of Rhodes, made.”

From this inscription we learn that father and son wrought on the Laocoön, and probably Polydorus also was a son of Agesander, for this Athanodorus cannot be any other than the one mentioned by Pliny. This inscription proves further that there were more than three works of art, the number limited by Pliny, on which the artists had placed the word *ἐποίησε*, *made*, in a complete and perfect tense. He relates that other artists from modesty expressed themselves in an indefinite tense, *ἐποίει*, *was making*. Under the same arch, but farther in the sea, there was found the fragment of a large rilievo, upon which can still be seen represented only a portion of a shield, and of a sword hanging below it, and a pile of stones, against the foot of which leans a slab. Of all the works which have been preserved, no one can compare with this in elegance and execution. It is in the possession of the sculptor, Bartholomew Cavaceppi. — W.

9. I have found in an authentic manuscript the statement that Pope Julius II. granted to Felix von Fredis who discovered the Laocoön in the Baths of Titus, to him and to his sons as a reward, *Introitus et portionem gabellæ portæ St. Joannis Lateranensis*, — “The right and entrance and a part of the custom’s-tax of the Gate of St. John of Lateran.” But Leo X. restored this revenue to the church of St. John of Lateran, and bestowed upon him in place of it *officium scriptoriæ apostolicæ*, “the office of apostolic scribe,” of which a brief was executed for him on the 9th of November, 1517. — W.

10. *Pierres Antiq. Gravées*, Pl. 55, 56. Visconti (*Iconogr. Anc.*, Tom. II. p. 41) conjectures that the fragment of a head of Alexander, cut in alto, which was formerly in the possession of Azara, and afterwards passed

into the collection of the Empress Josephine of France, was executed either by Pyrgoteles himself, or else was a copy of his work. — GERM. ED.

11. Stosch [mentions several other ancient engraved gems, and especially two by Dioscorides, on which the name of the artist is also in the nominative. — F.

12. There is a story current that the Cardinal paid for it twelve hundred dollars, or, according to others, sequins. Both prices are wrong; it was given to him by the present canon Castiglione. — W.

13. Book III. chap. 4, § 7.

14. Lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 12.

Arnauld (*Mémoires de Littérature*, Tom. XLIX. p. 203) understands the words quoted in the same sense as the author, since he translates them, "He did not allow a day to pass without drawing." *Linea* therefore signifies here an entire outline of a figure. Böttiger, *Ideen zur Archäologie der Malerei*, Seit. 154.) — GERM. ED.

15. *Dict. Hist. et Critique*. Vide Apelles.

The ancients mention the works of Apelles with the highest praise (Martial., lib. 2, *Epigram.* 7. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 10. Quintil., lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 7. Cicer., *De Claris Orator.*, cap. 18). We must indeed be content with the mere statements; but brief as they are, they are more copious and numerous in regard to him than to any other artist. It is shown by them that Apelles was the greatest painter of antiquity in regard to charm of invention and grace of execution, and possessed extraordinary merit as a colorist (Plin., *loc. cit.*, not. 15, 16. Cicer., *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. 1, 16. Propert., lib. 1, *Eleg.* 2, vers. 22. Lucian., *Imag.*, cap. 7. Stat., *Sylv.*, lib. 1, vers. 102). From other passages of the ancients we infer that his paintings exhibited power, finish, and admirable keeping (Lucian., *Calumniat.*, cap. 5. Plin., *loc. cit.* not. 10. Cicer., *Orat.*, cap. 73), yet he himself conceded that Asclepiodorus excelled him in the last quality, — for *mensuræ* in Pliny seems to signify the keeping, the aerial perspective, the distances of objects. The mention by Pliny (*loc. cit.*, not. 18) of *lapis lazuli*, by the use of which Apelles gave finish to his pictures, and to all parts of them harmony, tone, and a subdued brilliancy that was agreeable to the eyes, must lead us to form the most favorable opinion of his skill also in this respect.

His Venus Anadyomene appears also to have served very frequently as a model for round works, for a standing Venus is found repeatedly in miniature in bronze and on engraved gems, represented as pressing her hair with both hands on her head, as if she was squeezing the water from it, having just risen from the ocean. In the Colonna gallery at Rome is a beautifully wrought statue of marble of the size of life, and in an exactly similar attitude. We may therefore infer that these images of Venus are, in regard to gesture, imitations of the celebrated work of Apelles. — GERM. ED.

16. Pliny (*loc. cit.*) mentions a painting by Aristides which was in the temple of Fides on the Capitol at Rome. It represented an old man with a lyre instructing a youth. We possess something like it in a picture on a vase published by Wilhelm Tischbein (*Engravings*, Vol. IV.). It is probably a hasty and incomplete sketch of the work of a great master. — GERM. ED.

Plate XIII.

17. Apelles is said to have remarked that Protogenes equalled, even excelled him, in every particular except in knowing when to stop painting on a picture (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 10). Quintilian (lib. 12, cap. 10, not. 6) extols Protogenes as a most admirable artist in regard to his careful finish, *cura præstantissimus*. When Pliny (*Aul. Gell.*, lib. 15, cap. 31. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, lib. 2, epist. 21. Plin., lib. 7, cap. 38, sect. 39) commends his Ialysus as the most glorious of his works, and at the same time states that he laid upon this picture four colors, one upon the other, in order to its permanency, we can hardly understand him to mean anything else than that the painter laid upon it four coats of colors. When moreover Plutarch (*Demetr.*, cap. 22) and Ælian (*Var. Hist.*, lib. 12, cap. 41) relate that Protogenes worked seven years upon this picture, we may believe that he expended upon it an extraordinary amount of labor, and that he may take in the history of ancient art almost the very place which Leonardo da Vinci occupies in modern times. — GERM. ED.

18. Strab., lib. 14, cap. 2, not. 5. Zoëga, *Bassi Rilievi*, tav. 70.

This Satyr of Protogenes was called Anapauomenus, *The Reposing*, partly on account of his posture, and partly on account of the undisturbed security and leisure which the artist enjoyed in the execution of the painting whilst the city of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the little garden of the artist on the outside of the city was even included in the circuit of the enemy's camp. (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 20.) — GERM. ED.

19. Visconti does not count it among the authentic likenesses of this conqueror.

The statue of Alexander in marble among the Gabini antiquities, of which mention has been made above in the note to § 10, had not been discovered in the time of Winckelmann. The Herculaneum bronze which represents Alexander on horseback has been twice mentioned by him in the text. But he does not seem to be altogether consistent in regard to it. In Book V. chap. 6, § 21, he says: "The conformation is similar in every respect to that of Alexander." In Book VII. chap. 2, § 17, it is on the other hand called a "presumed Alexander." However we believe that no one need be led into error by the apparent inconsistency, but that we may with Visconti assume it as decided that this monument is actually a likeness of Alexander. — GERM. ED.

20. Fea seeks to prove that the celebrated Hermes of Cipollino marble, which was discovered during an excavation in the villa of the Pisones at Tivoli, in the year 1779, is a genuine likeness of Alexander. The hair of the head is arranged in the manner described by Winckelmann; the features of the face, of which the skin is a little corroded, appear to denote the hero at a manly age, and to correspond to his character as depicted by ancient authors (Plutarch., *De Fortitud. Alex. Orat.*, II. p. 335. *Alex.*, cap. 4. Ælian., *Var. Hist.*, lib. 12, cap. 14. Arrian., *De Expedit. Alex.*, lib. 7, cap. 28. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, sect. 36, not. 12). The nose of this Hermes is modern. Although Mengs at first sight, and even before the discovery of the inscription, held this monument to be a work of art of the age of Alexander (*Opere di Mengs*, p. 32), still we hesitate to acknowledge his opinion as sufficiently grounded, especially in regard to the workmanship, which is certainly good, yet far from being so excellent as we might

expect in a likeness of Alexander executed in his time. It seems to us that we may with more propriety consider it as a copy, executed at a later period, of a far better original. At all events, it serves to refute the erroneous statement of M. Croix (*Exam. des Hist. d'Alex.*, p. 506), who asserts that there does not exist any genuine likeness of Alexander. — GERM. ED.

21. *Bronzi d'Ercolano*, Tom. I. tav. 11-13.

Under the guidance of the bust in the Herculaneum museum, several heads in marble have since been recognized as portraits of the great orator. One of the most beautiful of them was put upon a seated statue in the Vatican museum, of which an engraving may be seen in Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. tav. 14). An entire standing figure of Demosthenes, belonging to the Duke of Dorset of England, was found in Campania; an engraving of it may be seen in Fea (Tom. II. tav. 6), who also (p. 254) makes mention of another similar yet less well preserved statue in the Aldobrandini villa at Frascati. In the museum of the Prince of Piombino, at Rome, there may be found according to Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 15) an intaglio gem on which Dioscorides has given a front view of the head of Demosthenes. This admirable gem was published by Winckelmann (*Vorlauf. Abhand.*, Kap. 4, § 172, Vignette No. 16) and by Bräcci (*Memoire degli Incisori*, Tom. II. tav. 69) as the portrait of an unknown. Both of them are wrong in calling the stone a carnelian; it is a very beautiful amethyst. In the Pamfili villa near Rome is an alto-rilievo shaped like a shield, with the bust of Demosthenes and his engraved name. By the aid of this monument we ought to have been able to recognize the likenesses of Demosthenes even earlier than by the Herculaneum bronze; but as the execution was only of an indifferent character, the monument may have attracted but little attention, and even the antiquity of the inscription was doubted, though Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 53) regards it as a genuine antique. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. tav. 37) has already made known a Hermes which may well be regarded as one of the most admirable of the still extant portraits of Demosthenes. — GERM. ED.

22. It is about a palm and a third high ( $11\frac{3}{4}$  in.) and a palm in breadth ( $8\frac{3}{4}$  in.), and before Winckelmann's time it went to England, into the possession of Dr. Mead. — F.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. FRÆLICH., *Annal. Reg. Syr.*, tab. 2, not. 1.

This ninth paragraph is copied without change from the Vienna edition. In the *Notes* the author thus expresses himself in regard to the coin in question. "One of the most beautiful coins of this age in silver, and one of the largest silver Greek coins known to me, — for it is somewhat more than two inches in diameter, — is that of King Antigonus, probably Antigonus First, a king in Asia. On the obverse is an old bearded head in very high relief, of which the hair hangs down, not in curling locks, but in straight bands, and a lock of hair falls down upon the forehead as on some comic masks it stands up, and the upper eyebrow-bones have an exaggerated

curve, which also is usual in such masks. A garland of ivy surrounds this head, which probably represents the god Pan, and which is stamped also on a coin of Gallienus (Tristan., *Comm.*, Tom. III. p. 83). This divinity was especially honored by the Greeks because of the victory over the Persians at Marathon, which was ascribed to him. As the prow of a vessel is stamped on the reverse, it seems probable that this coin is commemorative of a naval victory obtained by the said Antigonus, which, in imitation of the Athenians, was ascribed to the god Pan. It cannot represent Silenus, because he always has a pleasant, quiet expression; neither has it a curled beard like the statue of Silenus in the Borghese villa, nor a beard with a soft wave in it like the so-called head of Plato, and moreover it is represented with pointed ears. On the contrary the head on the coin shows an earnest, severe expression, and has a woolly, stringy beard, which is appropriate to the Arcadian deity, and it is crowned with ivy, probably on account of the close relationship of Pan with the Indian Bacchus. It has not the ram's horns by which Pan is usually distinguished, but we learn from a Greek epigram of Philodemus (*Analect.*, Tom. II. p. 90, not. 28) that the artists did not always form him after the same model, for the figure of Pan which is there described resembles a Hercules in bust and belly, and a Mercury in legs and feet. On the reverse, Apollo is sitting with a strung bow in his hand on the prow of a vessel, and on two of the beams may be read the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, — of King Antigonus. Behind the Apollo stands a trident or *fuscina*, and below the vessel is a dolphin, which is probably intended as a symbol of the surname Δελφίνιος, which was given to Apollo because he, in the shape of a dolphin, guided a vessel with the first colonists to Delos, in order to stock the island. A similar coin, badly drawn and worse explained, has been introduced by Father Frœlich into his work. An engraving of this coin, which is in the museum of the author, may be found on the title-page of these *Notes*."

2. Ficoroni, *Singular. di Roma Mod.*, cap. 7, p. 44.

In the first edition, p. 353, Winckelmann writes of this monument as follows: "We can believe that the Farnese Bull so called may be this very work; it does not seem credible that any one would have made a copy of a work of so unusual a size. But they who hold it as far below what would be expected in a work executed in a good age, and regard it as a Roman work, so styled, are blind in common with all those who have written of it. For what should have been the most beautiful parts are modern, in despite of the assertion it was found without the least deficiencies in the Baths of Caracalla, and required no other repair than the reunion of the broken parts. The upper portion of Dirce as low as the thighs is modern; of Tethus and Amphion nothing is antique but the trunks and one leg of the two figures; the restorer seems to have modelled their heads after the head of Caracalla; he was named Battista Bianchi, a sculptor of Milan. Antiope, who is standing, and the seated young man, both in almost perfect preservation, should have shown the great difference between the original and the restored parts. It has always seemed surprising that the rope was preserved, but the wonder will cease when it is known that the head of the Bull, to which it was attached, is modern. Aldrovandi describes the work before it was restored, and at that time it was held to be a Hercules slaying the Bull of Marathon." From the *Notes*, p. 112, we extract as

follows: "One of the greatest lovers of art at the time of Augustus was Asinius Pollio, who gathered together the best statues from many parts of Greece, and made a public exhibition of them. Among them were also Amphion, Zethus, Antiope, Dirce, the Bull, and the Rope, cut from a single block of marble, which was brought from Rhodes; it is believed to be the same work which stands in the Farnese palace, and is known by the name of the Farnese Bull. The artists were two brothers, named Apollonius and Tauriscus, not of Rhodes, but of Tralles, a city in Lydia. In the inscription they had mentioned as their father both their teacher and him who begot them; so that, as Pliny remarks, it seemed doubtful who of the two was the natural father. This inscription is not to be found on the work in question, neither is it possible to say on what part it may have been placed; for only legs, arms, and heads are wanting, and the inscription cannot have been put on either of these, so that a doubt might arise whether the Farnese Bull is the work of which Pliny speaks. All the modern writers who make mention of this work, some of whom I have cited in the *History of Art*, assert that it was found without mutilation; this palpable error probably originated with Vasari, who, in his *Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, says that this work was wrought from a single block, and not in pieces. In enumerating the restored parts I erred in including the head of the Bull, for this is antique; the head of Antiope is modern. Below the figure of Zethus a thyrsus is lying, by which the artist indicated his choice of a country life; for the thyrsus is a spear of which the point is wound with leaves of ivy; here we see the point projecting; hence it is termed by the poets a pacific spear."

3. Blainville, *Voyage*.

4. This monument was carried about the year 1786 from Rome to Naples, where it was repaired anew. It stands at present on the public promenade of the Villa Reale. The reader who wishes to know more about it may consult Heyne (*Antiquar. Aufsätze*, St. 2, Seit. 182-224). But this learned inquirer, as he was unable to form an opinion from personal examination of the monument, appears to have too low an estimate of its merit as a work of art. Among the statues published by Piranesi may be found a pretty good engraving of it. — GERM. ED.

5. Notwithstanding the beauty of these coins they show, when compared with those of Philip and Alexander, a falling off in artistic skill. — GERM. ED.

6. *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. III. tav. 48.

It is almost colossal, in complete armor, with badly restored legs, arms, crest of helmet, and a portion of the nose. The antique workmanship is admirable, but it is difficult to explain the significance of the whole. The author was induced by the resemblance of the head to the head of Agamemnon on the great urn, usually regarded as the funeral urn of Alexander Severus and his mother, to acknowledge it as an Agamemnon, and the dignity of the figure seems to favor his conjecture. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 4, b.) holds it for a Mars on account of the griffin and rams' heads with which the helmet is ornamented, precisely in the same manner as on indisputable figures of Mars on bas-reliefs and coins. A small marble figure which might pass for an antique repetition of the great Capitoline work may be found among the ancient monuments of the Bor-

ghese villa (*Sculpture*, Stanza 3, no. 2). It is true that the head has been restored, but the legs have been preserved, and are clothed with armor. — GERM. ED.

Compare Book V. chap. 1, § 18.

7. Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, cap. 15, p. 221.

There is a monument of this kind, a rilievo, in the Ludovisi villa, but the stone is not porphyry, but marble. It is of beautiful workmanship, and the features of the face strikingly resemble those of the Capitoline statue; the nose is modern, so also is undoubtedly a portion of the helmet and armor. — GERM. ED.

Compare Book VII. chap. 1, § 28.

8. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 17) speaks of a small bas-relief with the bust and engraved name of Menander among the antiquities of the Farnese family. This bust resembles strongly the Marius, formerly so called, in the Negroni villa, of which an engraving may be found in the Pio-Clement museum, and hence has led to the recognition in this admirable statue of the likeness of Menander. — GERM. ED.

9. The custom of erecting portrait-statues to the victors in the Olympic Games existed not only under the first Roman Cæsars, as we may learn from Lucian (*Pro Imagin.*, cap. 11), who lived in the time of the Antonines, but it is evident from an inscription in the Chigi palace (Reines., *Class. V.* not. 44. Spon, *Miscell. Erud. Antiq.*, sect. X., no. 108, p. 362. Van Dale, *Dissert.* 8, p. 638. Corsini, *Dissert. Agonist.*, Dissert. IV. no. 12, p. 99) that the custom continued until about the year 370. The author however mistakes in thinking that the names of the victors in the chariot-race designated the Olympiads; the victors in the foot-races were those whose names were used by the chronographers to designate the Olympiads. — GERM. ED.

10. Kleoxenes conquered in the boxing-match (Euseb., *Chronic.*, p. 346). — GERM. ED.

11. The hard, intractable stone is handled in a masterly manner; the folds are arranged with uncommon elegance, yet they are too much crowded, and do not form any large masses. — GERM. ED.

12. Now probably in Florence. It is a pleasing, slender figure, but her robe is not folded so prettily, nor is the workmanship so admirable, as in the torso above mentioned. — GERM. ED.

13. The forms of the limbs have a very noble character; the arrangement of the folds, especially of the mantle, is of the utmost elegance, but in the under garment, as well as on the breast, it is occasionally intricate. The head is distinguished by noble features, although it is still a question whether it is the original head of the figure. It has also suffered many mutilations; besides the diadem, the left cheek together with the ear, the nose and the upper lip, are modern; the hands also are new, and of the feet the left certainly. — GERM. ED.

14. Dickinson, *Delphi Phœnissantes*, cap. 1, *In Crenii Opusc.*, Fasc. 1.

Of Lycophron we have at least the two first anagrams known to us, as he changed Ptolemaios into ἀπὸ μέλιτος, of honey, and the name Arsinöe into ἰὼν Ἥρας, violet of Juno (Heyne, *De Genio Sæculi Ptolemæorum*, in *Opusc. Acad.*, Vol. I. p. 76-135). — GERM. ED.

15. Antigonus Gonatas, being well acquainted with the fickle disposition

of the Athenians, determined to punish them for their behavior towards his father Demetrius, and to secure himself against them in the future. He therefore laid siege to the city, and compelled it to receive a garrison (Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 7, 30; lib. 3, cap. 6. Polyb., lib. 2, cap. 41). — GERM. ED.

16. Pausan., lib. 8, cap. 51, 52.

According to Plutarch (*Philopœm.*, cap. 1), Philopœmen was called by a Roman the last of the Greeks; and even Mummius spared the statues erected to him (Plutarch., *Philopœm.*, cap. 21). In the time of Plutarch there was still standing a portrait-statue at Delphi of him.

Aratus was a lover and connoisseur of painting (Polyb., lib. 2, cap. 43). He formed a collection of the pictures of the most distinguished artists, especially of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent it to Ptolemy, king of Egypt. He did not send the portraits of the rulers in his native city, Sicyon, but destroyed them all with the exception of a single picture, painted by Apelles and the pupils of Melanthus, which represented Aristratus. Nealkes, a painter and friend of Aratus, begged with tears that this beautiful picture might be spared, and Aratus yielded on the condition that the head of Aristratus should be painted out (Plutarch., *In Arat.*, cap. 12, 13). — GERM. ED.

### CHAPTER III.

1. CICER., *In Verr.*, Act. 2, lib. 4, cap. 55. This painting consisted of many tablets with which the inner walls of the temple were covered. Verres carried off this picture and the portraits of the kings of Sicily, very beautifully painted on twenty-seven tablets, which were suspended in the same temple. — GERM. ED.

2. Strab., lib. 13, cap. 4, § 2.

It should be Attalus the First, for this king, as it will be seen from the author's subsequent remarks, was especially honored by the Sicyonians. — GERM. ED.

3. Polyb., lib. 27, cap. 15.

The states in the Peloponnesus had unanimously determined to destroy the monuments erected in honor of Eumenes, but by the interposition of his brother Attalus this decision was repealed. — GERM. ED.

4. Lib. 35, cap. 2, sect. 2.

The reader can compare Strabo (lib. 13, pp. 906, 926) and Vitruvius (lib. 7, Praef.) in regard to the library. In reference to the further fate of this library, the only information which we find is that it was sent by Antony to Alexandria, as a gift to Cleopatra. At that time it consisted of two hundred thousand single books or volumes, rolls, *βιβλίων ἀπλῶν*. (Plutarch., *In Anton.* cap. 56.) — GERM. ED.

5. Plin., lib. 13, cap. 11, sect. 21.

Pliny does not state from which one of the Ptolemies this order proceeded. Although it has been attributed by several learned men to Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is more probable that it was issued by Ptolemy Euergetes II., or Physcon, who was an enthusiastic collector of books (Galen., *In Hipocr. Epidem.*, lib. 3), and was a contemporary of

Eumenes, who made the largest additions to the library at Pergamus. — GERM. ED.

6. The hand of the Apollo with the swan at his feet is not placed upon his head, although another statue of him has the hand so placed ; of the latter there are also repetitions. The ancient artists selected this position also for figures of Bacchus. — GERM. ED.

7. In the first edition, from which this paragraph is taken, we read : "This base was found in my time at Porto d' Anzio, formerly Antium, by the workmen employed in cleaning out the harbor." — GERM. ED.

8. Of silver.

9. On the drawing which was sent to England, to Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, Vol. II. p. 207, pl. 92), were also these words, which were copied by some one who did not understand them. The round of the base is also that of a most beautiful ellipse. — W.

10. Artemon painted him in this manner (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 11, sect. 40, not. 32). — W.

11. Winckelmann meant to write the left arm, as he has already done (Book X. chap. 2, § 21), for this arm is lifted high, — an action which is denoted by the tension of the side, and by the position and action of the muscles of the shoulder-blade. The same remark has been made also by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. p. 18). — GERM. ED.

12. It cannot be a Hercules Spinning, and I do not understand how any one (Batteux, *Princip. de Littérat.*, Tom. I., prem. part., chap. 4, p. 57) can have thought that Raphael saw this position in it. — W.

13. Geryon was shot with an arrow by Hercules (*Apollod.*, lib. 2, cap. 5, sect. 10, § 7). It should be Antæus (*Apollod.*, *loc. cit.*, sect. 11, § 6), a correction which has been made by Fea in the text of his translation. — GERM. ED.

14. Certain mistakes by authors scarcely deserve notice ; of this kind is that of Lecomte (*Cabin des Singular d'Architect.*, Tom. I. p. 18), who names Herodotus of Sicyon as the sculptor of the Torso. Pausanias (Tatian., *Orator. ad Græc.*, cap. 54, p. 117) mentions an Herodotus of Olynthus, but no one knows a sculptor of this name belonging to Sicyon. The trunk of a female figure in Rome which, according to the assertion of the said author, surpasses all other statues in beauty, is not known to me. Another says (Demontios., *De Sculpt. Antiq.*, p. 12) that this Apollonius may also be the master of Dirce, Zethus, and Amphion ; but the latter was of Rhodes, and the other of Athens, which is altogether false. — W.

The concluding words, "which is altogether false," are found, not in the first edition, but the Vienna. — E.

15. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. p. 18) thinks that the attitude of the Torso bears a great resemblance to that of the Hercules on the celebrated intaglio gem of Teucer (Stosch, *Gemm. Antiq.*, tab. 68) in the Florentine collection, and it is probable that the hero, here in the marble as there in the gem, may have held a naked female figure in his left arm, especially as we can see distinct traces of the contact of a figure that once existed on this side ; the work is also less carefully executed and finished here than on the right side. Still it is evident from closer examination that the position of the torso is different from that of the Hercules on the gem engraved by Teucer. — GERM. ED.

16. In the first edition, page 370, this passage follows : "So on a Hercules at Rome three different inscriptions were found : of Lucius Lucullus, who brought the statue to Rome; of his son, who erected it near the Rostra; and the third of the ædile T. Septimius (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 35)." — GERM. ED.

17. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 3, sect. 6. The same plan was adopted with the paintings of St. Peter's Church at Rome. After copies had been made of them in mosaic, the wall of freestone on which they were painted was sawed out, and the pieces were removed to the church of the Carthusians, and there reset without having received any damage. The Etruscan paintings in the temple of Ceres were likewise removed with the wall (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 12, sect. 45). — W.

18. In the *Notes* the following remarks are found in reference to the artists : "We learn this from an inscription discovered at Athens in 1743. These Stallii are the first Roman architects of whom mention is made, and they are a proof of the love for the arts which had been awakened in Rome by the Greeks. The encouragement of them among the Romans was favored by a custom at their funeral ceremonies. Masks were made in the likeness of all their great men, and when the bodies of the Cæsars were burnt, the knights put the masks over their faces for the purpose of representing their celebrated ancestors." — GERM. ED.

19. But the battle at Magnesia took place in the reign of Antiochus the Great, and consequently prior to Antiochus Ephiphanes, whom Polybius prefers to call Epinanes. — GERM. ED.

20. Ptolemy Lathyrus bore also the surname of Philometor, and Pausanias appears to have not confounded him with the earlier king having the same surname, since he makes him out to be the eighth descendant of Ptolemy Lagus, and expressly remarks that he had received the surname of Philometor, because no king had ever hated his mother more than he, *Lucus a non Lucendo*. — GERM. ED.

21. Athen., lib. 4, cap. 25; Justin., lib. 38, cap. 8. Vaillant, who has not correctly understood Athenæus, gives to this contemptible king (*Hist. Ptolem.*, p. 111) the praise that he specially honored learned and skilful men, and that during his reign all the arts and branches of knowledge acquired fresh lustre. But Athenæus does not say that the renovation of the sciences took place in Egypt, but in Greece. The authors in England of the *Universal History of the World* (*Hist. Univ.*, Tom. VI. liv. 2, chap. 2, sect. 10, p. 474), who have followed Vaillant as in numerous other instances they have more modern copyists, — as we may infer from the passage from Athenæus, found incorrectly quoted in Vaillant, — cannot understand how this prince, who drove artists and learned men from the land, could be at the same time their friend and patron. They quote likewise St. Epiphanius (*De Pond. et Mens.*, cap. 12), probably on account of the surname φιλόλογος, which he says was attached to this king, but this is all he says. Athenæus (lib. 14, cap. 20) also does not say that Physcon, as Vaillant asserts, caused books to be sought for in every part of the world; he mentions only the four-and-twenty books of *Commentaries* in which this king relates that he had never eaten peacocks. — W.

22. These heads of white marble are in good preservation and well executed, although not quite so admirably as the author asserts. They

express however an earnest, severe character very spiritually, and with much truth. Each of them is supported on an antique lion's-paw, which is admirably executed, and therefore deserves mention here. The bust of which the author also speaks has not come to our notice. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK XI.

## CHAPTER I.

1. IN the first edition, p. 375, there occurs a passage in regard to the pretended head of Scipio, which we introduce here on account of the *Note* attached to it: "If it be true what Fulvius Ursinus says, and which he was in a position to know, that the beautiful head of the brother of Scipio Africanus the Elder, of basalt, in the Rospigliosi palace, was found at Litternum, not far from Cumæ, where this great man died, then the head in question would be a monument belonging to this age. The statues of Scipio which have been boldly cited by a modern Roman poet (*Concours. dell' Acad. di S. Lucca*, 1750, p. 43) do not exist."

"This head formerly belonged to the illustrious family of Cesi, and when the last of his race died, the Rospigliosi family was obliged to accept it in payment of a debt of three thousand dollars. On the right side of the head a wound is seen in the shape of a cross cut; and the same mark is found on three similar heads in marble, one of them in the Barberini palace, another in the Campidoglio, and the third in the Albani villa. Another head, which on account of the resemblance bears the name of Scipio, may be found in the halls of the Conservatori in the Campidoglio, to which it was sent as a gift by the Pope Clement XI., who paid for it eight hundred dollars; the wound is not found on this head." — GERM. ED.

2. Polyb., lib. 10, p. 577.

The father of the first Scipio Africanus was wounded, not the son, who was about seventeen years old when he rescued his father (Liv., lib. 21, cap. 46. Valer. Max., lib. 5, cap. 4, not. 2). — GERM. ED.

3. We now know with certainty that the heads in question represent the first Scipio, for a painting in the Herculaneum museum shows him with the same features, and with neither beard nor hair; a good copy of it may be found in Visconti's *Iconographie Ancienne*, pl. 56; in it he is represented with Masinissa and Sophonisba after the latter had taken poison (*Excerpt. ex Diodor.*, p. 289. Liv., lib. 30, cap. 15). The first Scipio is said to have worn his hair long; but this does not invalidate our statement, because Livy relates that he wore his hair in this mode in his first interview with Masinissa in Spain in the five hundred and forty-sixth year of Rome. He was at that time in the bloom of youth, and about twenty-nine years old; for when he saved his father's life, in the five hundred and thirty-fourth year of Rome, he was about seventeen years of age. After he

went to Africa he probably began to shave his head and beard, on account of the great heat of the climate; and this was in the five hundred and forty-ninth year of Rome at least, if indeed it was not earlier, since in the year just named Sophonisba committed suicide by poison. Winckelmann seeks to prove from the testimony of Pliny that the heads in question represent the second Africanus; nothing more however can be inferred from the remark of the historian, than that he was the first to shave himself every day; but we cannot conclude from it that others had not shaved at all prior to him, and especially Africanus the Elder, for Winckelmann himself relates (Book VIII. chap. 4, § 17) that the consul M. Livius departed from Rome in a moment of vexation, in the year five hundred and forty-four, and allowed his beard to grow, but again removed it when he was induced by the Senate to return to the city. The explainers of the Herculaneum pictures, p. 140, are wrong in seeking to prove from Pliny (lib. 7, cap. 59, sect. 59) and from Gellius (lib. 3, cap. 4) that shaving of the beard was not customary in the time of Africanus the Elder. Gellius merely says that Africanus the Younger began to shave his beard in his fortieth year, and that about this time the principal Romans of the same age did the same.

The argument adduced by Fabri, that the head of basalt in question was found at Litternum, is not so contemptible as Winckelmann and others imagine. It is certain that the elder Africanus had his villa there, where he passed a great deal of his time, and where he probably died and was buried (Liv., lib. 38, cap. 56. Strab., lib. 5, p. 372. Senec., *Epist.*, 86). It is no less certain that there were statues and monuments of him in the place, and it is quite credible that the inhabitants of Litternum would wish to have his portrait, as he had lived among them so long a time, and would have felt themselves honored by the possession of his likeness much more than by that of the younger Scipio, of whom we do not know that he was ever in that district and at that villa. We have also no reason for believing that other members of the Scipio family had been interred in that villa, certainly not the second Africanus. We may rather assume the contrary, since no author mentions it, but they all say only that the first Africanus lay buried there. Strabo would not have failed to praise Litternum yet more highly than he has done if the second Africanus also had been buried there. We may moreover conjecture with certainty from the numerous inscriptions found in the tomb of the Scipios at Rome, and especially from those relative to the father of the younger Africanus, that here was the common burial-place of the family. These inscriptions may be found in the *Roman Anthology*. In the eighth volume is a description of the coffin of Scipio Barbatus, which was found in the said tomb. It is made out of the densest peperino, twelve palms long, six high, and five broad. Though the stone used for the purpose is of a common kind, its quality is compensated partly by the inscription, which is valuable in reference to Roman history and ancient geography, and partly through its tasteful ornamentation; for its shape is less that of a coffin than of a beautiful basement; the cornice is decorated with dentils, and underneath it is a sort of frieze with triglyphs, in the intervals of which pretty roses are introduced.

Greek taste and Greek skill seem here to have already elevated in some degree Roman taste, and we might believe that this monument belonged

to a less remote period if the inscription did not show that it originated in the fifth century of Rome, and consequently that it is the oldest of all the described monuments of Roman antiquity. The inscription is older than that on Lucius Scipio, his son, which is engraved also in peperino, older even than the inscription on Duilius, for he was consul forty years after Scipio Barbatus. Near this coffin was yet another, which, as the name on the cover denotes, contained the ashes of A. Cornelia, the daughter of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus. In this same tomb was found also an unknown youthful head crowned with laurel, and a small head about three inches high, of terra cotta, which represents an aged man without hair and without beard. — F.

4. The shield of Scipio, so called, in the cabinet of antiques in the royal library at Paris, is, according to Millin (*Monum. Antiq. Inéd.*, Tom. I. pp. 69–96, pl. 10, 11), a round silver dish, which was found in 1656 in the Rhone, near Avignon. In regard to size it is one of the most remarkable of the few monuments wrought from silver, for its diameter is twenty-seven inches and seventy-one hundredths (27.71 in.) English, and the weight amounted to fifty-five pounds one ounce and eleven pennyweights of silver. Millin agrees generally with Winckelmann in the explanation of the embossed figures on this dish, but it is evident from the architecture introduced, as well as from the style of the figures, that it was executed at a time when the taste in art was in its decline. — GERM. ED.

5. Plutarch, in his *Life of Marcellus* (cap. 21), gives a description of ancient Rome, and of the prevailing indifference in regard to the fine arts. Sallust also (*Bell. Catal.*, cap. 12) praises the ways of their ancestors, who adorned the temples of the gods with their piety, and their houses with the fame of their deeds, and who restored to their vanquished foes their goods and possessions. M. Porcius Cato, the stern conservative, censures with bitter irony (*Liv.*, lib. 34, cap. 4), the predilection of his contemporaries for Greek works of art (*Plin.*, lib. 34, cap. 6, sect. 14). Even Pliny himself (lib. 35, cap. 12, sect. 45) praises the ancient times when men worshipped the gods in images of simple art. Cicero even in his day was careful not to be known publicly and before the people as a connoisseur of Greek art, and hence in his fourth oration against Verres he speaks of Greek works of art as though he knew them only by hearsay. Virgil (*Æn.*, lib. 6, vers. 848) delineates in sharp outlines the old Roman nature in contrast with the later times and the Greek love for art and science.

6. He was preceded by Marcellus, who was accustomed to praise himself to the Greeks as having been the first to teach his rude countrymen to honor and admire Greek art (Plutarch, *In Marcello*, cap. 21); T. Quintus Flaminianus, who on the first day of his triumph carried in procession many statues of marble and bronze, and on the second a great number of rilievi in gold and silver (*Liv.*, lib. 34, cap. 52); Marcus Fulvius, the conqueror of Ætolia, who exhibited in his triumph two hundred and eighty-five statues of bronze, and two hundred and thirty of marble (*Liv.*, lib. 39, cap. 5); L. Æmilius Paulus, in whose triumphal procession the statues, pictures, and colossi, of which he had plundered conquered places, were carried on the first day in two hundred and fifty wagons (*Liv.*, lib. 35, cap. 39. Plutarch., *In Æmilio Paulo*, cap. 32); and Lucius Mummius, who, after the destruction of Corinth, embellished not only Rome and

Italy, but also the provinces, with plundered statues and paintings (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 7, sect. 17. Frontin, *Stratag.*, lib. 4, cap. 3, sect. 15), notwithstanding many treasures of art in Achaia, and especially Corinth, had been already destroyed, scattered, and given away by the Romans (Polyb., lib. 40, cap. 7. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 3, sect. 6. Pausan., lib. 7, cap. 16. Polyb., lib. 40, cap. 11).

But Sylla's campaign in Asia first aroused also in the common soldier a desire for pictures and statues, and from that time forward nothing was more sacred in his eyes (Sallust., *Bell. Catal.*, cap. 41). — GERM. ED.

7. This mosaic, which is still extant at Palestrina, will give us no distinct idea of the artistic ability and taste of that time, for the workmanship on it is tolerably coarse, and the meaning obscure, and neither in pictorial invention nor in arrangement of the figures does it show any excellence. — GERM. ED.

8. In the *Notes*, at the close of the passage upon the mosaic at Palestrina, we read also the following: "Even whilst I write, in February, 1766, we receive from Palestrina an account, accompanied by a drawing, of a floor of a room laid in mosaic, which is twenty-seven palms long and twenty-five broad. I immediately went to the place and took a view of it." — GERM. ED.

9. We should possess a beautiful monument of this age, and one which would also authorize us to form a very favorable idea of the art then existing, if we were able to satisfy ourselves that the celebrated statue in Florence, the so-called Grinder, *Varrotino* or *rottatore*, represents the barber of Julius Cæsar, who discovered the conspiracy formed against the emperor by Achilles and Pothinus (Plutarch., *In Cæs.*, cap. 49). Lanzi, in his *Description of the Grand-Ducal Gallery* at Florence (cap. 14, p. 174), seems to be of this opinion. But even on the supposition that a statue was erected to that barber in Alexandria, where the conspiracy was formed, or in Rome, it is not credible that this can be the statue above named, because the style of the workmanship indicates a better age of art, and also because there is not the slightest sign to be found on it allusive to the event or to the person of the barber.

The opinion of Leonardo Agostini (Gronov., *Thesaur. Antiq. Græc.*, Tom. II. tab. 86), which is also adopted by Winckelmann (*Denkmale*, No. 42, th. 1, kap. 17), seems more acceptable. He supposes that the statue of the Grinder so called represents the Scythian who was ordered by Apollo to slay Marsyas, and that it belonged to a group of several statues which represented this fable. For we may conjecture from the different statues of Marsyas bound to the trunk of a tree, — one of which was formerly in the Medici villa, but is now at Florence, and two in the Albani villa, — that said group was celebrated in antiquity, and had been often repeated. In a similar attitude with the Grinder, yet draped, we see this Scythian on a bas-relief explained by Winckelmann in the *Monuments*, No. 42, and also on the side of a sarcophagus which stands under the porch in front of the church of St. Paul outside of Rome. The head of the Grinder at Florence, in which Lanzi thinks he sees fear and the peculiar mien of a spy, rather favors the conjecture as to Marsyas, and the expression is a mixture of satisfaction and savage fierceness, which is likewise noticeable in the figures of the Scythian on the bas-reliefs mentioned

above, and as he was represented also in an ancient picture (Philostrat., *Icon.* 2, p. 865). The knife is certainly not intended for shaving as Lanzi thinks, but for skinning, although this learned man unreasonably denies it; it is also not very unlike the knives on other ancient monuments and on those previously mentioned. Less tenable seems also the opinion of those who see in this statue a representation of him who discovered the conspiracy of Catiline, or that of the sons of Brutus, or that of the Pisones (Gori, *Mus. Florent. Statue*, tab. 95, 96. Maffei, *Raccolta di Statue*, tav. 41). — F.

This monument is one of the most admirable in regard to the softness, fleshiness, and characteristic appropriateness of the workmanship to the different parts. The hair falls very naturally in disorderly locks about the head; it appears to be loose and movable; the hide covering the back is equally well executed. The pupils of the eyes are hollowed. This monument is in admirable preservation; the larger part of it is as uninjured as on the day it left the workshop. Only a small bit of the edge of the hide, the tip of the nose, together with the knuckles of the right hand, and a piece of the arm about four inches broad, are modern. Perhaps the forefinger also of the right hand, and the thumb, fore, and middle fingers of the left hand, are new. The restorations however are remarkably well executed, and are without doubt from the hand of one of the best masters of modern times. — GERM. ED.

10. Visconti asserts that the marble bust engraved and explained in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. VI. tav. 38, p. 54) is one of those which most resemble the likeness on the coins; so too the colossal bust among the Farnese antiquities, now to be found in Naples, which he terms *il più autentico ritratto di Cesare*, "the most authentic portrait of Cæsar." He also mentions incidentally the statue of Cæsar which stands in the court of the palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol at Rome, and says that the head of it is admirably beautiful, but is probably idealized, and represents the hero as already deified. We remark that the statue just mentioned, in the palace of the Conservatori, belongs to the most authentic monuments of Julius Cæsar, and if not executed during his life, probably was shortly after his death. It has a grand, noble character, is considerably larger than life, and is in good preservation in regard both to head and body. The arms and legs seem to be modern. — GERM. ED.

11. In the first edition (pp. 383, 384) occurs the following passage: "I take this occasion to notice the ten statues of this museum which were disinterred under the direction of the aforesaid Cardinal Polignac not far from Frascati. It cannot be shown that they formed a group united, still less that they represented the family of Lycomedes together with Achilles, concealed in female apparel. There was a great outcry in France about these statues when the king of Prussia bought the museum, and it was maintained that they ought not to be allowed to leave the country; they were valued at more than six hundred thousand dollars, and yet, with them included, the whole museum went to Berlin for about twenty-five thousand dollars. But it should be known that all the ten statues were found without heads, and that new heads were made for them by the young men in the French Academy at Rome, who as usual gave to them the faces of noted individuals; thus the head of the presumed Lycomedes was made after a portrait of the celebrated Von Stosch." — GERM. ED.

12. Or rather were celebrated throughout the whole world, *nobilium operum in toto orbe*, — “wherever noble works were known.” Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 12.

In the age of Pompey the Great the following artists also were celebrated : Posidonius of Ephesus, who was distinguished particularly for rilievi in silver (Plin., lib. 33, cap. 12, sect. 55 ; lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 34), and who is probably the same of whom Cicero makes mention (*De Nat. Deor.*, lib. 2, cap. 34, not. 88) ; Lætus Stratiates, — or probably, according to a more correct reading, Stratiotes, — who executed in silver fights and armed figures, and hence seems to have derived his surname (Plin., lib. 33, cap. 12, sect. 55) ; Sala of Cyzicum lived at Rome when M. Varro was a youth, and was equally celebrated as a painter of portraits, especially of women, and for her works in ivory (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 11, sect. 40, not. 43) ; her contemporaries were Sopolis and Dionysius (Plin., *loc. cit.*), but they were inferior to her in merit as painters ; Saurus and Batrachus are also included in this period (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, not. 14). — GERM. ED.

13. Plin., lib. 33, cap. 12, sect. 55. Pasiteles never worked except after a model, as Pliny expressly states. — E.

14. Lib. 3, *Eleg.* 7, vers. 13, 14. It follows from the connection of the passage that the Mys mentioned was one of the most admirable Greek artists of an earlier age. Probably he is the same of whom Pausanias speaks (lib. 1, cap. 28), and he probably possessed great skill in the representation of human figures, since his *Battle between the Lapithæ and Centaurs* added lustre to the shield of the celebrated Minerva of bronze by the hand of Phidias (Plin., lib. 33, sect. 53-55). — GERM. ED.

Mys the Elder also executed a goblet, on which was embossed from a drawing of Parrhasius the capture of Ilium (Athen., lib. 11, cap. 4, not. 19. *Conf.* Plin., lib. 33, cap. 12, sect. 55). So too Parrhasius designed for him the *Battle of the Lapithæ and Centaurs* for the shield of the great brazen Pallas of Phidias, which projected far above the walls of the Acropolis at Athens (Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 28). Clavier, the French translator of Pausanias, renders the passage so as to indicate that the subject was *engraved* on the shield ; all others understand that it was *cast*. But neither engraving nor casting was the specialty of this artist ; he executed embossed works by means of blocks. It is even a question whether many other works even of large size, which are generally supposed to have been cast, were not of this kind of workmanship, hammered and embossed, as the mantle of Jupiter at Elis for example. Let the reader compare Book IX. chap. 2, § 10. — E.

15. Lib. 35, cap. 11, sect. 40, not. 30 ; lib. 7, cap. 38, sect. 39.

The cited passage from Pliny says expressly that Timomachus painted this picture for Julius Cæsar, especially if we follow the reading of the editions before Hardouin, in which it is said, *Timomachus Byzantinus Cæsaris dictatoris ætate Ajaxem ei pinxit et Medeam*, — “Timomachus, the Byzantine, in the time of Cæsar, the dictator, painted for him Ajax and Medea.” — GERM. ED.

16. This passage refers to the first edition, in which it is said on page 382 : “In the time of Julius Cæsar, Strongylion made himself celebrated in sculpture ; he was the master of the Amazon with the epithet *Of the*

*beautiful legs*, which Nero carried with himself wherever he went ; he also made the statue of the young man whom Brutus loved." — GERM. ED.

17. The figures of the two captive kings of dark gray marble in the court of the palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol are executed in a powerful style approximating closely to grandeur ; the folds of their garments are simple, broad, and well arranged, although in several places showing a little artificialness. The seated Roma, by whose side these two captives stand, cannot be classed among admirable antique figures. In her drapery deep folds are observable which are wrought out with an unpleasant hardness, and do not form any good masses. The head together with the shoulders is modern ; so also are the hands and the advanced left foot. — GERM. ED.

18. It is a figure about ten feet high, the forms of which have a noble, powerful character ; the muscles throughout are rendered very distinctly. A chlamys hangs about the shoulders of the hero, and is thrown around the left arm ; on the same side he wears also a sword. His right arm is stretched out, and in his left he holds a globe. It is a question whether the head actually belongs to the figure. The right arm is modern. — GERM. ED.

Compare Book XI. chap. 1, § 21, note.

19. Florus says nothing about the captivity of the kings, still less that their hands were cut off ; he only states that the Romans chopped off the hands of their barbarian captives, and sent them back thus mutilated to their homes. Although the aforesaid statues represent royal personages, as we may perceive from their diadems and dignified bearing, yet when we observe the serenity of their faces we cannot imagine that they have suffered torture ; and if we examine closely the section of the hands on one, and of the arms as high as the elbow on the other, we shall find it difficult to satisfy ourselves that this mutilation was intended to signify a punishment. The shape of the garment on one figure (Fea, Tom. II. tav. 8) is similar to that of the figures of two captive Thracians or Scythians on the triumphal column of Theodosius (Book XII. chap. 3, § 5). But these are soldiers or private persons ; the king and the principal persons in the triumphal processions (Banduri, *Imperat. Orient.*, Tom. II. Part IV. tab. 18, p. 481 ; tab. 3 and 6) have a dress which is altogether different from that on the aforesaid statues.

There is no better foundation for the opinion, unfolded by Braschi in a long Latin treatise, that these statues represent the Numidian kings, Syphax and Jugurtha. He errs in the first place when he says that they are of basalt, whereas they are of a blackish-gray marble, *bigio morato*. Moreover the dress — a large mantle heavily trimmed with a broad fringe, and shoes or boots, likewise large and heavy — does not correspond to the warm climate of Numidia ; neither do the beard and hair, which the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to wear short and curled, as we may see on a head in marble supposed to be a portrait of Hannibal in the Renzi house at Santa Maria, in the kingdom of Naples. This head was discovered in the ruins of ancient Capua, and in the year 1781 a copper-plate engraving of it with an explanation was published by Giuseppe Daniele. — F.

20. Herod., lib. 2, cap. 131.

Herodotus regards the tradition relative to the lopped-off hands of the figures of the servant-girls who betrayed their mistress, the daughter of Mycerinus, to her father, as a foolish story ; for he states that he had satisfied himself that their hands had fallen off from age, and that in his day they were lying at the feet of the statues. — GERM. ED.

21. It was found during the popedom of Julius III., 1552, 1553, in the vicinity of the Cancellaria ; hence it is conjectured that this palace was built on the very site where once stood the theatre of Pompey, to which the aforesaid statue was carried by command of the Emperor Augustus from the Curia of Pompey (Flamineo Vacca, *Memoire*, not. 57). This statement in regard to the discovery of the statue has also given rise to the report that it is the same which Pompey himself caused to be set up in the Curia which he had built for the meetings of the Senate. — GERM. ED.

22. *De Præst. et Usu Numism.*, *Dissert.* 10, § 3, Tom. II. p. 17.

A beautiful statue of Pompey of white marble, larger than life, is in the splendid villa of Castellazzo, on the outside of Milan. It is entirely nude with the exception of the left arm, which is covered with a bit of drapery that hangs down from the left shoulder to the ground. This statue was carried thither from Rome ; some portions of it which had been injured have been restored by a modern artist. — A.

Fea seeks to prove in an Essay read at a meeting of the Archæologic Academy at Rome, in regard to the putative statue of Pompey in the Spada palace, that it has been erroneously viewed as the statue of that great Roman, because the head has been attached to it. The muscles of the head do not everywhere correspond with those of the trunk, and some portions of the neck have evidently been chiselled away in order to make the head fit better. This alone is enough to cast a doubt upon the genuineness of the statue, for it is not probable that Pompey would have set up in his Curia a statue of himself having a detached head. The head is also not in correct proportion to the other parts of the body, and the handling of it is in a later and entirely different style, being hard and overcharged. It seemingly belongs to a man fifty years of age, whilst the more youthful, soft, noble, and even gracefully shaped body looks as though it belonged to a man of thirty-five years of age. Finally we see on the shoulders the ends of the Lemnisci, with which it is evident a crown or a garland was fastened on the head that belonged to this body, no signs of which are found on the present head. There is no resemblance of the features, especially in the nose and chin, to those of Pompey on coins, neither do we notice that the hair on the crown of the head has that singularity of growth which, according to Plutarch, was peculiar to Pompey. The nudity also is altogether unusual for magistrates and generals of that time, and a figure of the earth, on which stood probably a Victoria in bronze, as an emblem of the sovereignty of the world, would not have been tolerated in the days of the republic. These two incidents throw a doubt on the opinion previously entertained in regard to the statue.

Fea supposes that it was originally a statue of the Emperor Domitian, which with others was to be broken to pieces by the decree of the Senate, and that it had accidentally come into the workshop of a restorer, who had very unskilfully replaced the knocked-off head by another one with unknown features. The description given by Suetonius (cap. 18) of the

bodily conformation of Domitian corresponds perfectly to this statue. Although the similarity is not a very satisfactory reason, for there are certainly many men who resemble the emperor in this respect, and though we are moreover unable to find a peculiar characteristic of Domitian, that is to say, his singularly shaped teeth, still the Lemnisci, the attribute in the hands, and the colossal size, leave no doubt as to the fact that we possess in this statue the mutilated representation of an emperor. — F.

23. The supposed Cicero stands in the palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol, and is on the whole a well-executed figure. Yet we might perchance doubt whether the trunk and the head originally belonged to each other. Besides the wart on the cheek, the nose also is modern. — GERM. ED.

24. An incorrect copy in Fulvio Orsini (*Imag.*, no. 146), another in Amaduzzi (*Monum. Matthæi*, Tom. II. tav. 10, 11). The head in the Capitoline museum without a name is more beautiful than the one here named; but the cameo of the Prince Chigi, white on a brown ground, is executed in the most beautiful manner, and with surpassing industry. It was purchased for twenty-two hundred and ninety dollars. — F.

25. It is held by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. pp. 75–78) to be a portrait of Domitius Corbulo, the father of Domitia, the wife of the Emperor Domitian, for reasons which are rendered sufficiently probable by the discoveries made at Gabii. At any rate the aforesaid head is an admirably executed monument, and is well preserved, except the tip of the nose, which has been repaired, and the somewhat injured chin; the modern half-figure on which it is set may be from the hands of Algardi. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER II.

### 1. LIB. 4, *Carm.* 15, vers. 12.

The words refer, not to the arts, but to the manners and modes of life of the ancient Romans. — GERM. ED.

2. Visconti remarks (*Mus. Franc.*, by Robillard Peronville, Tom. IV. Part III., where there is also a good copy) that the statue in its present condition is composed of fragments of two figures resembling each other. A third repetition was found by Hamilton near Tivoli, which went to England into the collection of Lord Lansdowne. We learn from the *Pio-Clement-Museum* (Tom. III. pp. 63, 64), wherein a similar but smaller antique figure is described, that the statue which went to England is admirably executed, but not in the best state of preservation. — GERM. ED.

3. Maffei refers two engraved gems to Cincinnatus (*Gemme Ant. Fig.*, Tom. IV. tav. 7, 8). Both figures have a beard. One of them has shoes on both feet, and a Minerva stands before it, and offers to it a shield and lance; the other is putting a shoe on the right foot, the left foot being naked. Both figures are either from the hand of a modern artist, or have no connection with Jason and Cincinnatus. — F.

4. Winckelmann relates the incident of the shoe according to the scholiast of the passage of Pindar cited above. According to Apollodorus and others, Jason lost the shoe from his left foot in the river Anaurus. — GERM. ED.

5. If this statue was intended to represent Cincinnatus, then it would have a beard, which was worn in those days, in the year of Rome two hundred and ninety-six, and also about two hundred years afterwards; the celebrated men of those times were always figured with a beard. The features of the face also should indicate an older man, for Cincinnatus at that time was already the father of three sons, the oldest of whom, Cæso, had distinguished himself some years previously by his eloquence and his military exploits (Liv., lib. 3, cap. 11 and 19). — F.

6. It is the companion to the statue of Julius Cæsar mentioned in Book XI. chap. 1, § 11, and stands near it in the court of the palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol. The workmanship on it is generally good, perhaps even better than that on the Julius Cæsar; at least the figure has more movement. The tip of the nose and also the uplifted arm are modern, and in addition to these some few other pieces of less importance. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 1) maintains that the head does not belong to the body, and also that it has only slight resemblance to the genuine portraits of Augustus. — GERM. ED.

7. A statue which represents Augustus as a Hero, with drapery hanging about the belly and thighs, may be found in the Pio-Clement museum (tav. 1). It certainly still has the head which originally belonged to it, for there are no traces to show that it has ever been separated from the trunk.

In the Vienna edition (p. 784), Winckelman expresses the following opinion in regard to the statue above mentioned: "The standing statue of Augustus in the Campidoglio, which represents him in youth, with a rudder in his hand as an allusion to the battle at Actium, is indifferent." — GERM. ED.

8. The Livia so called went into the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. II. tav. 14, pp. 28, 29), in which it is engraved and explained under the name of Pudicizia. The head is of good workmanship, though modern; so too is the left arm together with the shoulder. The high soles Visconti terms *calcei Tyrrhenici*, which by no means were appropriate exclusively to the theatre or to the Muses. — GERM. ED.

9. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. pp. 89, 92) has explained this so-called Cleopatra as a sleeping Ariadne on very good grounds. Winckelmann's objection, that the head of the statue has no particular merit, and is awry, is answered by Visconti's statement that the apparent defects are merely the results of injuries inflicted. A similar figure, formerly in the Medici villa, but now in Florence, may be regarded as a good antique copy of the one just mentioned. What Winckelmann states in regard to the modern origin of the head is true. The second repetition, which went to Spain, is said on the authority of intelligent witnesses to have been very much damaged and restored; also the workmanship on the drapery is much inferior to that of the first-mentioned statue. — GERM. ED.

10. Galen., *Ad Pison.*, *De Theriac.*, lib. 1, cap. 8.

11. Sueton., *In August.*, cap. 23. Besides the head of Augustus which

was formerly in the possession of the Marquis Massimi, and another injured one in the Strozzi museum (Stosch, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. 26), there are five others, regarded as genuine works of Dioscorides; namely, the head held to be a likeness of Macænas, cut in amethyst, in the French museum (Stosch, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. 27); the head of Demosthenes, likewise cut in amethyst, in the museum of the Prince of Piombino, (Book X. chap. 1, § 34); Mercury bearing the head of a ram on a discus or platter; also a Mercury with short drapery, represented in a front view; and Diomedes carrying off the Palladium, — the last three carnelians, and said to be in England. — GERM. ED.

12. *Osservaz. sopra Alcun. Medagl.*, p. 45.

13. It is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but it is formed from a piece of streaked marble, and a visible crack runs lengthwise nearly in the middle of the face and neck. The workmanship is meritorious, and may justly be esteemed worthy of the age of Augustus, with the exception of a few places about the eyes and lips, which are somewhat sharply rendered. Since Winckelmann's time however a smaller head of Agrippa, but of far better workmanship, has been disinterred at Gabii (*Monum. Gab.*, Tom. II.); it is very well preserved, and the great skill in the execution proves it to be the work of one of the first masters of the age. In the Florentine gallery may be found a nearly similar head of this celebrated Roman, which is also well executed. It does not however show the bold handling which we are accustomed to see in other ancient works of art. The tip of the nose is modern; so likewise pieces of both ears, and the breast. — GERM. ED.

14. In the *Monuments*, Part IV. chap. 14, in which Winckelmann also defines more accurately the meaning of the words "Karyatides" and "Atlantes," he sets the height of the Attic order at twenty-three and one quarter palms (ft. 17.26 Eng.). — GERM. ED.

15. I have seen a drawing of it by the celebrated John of Udine, a pupil of Raphael. — W.

16. Sueton., *In Tiber.*, cap. 47, 49.

Erophilus, the son of Dioscorides, may have flourished about this time. We find his name written by the side of an admirable head cut in relief, which may represent Augustus. This monument, which is wrought from an opaque gem of a leek-green color, is worthy of note in two points of view; in regard to merit as a work of art it belongs to the gems of the first class, and from the inscription we become acquainted with an artist whose name has been preserved nowhere else. According to tradition it was found near Treves, and it belonged at the close of the previous century to a French priest, who was driven from the place (Plate XVI.). — GERM. ED.

17. At present the portraits of Tiberius are not so rare; one of them may be seen in the Pio-Clement museum. — F.

In 1811 an uninjured colossal statue of Tiberius was discovered at Veii, Isola Farnese. — F.

18. Of the two likenesses of Tiberius in the Capitoline museum, one is a mere head, the other is a bust portrait with a drapery of exceedingly beautiful alabaster, *alabastro fiorito*. The nose, the left ear, and the back part of the head, are new attachments; the chin and other slightly damaged

places have been repaired with stucco. The small head of Tiberius in the Florentine collection of gems also deserves to be classed among the most admirable monuments of this time. Formerly it was believed to be made of a large turquoise, but more accurate examination proves it to consist of enamel (*Mus. Florent. Gemmæ*, tab. 3). — GERM. ED.

19. Bottari, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. II. tav. 9.

The form of the head is on the whole grand and noble ; but the execution of the individual parts is somewhat angular, stiff, feeble. The nose and breast are modern. — GERM. ED.

20. According to Tacitus (*Annal.*, lib. 2, cap. 47), there were only twelve cities. Coins also referring to this event were found with the circumscription, *Civitatibus Asiæ restitutis*, "To the rebuilt cities of Asia" (Book VIII. chap. 4, § 4). — GERM. ED.

21. This Kleomenes bore the same name as his father. The Kleomenes whose name stands on the base of the Venus de' Medici was a son of Apollodorus. — W.

22. Plutarch., *Conjugal Præcept.*, p. 142. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 25.

Probably the shell of the tortoise is intended as an allusion to Mercury, so that Germanicus was represented with the symbol of Mercury, and as it were under his protection. In the *Monuments* (No. 39), Winckelmann has published a gem which represents Mercury with the shell of a tortoise on his shoulder instead of a hat. — F.

23. Bottari, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. II. tav. 11, 12.

This bust is very well executed, the features are pleasing, and the expression lively. But the eyes are not parallel with the mouth, and are not, if examined singly, drawn correctly. The artist, in violation of the rule in regard to pure unbroken masses, has hollowed out the locks of hair upon the forehead more deeply than those on the side of the head.

A heroic statue of Caligula of white marble, found at Otricoli, is engraved in the *Capitoline Museum* (Tom. III. tav. 3). Visconti states that it is in a good state of preservation, and the face bears a striking resemblance to that on the coins of this emperor. He mentions also an admirable gem engraved in alto which represents him crowned with laurel ; it was in the possession of Thomas Jenkins, an Englishman. An extremely beautiful paste with the head alone of Caligula belonged to the Cavalier d'Azara. — GERM. ED.

24. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 57) holds this monument to be the most beautiful of all the portraits of Claudius, and next to it the half-naked statue, larger than life, among the Gabini antiquities (*Monum. Gabin.*, No. 5). — GERM. ED.

25. The forms of the limbs of both figures give evidence of a grand style ; the folds of the garments are broad and well arranged, and the disposition of the whole group may be called admirable. Of the male figure, the uplifted arm and the nose are modern ; so too are the nose, left arm, right hand, and the toes of the right foot of the female figure. These restorations seem to have been made at different times, and not by one master ; for some of them are exceedingly good, whilst others, apparently newer, are very indifferent. Copies may be found in Piranesi and Perrier. — GERM. ED.

26. Tacit., *Annal.*, lib. 16, cap. 24, 25. Here and in the *Preliminary*

*Treatise to the Monuments*, § 177, Winckelmann confounds Pætus Thræsea and his wife, the younger Arria, of whom Tacitus is speaking in the passage quoted, with Cæcina Pætus and his wife, the elder Arria, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. In the reign of Nero, Pætus Thræsea was condemned to death, and caused his veins to be opened. When dying, he begged his wife, who wished to follow the example of her mother, the elder Arria, to live, and not to deprive their daughter of her sole stay. — GERM. ED.

27. The male figure of this group bears a great resemblance in regard to hair, mustache, and features of the face, to the Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline museum ; so too the shields of both figures are much alike. We may hence infer with confidence that both figures represent soldiers of the same nation. Even the style of the workmanship, with the exception of the modern restorations of the right arm, with which he kills himself, is not very different from that of the Dying Gladiator. — F.

28. Du Bos, *Réflex. sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, Tom. I. sect. 38, p. 400.

29. The woman, as well as the youth, has noble forms of choice beauty. But although this work possesses an unusual degree of merit, still it does not belong to the best age of art, for the folds of the drapery are too crowded, and do not form any reposing masses. Moreover the gestures of both figures and the position of the limbs show a certain studied elegance, a visible aim at effect, but less simplicity and naturalness than the wonderful monuments which we ascribe to the age of Alexander and that immediately preceding. The right arm of the youth and the left arm of the woman seem to be modern, and by a good artist. We find in *Perrier*, No. 41, a copy of this monument, and a better one, though it is not after all very good, in *Piranesi*. — GERM. ED.

30. The author undoubtedly committed a mistake in supposing the Clodius so called, in the Pamfili villa, to be an Electra, for it can be proved by indisputable characteristics that the artist intended to represent a youth disguised in woman's clothes. Hence Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. p. 62) has with better grounds suggested a disguised young Hercules.

But when we reflect that, in the numerous ancient monuments which represent Hercules as a young man, he always shows a more compact figure and more muscular limbs than the statue in the Pamfili villa, we give the preference to a third opinion as the most probable, according to which the pretended Clodius would be a young Achilles in woman's dress. The short-cut hair of the figure might indeed occasion some doubt in regard to this appellation, and we must acknowledge ourselves unable to remove the difficulties arising from the fact. Still we cannot but think that a figure of Achilles with short hair would be more in conformity in every sense with the spirit of good antique art than an imperfectly developed Hercules would be with the character of Achilles.

We might also conjecture that we see Theseus represented in this statue, for Pausanias, (lib. 1, cap. 19) relates of him that he made his appearance at Athens in a female dress, and was looked upon as a young maiden. But at that time the hero also wore long hair, and consequently the difficulty above mentioned in the explanation of the monument still continues unrelieved. We may however remark that the young Theseus is represented

with short hair on a bas-relief in the Albani villa (*Monuments*, No. 96), in which he is lifting up the stone beneath which the shoes and sword of his father are hidden.

This monument, in regard to style and merit as a work of art, bears some relation to the group in the Ludovisi villa. The folds of the drapery are elegantly disposed in this case, as they are on the statue of Electra; at the same time they are narrow and crowded, and do not form any faultlessly pure masses. The head of the statue has a very beautiful ideal conformation, and is at the same time noble and pleasing. Not only is the left antique arm lost, but both arms are, in our opinion, modern. — GERM. ED.

### CHAPTER III.

#### 1. PLIN., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, not. 6.

The insatiable greed of Nero, and the robberies to which it gave rise, are depicted by Tacitus (*Annal.*, lib. 15, cap. 45) and Suetonius (*In Ner.*, cap. 32). Italy, Asia, and Achaia were ransacked by his assistants, Arcatus and Secundus Carinas, and whatever pleased them among the treasures of art, images of the deities, etc., was dragged off to Rome. — GERM. ED.

2. A good seated statue which represents Nero as Apollo was disinterred in 1777 at the Negroni villa; this, and a head crowned with laurel, larger than life, and of much better workmanship, which became known at about the same time, are in the Pio-Clement museum, in the books of which they may be found engraved and explained (Tom. III. tav. 4, p. 4; Tom. VI. tav. 42, pp. 58, 59). Visconti speaks also of another portrait of Nero in the Borghese villa (*Sculture*, Stanza 5, no. 29), and mentions too the head cited in the text, in the Ruspoli palace, to which he seems to attribute more merit than Winckelmann does. In the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. VI. p. 69) he says, when speaking of the genuine portraits of Nero: *De due Capitolini uno è in gran parte moderno, l'altro assai conservato lo rappresenta quai fanciullo*, — “Of the two Capitoline portraits, one is mostly modern, the other, pretty well preserved, represents him as a boy,” and thus seems to regard the second Nero in the Capitoline museum actually as an antique, a conclusion to which we cannot possibly accede. — GERM. ED.

3. Bottari (Tom. III. tav. 53) holds it for a likeness of the elder Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus. — F.

It is larger than life, and cannot be excelled for its natural, quiet, and yet elegant and noble mien. The execution is less meritorious; the folds of the drapery also, though well arranged on the whole, are not judiciously broken, but have a little effect. The tip of the nose, three fingers of the right hand and two of the left, together with the half of the great toe of the right foot, are modern.

The Farnese statue, now to be found in Naples, is indeed a very beautiful and still figure, yet different in attitude from that in the Capitoline

museum, and generally of much better workmanship. The figure in the Albani villa bears a tolerable resemblance in workmanship as in gesture to that in the Capitoline museum. — GERM. ED.

4. Bottari, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. II. tav. 18.

This bust-portrait of Poppæa owes its reputation without doubt more to the rare quality of the marble of which it is made than to its artistic merit; for the eyes are oblique, and otherwise incorrect in drawing. Poppæa may in reality have been handsomer than the artist has here represented her; for the bust shows her merely as a pretty doll with an affected mien, not supercilious, still less spiritual. Her mouth is extraordinarily small, the little nose is for the most part modern, the eyes large, and over-arched by heavy eyelids. In the hair, which is somewhat stiff and coarsely handled, are still sticking the remnants of the metal nails which fastened the flowers in enamel with which the head was probably once ornamented. — GERM. ED.

5. The Borghese Seneca, so called, is not of black marble, but of dark gray. Although the execution is well enough, it is far excelled by the cited similar figure of white marble which went from the Pamfili villa into the Pio-Clement museum. Visconti has given an engraving and explanation of it (Tom. III. tav. 32, pp. 42, 43). He also brings convincing proofs to show that the figure formerly in the Pamfili villa represents a fisherman, and so too did the Borghese originally, and consequently it is probable that both of them have reference to the last comedy of Menander, the Fisherman. The two small figures in the Albani villa are also Fishermen, as we may see not only from their garments, but also from the dolphin lying at the feet of one of them. In the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. III. tav. 4, no. 11, Suppl.) there is a copy of the small one that was in the Altieri villa, and on page 73 it is stated that the Roman sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti has obtained possession of it. — GERM. ED.

6. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 7, sect. 18. It follows from Pliny's remark that Zenodorus was a distinguished artist; but the art of making a certain mixture of brass with gold and silver, and giving to it a pleasing color, was lost before his time. Hence he could make no use of the gold and silver which Nero was willing to give to the making of a statue of himself. If therefore Zenodorus was unsuccessful in his casting, these words might well be understood as referring merely to the lost secret of mixing copper with gold and silver, but not otherwise to art. — GERM. ED.

7. Plin., lib. 35, cap. 7, sect. 33. Pliny intends to say that Nero's conceit of being represented on canvas in a colossal figure one hundred and twenty feet high was a crazy one, and a thing unheard of till that time, for painting on canvas had been known long before. — GERM. ED.

8. Bianchini (*De Lapid. Antiat.*, p. 52) thinks that if these statues had been at Antium in the time of Nero, they would have been mentioned by Pliny. But this does not follow; he says nothing of a statue of Pallas by Endœus (Pausan., lib. 8, cap. 46), which Augustus brought from the city of Alea to Rome, nor of a Hercules by Lysippus, which was taken to Rome from Alyzia in Acarnania. According to Hardouin's explanation of a passage in Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 7, sect. 33), painting must have flourished in a special degree at Antium; but the word *hic*, "here," cannot be understood of this place, but must, on account of what follows, be understood of Rome. — W.

9. Vulpîi, *Tabul. Antiq. Illustr.*, p. 17. (Compare the *Preliminary Dissertation*, § 181.)

Antium was the favorite residence of the Cæsars ; Augustus was accustomed to reside there (Sueton., *In August.*, cap. 58), and he probably embellished this place also with statues as he had Rome. Tiberius also (Sueton., *In Tib.*, cap. 38) went there, though rarely, and only for a few days. Caligula (*Id. in Calig.*, cap. 8), who is said to have been born there, loved this town more than any other ; and as he plundered Greece of its most beautiful statues, it is not improbable that he set up on the place to which he intended to remove the seat of government the two statues mentioned, the Apollo Belvedere and the Borghese Gladiator so named. The Emperor Adrian brought no statues from Greece ; and although he loved Antium exceedingly (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, lib. 8, cap. 20), still the credit of having carried the Apollo there could be ascribed to him only in case it was wrought of Luna or Carrara marble, which Mengs believed, but which was denied by Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. tav. 14, p. 26) at one time, though he afterwards admitted the possibility of it (Tom. VII. p. 93). The tradition that the statue of the Apollo Belvedere was carried from a temple of Æsculapius at Girgenti to Carthage, and brought thence by Scipio Africanus the Younger to Rome, appears to have arisen from the confounding of this statue with the Apollo from the hand of Myron (Cic., *In Verr.*, Act. 2, lib. 4, cap. 43). — F.

10. Apollon., *Argon.*, lib. 1, vers. 759. Apollod., lib. 1, cap. 4, sect. 1.

The learned have made various attempts to determine more precisely the subject represented by the Apollo Belvedere. Some believed that in this figure they saw Apollo after he had launched his shaft against the Achæans ; others, after his victorious contest with the insolent giants, or after the death of Niobe and her children, or after he had put to death the faithless Koronis ; others finally believe that they see in it the god of medicine, or the *Deus Averruncus*, "The God who averts Evil." Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. tav. 14) inclines to the last opinion, and thinks it probable that this monument is a work by Kalamis, and is the same of which Pausanias speaks (lib. 1. cap. 3). In the seventh volume of the *Pio-Clement Museum*, Visconti has modified this his earlier opinion, and looks upon it as an improved imitation of the work of Kalamis executed at a later date. — GERM. ED.

Apollo, exercising his vengeance on the Achæans, must be represented as sitting (Hom., *Il.*, I. vers. 48), and in the act of shooting an arrow. The serpent also would have no connection with this act, unless we should say, what would be a very feeble argument, that it is introduced as a symbol generally of Apollo. The other opinions seem altogether inappropriate. Neither can it be an Apollo Averruncus, for the symbols of that god, the Graces on the right hand and the bow and arrows in the left, are wanting (Macrob., *Saturn.*, lib. 1, cap. 17). The victory of Apollo over the serpent Python is not an unworthy subject for ancient art, for even the city of Delphi received from its neighbors the surname of Pytho on account of this event. Statues also were frequently erected to the Pythian Apollo. Pythagoras also made a statue of the Pythian Apollo in bronze ; such a statue, of white marble, is in the Albani villa, and others are found in

different museums ; finally the Pythian Apollo is frequently seen represented on coins.

It is therefore probable from these premises that the statue in the Vatican may also represent the Pythian Apollo at the moment after he has shot his arrow and won the victory, and is on the point of going to Tempe. The serpent which is seen twined around the trunk of the tree is an image of the Python, and is introduced in a masterly manner by the artist, in order to avoid representing Apollo in a group ; as this is also done in the mentioned statue in the Albani villa, in other statues, and on coins. Or we might hold the serpent to be a symbol of the art of medicine, so that by it would be denoted the benefit which Apollo had done the earth in slaying that monster (Ovid., *Metamorph.*, lib. 1, vers. 438). — F.

It is unpleasant to look upon this statue as a fragment ; hence we should prefer to regard it as a whole, complete in itself. The artist desired to represent nothing else than an Apollo, as described by the poets, especially Homer, — *the god with the bow and quiver, the distant marksman, he who kills men and beasts with soft arrows.* The serpent on the trunk of the tree might in all cases be a symbol of the art of medicine. — GERM. ED.

11. Heyne (*Antiquar. Aufs.*, st. 2, seit. 229) conjectured that the Borghese statue might be the remnant of a group, since from its position it seems to be fighting against a figure on horseback which is lost. Visconti, adopting this conjecture, expresses himself still more definitely, and holds it to be a Greek warrior fighting against an Amazon (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. V. p. 42). These two are joined also by Millin who (*Monum. Antiq. Inédits.*, Tom. I. pl. 26) adduces a picture on an ancient vase of terra cotta, and maintains (p. 373) that a figure of Theseus represented in it leaves not a doubt remaining as to the correctness of the supposition announced by Heyne and Visconti. But the Theseus in question bears no more resemblance to the Borghese statue than any other figure taking a step forward. But if in the Borghese monument we conceive a warrior in contest with an Amazon no longer present, then the entire work would be a subject drawn from the heroic age, and it would therefore have required ideal figures. It is obvious however that the statue is a likeness ; consequently the representation cannot be ideal, because the modern practice of introducing portraits into an ideal presentation was not customary among the artists of the good old time to which Agasias belongs in consequence of the excellence of his works.

We must remark, in opposition to Heyne's views, that there is not a trace nor an indication to be found anywhere on the Borghese statue that it belonged to a group. In general, it seems that antiquarians often incur the risk of error by being more inclined to explain ancient monuments of art dramatically than symbolically, or that we form a judgment of ancient art not honorable to its excellence when we insist that there cannot be a Niobe unless accompanied by an Apollo or Diana, that the Medicean Venus must be imagined as standing in the presence of Paris, or that our Fighter must have before him a mounted opponent. For the same reason, and with equal force, we might also miss near the Laocoön the wooden horse, and the frightened Trojans standing near. Are not the works just named already complete in themselves, and do they not express what they were intended to express ? Would the Venus be more beautiful, more modest,

more charming, if she were standing before a Paris? Would our Fighter be more animated in action, be more artistic, or show more genius? Certainly not. Such accessories might perchance be better adapted to painting; at least we moderns are accustomed to assume it to be so. Yet the ancients did not consider the introduction of such incidents necessary even to painting, which is evident from *Ælian's* description (*Var. Hist.*, lib. 2, cap. 44) of the figure of a warrior, executed by Theon, a painter who seems to have lived when art was in its highest bloom (*Quintilian*, lib. 12, cap. 10, Book V. chap. 4, § 14). The figure by Theon may have been in action and attitude but little different from the work of Agasias, only we must think of it as an ideal conformation.

In regard to movement and liveliness, this figure is probably the most admirable and perfect in art of all the ancient monuments now in existence; the forms are neither unusually grand nor of the choicest beauty, but well shaped and very truthful; all the limbs are in admirable proportion and in the greatest harmony with each other. Although the head, as a portrait, must be inferior in nobility of feature to ideal images, yet its spiritual and animated expression may place it by the side of the most admirable ancient works of art. The master of this monument astonishes us also by his great knowledge of the structure of the human body and the function of the muscles. This has enabled him, for example, to express very clearly by the muscles of the right thigh, represented in action, the effort which the figure is now making to take the step and to push the whole body powerfully and quickly forwards. The muscles of the right hip and right side of the back are in the most vigorous action, in order to straighten the body, or to turn it to the left side, towards which the blow is aimed, and to which the look also is turned.

The handling of this monument has a firm, expressive, and decided character, which is without hardness, yet is not tender; the hair even shows some resemblance to that in the works of the high style. Besides the right arm and the right ear, the end of the great toe of the right foot is also modern. About fifteen years ago there was found at Rome a very well executed ancient copy of the head of this so-called Fighter, which, as it is said, was afterwards carried to England. From appearances this head seemed to be the fragment of an entire figure similar to the Borghese. — GERM. ED.

12. It is not so. The figure rests on the right thigh, and the left leg is stretched out backwards. — L.

13. The workmanship of the bust-portrait in the Capitoline museum which passes for that of Galba is meritorious; the wrinkles of the face are significant, although rendered a little sharply. The nose and chin seem to be modern; probably the breast also. The portrait of Otho in the same museum is likewise from the hand of a capable artist; we notice that the hair is well handled, but seemingly artificially curled; hence we might believe that it represents a covering of false hair. The nose is modern; this is also the case with the bust of Vitellius in its neighborhood. The small eyes in this fat face are unusually far apart; the hair is bored out only a little, and there are few indications of curls. An extremely pretty figure of Victoria ornaments the armor; the folds of the cloak are disposed well enough, but are too crowded. — GERM. ED.

14. Sueton., *In Vespas.*, cap. 9.

A remnant of this temple is the large and beautiful fluted column of white marble which was erected by Pope Paul V. in front of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. — F.

15. Notwithstanding the great robberies committed in Greece by the Romans until the time of Vespasian, it is related by Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 10, sect. 17), a contemporary of this emperor, that there were still in Rhodes three thousand statues, and an equal number at Athens, Olympia, and Delphi.

We may confidently attribute an altar of white marble in the Pio-Clement museum to the early portion of the reign of Vespasian. This monument is about five palms high, and almost two palms broad, and embellished with figures in relief relating to mythology and Roman history. It is not however of the best workmanship, and it is also damaged in several places. — F.

16. The beautiful head, cut in relief, in the Florentine gallery (Gori, *Mus. Florent. Gemmæ*, Tom. I. tab. 6, no. 6), is justly counted among the most admirable monuments which represent Vespasian. This gallery contains also a beautifully wrought head of him in white marble. The head which is in the collection of portraits of the Cæsars in the Capitoline museum is not one of the best in execution, but it has an animated, friendly expression, and the handling of the hair shows much industry. The draped breast on which it is set is formed of a beautiful variegated alabaster. A colossal head of Vespasian went to Naples among the Farnese antiquities. Another head, in bronze, which was found near Rome, has already been mentioned (Book VII. chap. 2. § 25). — GERM. ED.

17. Now in the royal Prussian museum. — GERM. ED.

18. It afterwards passed into the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VII. tav. 37, p. 65). — GERM. ED.

19. Sueton., *In Tit.*, cap. 2. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 33) recognizes a likeness of Britannicus in a marble statue of a young Roman, in the Borghese villa, which represents him in boyhood, wearing the *prætexta*, and having a *bullæ* hanging around his neck. It is very admirably executed, and in an excellent state of preservation. Formerly this monument was regarded as the likeness of Nero, and valued on account of the elaborate, beautiful execution. Among the figures clothed in the Roman fashion there are only a few which have the folds of the drapery arranged more successfully. The head is exceedingly natural and full of life. Except the hands and feet, which are modern restorations, the figure has been preserved almost entirely without damage. A copy may be found in *Perrier*, no. 40, and *Sculture del Palazzo della Villa Pinciana*, Stanza 5, no. 3. — GERM. ED.

20. The head of Titus in the Capitoline museum has no extraordinary merit in regard to the skill exhibited in the execution; that in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 43) is far superior. A very large colossal bust of Titus is said to be contained in the royal collection of antiques at Naples. — GERM. ED.

21. The workmanship of the images of the temple on the Palladium forum in Rome is less deserving of praise than the style. The figures are well disposed; they have dignity, grace, and simplicity, varying in degree

according to the characters assigned to them. The folds of the drapery are arranged with taste, but on the high parts often cut more deeply than is necessary; they are also frequently too crowded, and the workmanship generally is somewhat rude. The large figure of Pallas which stands on high above the frieze and cornice is deficient, not in dignity and grandeur, but in tenderness of execution. The ornaments of this building are much hollowed out underneath; they may be termed hard and without a proper distribution of light and shade.

The famous triumphal arch of Titus must also be counted among the monuments of this age. As the *Apotheosis* of Titus is represented on the ceiling, this honorary monument was probably not erected to him until after his death. All the figures are well and appropriately conceived; the style is generally pure, and the forms elegant, but the handling would indicate more mechanical dexterity than mind and carefulness. Thus, for example, both eyes are frequently represented when the faces are in profile, and the drapery is negligently finished. We may therefore conjecture that the whole work was designed by an eminent master, who also furnished complete models, the execution of which was intrusted to inferior artists who at that time would probably rank as little better than artisans. The entablatures are embellished almost superfluously with foliage, but it is not wrought with especial nicety. We even have reason to suspect that many of these ornaments were not finished until some time afterwards, because we see some members of the arch on which the leaf-ornamentation is only just begun. On the other hand, the remaining larger portion of them is still smooth, of noble simplicity and pure drawing.

A copy of the figures on the triumphal arch of Titus is given by Montfaucon (Tom. IV. pl. 99) and Bartoli (*Admirand.*, tav. 1-9). — GERM. ED.

22. These Trophies are arranged in a masterly manner. On the one to the right a female captive is seen, the disposition of whose robes is very admirable, although the masses are broken by many small folds; the weapons, though very elegant in style, seem to be ornamented with superfluous richness. These monuments, which are greatly damaged, are executed with more elaborateness than the rilievi on the temple of Pallas or the Arch of Titus. — GERM. ED.

23. The mourning Province, a female figure seated on some weapons with her knees drawn up, and supporting her head on her hand, is highly prized on account of its pleasing position and the elegance of its drapery, and it has been often copied by modern sculptors and stonecutters. Yet on a stricter examination the folds of the garments might be found too crowded and too small. The head is really modern, as the author remarks; so too are the left forearm, together with the hand on which her head rests, and the elbow of the right arm. This work must originally have been the key-stone of a great triumphal arch, which is very clear from the entire shape of it and from the surrounding ornaments of ovoles, foliage, and volutes. — GERM. ED.

24. Bottari, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. II. tav. 25.

The head has indeed much life and character, yet the artist expended no great care on the execution of single parts. The nose is modern, and on the ears also some repairs are observable. — GERM. ED.

25. Procop., cap. 8. The statue of Domitian in the Giustiniani palace is a powerful, thickset figure, the execution of which is well enough; the ornaments on the armor are especially handsome. The right arm is undoubtedly modern; the point is not settled as to the left.

In regard to the statues of Domitian, the author expresses himself in the *Notes* (p. 117) in the following manner: "The statues of Domitian, the brother and successor of Titus, were destroyed at Rome, those of bronze having been melted and sold, and those of marble broken to pieces, so that only three of them were preserved. One is in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, the second in the Rospigliosi palace, and the third, unrecognized in the Aldobrandini villa. The last is undraped, larger than life, with a *paludamentum* thrown over the left shoulder, like the first one."

26. Fabretti, *Inscr.*, cap. 4, pp. 274 and 330. This too was the case with the name ANTONINVS in the inscriptions of Caracalla; on one of them, found in the Gymnasium discovered some time before at Pozzuolo, the aforesaid name is half erased. It signifies

M . . . . ANTONINO  
COLONIA PVTEOLANA. — W.

27. *Monum. Antiq. du Musée Napol.*, Tom. III. pl. 28.

This may be the most appropriate place to notice also the portraits of Domitia, the wife of Domitian. They are so extraordinarily rare that Visconti, who is without doubt the most skilful connoisseur in this department of art, maintains that a statue explained and engraved in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. III. p. 5, tav. 5) is the only authentic portrait in marble of this empress. He is not willing to acknowledge as genuine even the Capitoline bust which bears her name, nor another one which passed from the collection of Count Fede to the Pio-Clement Museum. — GERM. ED.

28. Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra*, pl. 19.

The Mæander so called is found very frequently on the entablature of buildings, as for example in the above-mentioned ruins of Palmyra (pl. 6 and 11), in those of Baalbeck (pl. 22, 27, 34), in the Baths at Nismes (Clerisseau, *Antiq. de France*, Prem. Part. pl. 36), in the ruins of the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, in the temple of the Deus Rediculus at Caffarella, on the sarcophagus of Cæcilia Metella in the Farnese palace, and on many other ancient monuments. — F.

29. Bottari, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. II. tav. 27, p. 31.

Bottari merely says that the workmanship of the above-mentioned head resembles the manner of Algardi; otherwise he regards it as antique. — F.

Notwithstanding Winckelmann's assertion, the head of Nerva in the Capitoline museum is a modern work, as Visconti remarks (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 7). Among the portraits of Nerva the most remarkable in art as well as in size is the seated colossal figure in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. II. tav. 6). It is composed of two portions, an upper one nude, and a lower one draped. Both indeed are antique and well preserved, with the exception of the arms, which are restorations, and they correspond in shape, size, and workmanship, yet they did not originally belong to each other. — GERM. ED.

30. According to the custom of the ancients, on the hem of whose robes letters are occasionally wrought (Ruben., *De Re Vestiar.*, lib. 1, cap. 10, Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, Tom. I. cap. 13). — W.

31. It is as follows in lines : —

Θ. Κ.

ΠΑΤΡΙC ΕΜΟΙ ΖΗΝΩ  
 ΝΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΤΑΤΗ ΕCΤ ΑΥΡΟΔΙ  
 CΙΑC ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΑCΤΕΑ ΠΙCΤΟC  
 ΕΜΑΙCΙ ΤΕΧΝΑΙCΙ ΔΙΕΛΘΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΤΕΑC ΖΗΝΩΝΙ ΝΕΩ  
 ΠΡΟΤΕΘΝΗΚΟΤΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ  
 ΤΥΜΒΟΝ ΚΑΙ CΤΗΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΕΙΚΟΝΑC ΑΥΤΟC ΕΓΑΤΨΑ  
 ΤΑΙCΙΝ ΕΜΑΙC ΠΑΛΑΜΑΙCΙ  
 ΤΕΧΝΑCΑΜΕΝΟC ΚΑΤΤΟΝ  
 ΕΡΓΟΝ. . . . .

“ TO THE INFERIOR GODS.

“ Aphrodisias is most fortunate in being the birthplace of me, Zeno. Confiding in my skill in the arts, I visited many cities; and having designed for Zeno, my youngest-born son, a tomb, a cippus, and images, I sculptured them with my own hands, producing a celebrated work.”

The last lines are not wholly legible. The inscription has not hitherto been published by any one. Besides the name of an artist hitherto unknown, we also learn that of the city Staphis, in Asia, mention of which is not to be found in any writer; and it may moreover help us to explain the letters “Sta” on a coin of King Epiphanes in regard to which numerous conjectures have been proposed. (Beger., *Thes. Brand.*, Tom. I. p. 259. Wise, *Numm. Ant. Bodlei.*, p. 116. Cuper., *De Eleph. Exercit.*, I. cap. 7, in *Suppl. Ant. Rom. Sallen.*, Tom. III. p. 74). It might be the abbreviated name of this city, for *σταφυλίτης* and *σταθμοδότης* seem too far-fetched. The incorrect division of the syllables here will not lead into error any one who knows the carelessness of the Greek poets of this and following times, to say nothing of inscriptions.

I take the occasion to make known another inscription which is on the base of a statue of Bacchus in Greece, but I know not where, probably the island of Scio, because I have received from it this and other inscriptions : —

ΛΙΣΑΝΙΑΣ ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΤ  
 ΤΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΤΑΣΕ.

“ Lisantias, son of Dionysus, made Dionysus.”

The word *κατεσκευάσε* leaves it doubtful whether Lisantias was the sculptor, or the one who ordered the statue to be made.

But the less the skill, the greater the value attached by poor artists to their works, who placed their names upon the most insignificant things. Thus the name of a sculptor, ΕΥΤΥΧΗC of Bythynia, stands upon the front side of a small gravestone in the Campidoglio over the figure of the deceased, which is about a foot high (Muratori, *Inscript.*, p. 633, no. 1). — W.

The above-mentioned Hermes of Zeno, together with all the other monuments of the Negroni villa, passed into the possession of Mr. Jenkins. We have given the inscription on it according to the correct reading, for which Fea is indebted to the careful examination of Visconti. The native city of Zeno was therefore Aphrodisias, and Winckelmann's conjecture in regard to Staphis, a city in Asia, falls to the ground. Visconti is not indisposed to believe that the Zeno here mentioned is identical with the master of the above-mentioned senatorial statue in the Ludovisi villa. The word *κατεσκευάσε* undoubtedly refers to the artist; if it were intended to indicate the person who ordered the statue, the proper word would be *κατεσκευάσατο*. — GERM. ED.

32. The copy of this name, which was sent from Rome to Florence to Carlo Dati (*Vite de' Pittori*, p. 118), was as follows:—

ΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΙΛΑΙΟΣ ΠΟΙΕΙ.

Maffei (*Mus. Ver. Inscript. Var.*, p. 318, no. 4) gives it as it stands when restored, without any notice of its mutilation. I give it as it stands on the damaged base.

ΤΙΟΧΟΣ  
ΙΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΠΟΙΕΙ.

The name of an Antiochus (Gori, *Inscript.*, Tom. 1. *Gemm.*, tab. 1, no. 4. Quirini *Epist. ad Freret.*, p. 29) also is on two engraved gems. — W.

This inscription, when restored, would read thus:—

ΑΝ-ΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΑΘ-ΙΝΑΙΟΣ Ε-ΠΟΙΕΙ.

“Antiochus, the Athenian, was making.”

The Pallas of Antiochus of Athens has not a very severe or lofty character in the conformation of her face, but rather something kindly and benign, round cheeks and open eyes, yet it is quite possible that she may have been copied from a work of the high style, as we might anticipate from her nearly upright position and the deeply drawn folds of the drapery. There is, it is true, in the general aspect of the figure something stiff and cold, but this appearance must be charged as a fault to the copyist; still the quiet dignity and majesty with which the original was adorned cannot fail to be felt, though in a less degree, in the copy. The garment is girdled above the hips with serpents instead of a band. Both arms and the tip of the nose are new; the mouth and chin are damaged.

In the first edition (p. 402) we read: “The two Centaurs of the Cardinal Furietti, made from a very hard blackish marble called Bigio, and executed by Aristeas and Pappias, also of Aphrodisium, are to be regarded as copies of the Borghese Centaur. They were found in Adrian's villa. The upper half of a Centaur of similar size, and of the same marble, is in the Altieri villa, on which we notice this peculiarity, that the eyes and teeth are of white marble inserted.” We have not adopted this passage in the text, because the author in the following chapter mentions again the Centaurs in question, and cites them as works of the time of Adrian. — GERM. ED.

33. It was erected to him by the Senate after his victory over the

Dacians, as shown by the inscription on the base (Montfauc., *Diar. Ital.*, cap. 19, p. 260. Braschi, *De Trib. Stat.*, cap. 10, § 9, p. 94. *Comment. ad Gell.*, lib. 13, cap. 23). Dio Cassius (lib. 68, cap. 16) asserts that the pillar was erected by Trajan himself, but he gives no reason for his assertion. — F.

The rilievi thereon show in general a good style; the heads of the figures are spirited, the drawing is correct, and the thickset, vigorous, hardened frames of the soldiers are expressed in the best manner. The folds of the garments are generally broad and simple; yet they do not always form positively pure masses, and occasionally are continued over the high parts of the limbs. We notice only a few beautifully arranged groups and happily conceived motives. No other arrangement of the figures seems to be attempted than to produce a contrast, and even this principle is not always observed with much care. But the bold execution, equally masterly in every part, demands admiration. The attitudes of most of the figures correspond well to the action, and are natural and simple. The crown of laurel on which the column rests as on its ovolo, the beautifully executed weapons on the pedestal, and the lightly floating Victorias near the inscription, are not in the least degree inferior in art to the rilievi on the shaft of the column. The figures of Victoria are especially good; they have lightly floating garments of which the folds are arranged in pure taste; they have besides much elegance in their character, in forms and proportions. — GERM. ED.

34. *Orlandi ad Nardini*, lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 235.

On the forum of Trajan stood the Basilica Ulpia, the figure of which is found on so many coins, and the celebrated library (Gell., lib. 11, cap. 17. Sidon. Apollinar., lib. 9, *Epist.* 16, p. 284. Vopisc., *In Aurel.*, pp. 417, 418, and 606). — F.

35. The Capitoline museum also possesses a colossal bust-portrait of Trajan with a garland of oak-leaves (Book VI. ch. 2, § 16), together with two others of natural size; one of them, the head of which has never been separated from the body, may even be termed admirable. The nose, the chin, and the ear on the right side, are new; the mouth, the left cheek, and the forehead over both eyes, have been damaged. A well-executed seated figure went from the Mattei villa into the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. III. tav. 7. *Monum. Ant. du Musée. Napol.*, Tom. III. pl. 36). The head of this statue, in which the features of Trajan cannot be mistaken, is an accidental head; it did not belong originally to the figure. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 7) mentions that the most beautiful of all known bust-portraits of Trajan is at present in England, in the possession of Colonel Campbell. At Constantinople there was a statue of Trajan on horseback, of bronze (Cedren., p. 322). — GERM. ED.

36. The rilievi on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which seem to relate to the exploits of Trajan, were probably executed neither as a single work, nor by one master, for the eight round pieces have much prettier draperies, with broader and better arranged folds than the others. The eight square pieces which are inserted above the aforesaid round pieces on the two principal sides of the arch show figures wrought in very high relief, almost detached, having the folds of the drapery more crowded and narrower. The four large oblong pieces, two of which are introduced high

up on the narrow faces of the arch, and the two others in the diameter of the main arch, seem to be handled in the most careless manner. But the style of their figures is powerful and grand. The statues of the captive kings which stand on the top of the arch are more carefully executed, yet in a style not less good, so that it seems as if the aforesaid figures on the arch of Constantine which are taken from structures of Trajan were executed by two or three different masters. — GERM. ED.

37. They are probably in Naples. The workmanship on them is on the whole good ; the draperies are handsomely arranged. — GERM. ED.

38. Both these figures of Venus may be at Naples. We do not know what has become of the Marciana from the Negroni villa. — GERM. ED.

39. Portraits of Plotina are a colossal head, very admirably executed, from the Mattei villa, but now in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. p. 60, tav. 44), and a head of the natural size in the Capitoline museum, which, although inferior to the colossal, still has a place among the best monuments of art of the age of Trajan ; it is full of truth and character. The left eye, however, is somewhat oblique ; the nose has been restored not happily by a modern artist ; the ears also have been repaired. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK XII.

### CHAPTER I.

#### 1. PAUSAN., lib. 1, cap. 18.

This passage in Pausanias is obscure, and the paraphrases of it in the *Notes* to the Leipsig edition do not make it any clearer. It seems to me that we might help the difficulty much more easily than has been done if we substitute *καί* for *μέν*, and read *ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις*. Pausanias probably wished to say, “the statue of Jupiter is a sight worthy of being seen, not because of its size, for there are colossi also at Rome and Rhodes” ; the next sentence begins with *τὰ λοιπά*. The preceding sentence seems to terminate somewhat abruptly, but this will not surprise those who are familiar with the style in which this Cappadocian wrote Greek. The Italian translator finds here a Jupiter who was larger than all the colossi at Rome and Rhodes ; the statement is its own refutation. — W.

2. In the first edition (pages 406, 407) this passage follows : “The most admirable work next to this is, in my opinion, the Siren Parthenope, which was found on the Palatine at Rome, and is now in the royal Farnese gallery at Capo di Monte, near Naples ; the aforesaid writer did not have any knowledge of this piece.” We hesitated to incorporate these lines into the text, because the Parthenope in mosaic is little known, and because the author's judgment as to its merit in comparison with other mosaic works is different in different places ; for sometimes he assigns to the Barberina Europa the second place, sometimes he sets the mosaics of Pompeii above the mosaic picture of the Doves, and sometimes he makes them equal to each other. — E.

3. After the author's time several other mosaic works were disinterred

in different localities ; among them the mosaic of Otricoli, now in the Pio-Clement museum, is unquestionably the largest (Tom. VII. tav. 46). But those which were dug up in Adrian's villa, of which the Count Marefoschi has three very beautiful ones, are still better. The most beautiful however of all of them, and perhaps of all in the world, was found in the same villa and taken into the Pio-Clement museum. On it are represented four dramatic masks, surrounded by a border of leaves of wondrous beauty (Tom. VII. tav. 48). In the vicinity of Tivoli was found also another mosaic work, which belongs to Signor De Angelis ; it represents Egyptian subjects, like the mosaics mentioned by Orlandi (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, lib. 7, cap. 8, reg. 13, p. 398), and the mosaic of Palestrina cited above. Some of them are formed of natural stones intermixed with little bits of glass-paste. — F.

4. Such an attempt would certainly have been as fruitless as would be the endeavor to return to nature and simplicity by imitating the works of the old Florentine and German artists. It is much more probable that Adrian — either for the purpose of encouraging the worship of the Egyptian deities, or even to indulge a caprice — ordered images of the Egyptian deities to be made and erected. On such an occasion the artists were obliged necessarily to adhere to the forms customary in Egypt, for otherwise they would not have fashioned Egyptian deities. But they beautified them, and gave to all the parts better proportions ; in short, they applied the rules of Greek art as far as the subjects admitted of their application. The figures of Egyptian style which were executed in the times of the Ptolemies, probably by Greek artists, had already exhibited the same result. — GERM. ED.

5. The similarity of these figures, which are now in the Pio-Clement museum, with the authentic portraits of Antinoüs, is not admitted by more modern antiquarians. — GERM. ED.

(See Book II. chap. 3, § 10.)

6. The Centaur represented as the older, whose hands, like those of the celebrated Borghese Centaur, are tied behind his back, is of a nobler character. The one who is figured as the younger corresponds in character with the Fauns of a more common kind. The resolute industry of the master is seen especially in the hair of the two figures, whose locks are toilsomely hollowed beneath in an extreme degree, and bored through, so that they stand partly detached.

Visconti in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. I. tav. 52, p. 89), in which he makes known a Centaur of white marble which in shape and attitude resembles the younger one just mentioned, offers the conjecture that it, together with the one in the Borghese villa, may be a copy from the first, the one in the Capitoline museum. We cannot possibly agree with him ; we are much rather inclined to maintain the contrary, at least in regard to the Borghese figure, as the result of repeated careful examination. The forms of the latter are more finished, tender, balanced, the handling more intelligent, and the expression more animated and full of soul, than in that older one of the Capitoline. If therefore either was copied from the other, the Borghese must have been the original for the Capitoline. — GERM. ED.

7. They were also represented seated on an eagle, like Titus on his triumphal arch in the Campo Vaccino (Bartoli, *Admir. Antiq. Rom.*, tab.

9), or on a winged horse, as it appears from coins, rilievi, and other ancient monuments (Schœpflini, *Comment. Hist. et Crit. de Apotheosi Imperat. Roman.*, cap. 4, p. 84, tab. 1, 11). The empresses on coins are borne by a peacock. — F.

8. Although we must concede much merit to the celebrated Antinoüs in the Casali villa, yet we can hardly regard it as the finest statue of him. Another figure of the beautiful favorite, which formerly stood in the Farnese palace, and was then taken to Naples, has more elegant forms, more flowing outlines, and shows more tenderness in the handling. The celebrated Antinoüs in the Capitoline museum may indeed, as regards the head, — because no attempt is made here except to produce a likeness, — be obliged to yield to the Casali the superiority of nobler features and a grander style of the forms ; but the limbs of the former generally are more elegant, have more harmony, the shape is more graceful, and the proportions are regarded by many artists as classical. The great statue discovered by Hamilton at Palestrina, now in the possession of the Duke of Braschi, asserts and certainly deserves its superiority also over the Casali Antinoüs. — GERM. ED.

9. Bottari, *Mus. Capit.*, Tom. II. tav. 36, p. 35.

It was found on the Esquiline hill in the vicinity of St. Martino ai Monti (*Aldrovandi Statue*, p. 117). — F.

Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. p. 9) believes that this monument represents a Mercury. The objections made by Winckelmann to the feet of the figure are not wholly unfounded, and it is also noticeable that the hair does not form any really good masses of light and shade ; above the forehead towards the crown of the head it is somewhat too bushy, and lower down towards the ears smoother, as we see it on most of the portraits of the Roman Cæsars, and as in these it is also arranged in straight lines around the forehead. The end of the nose, although uninjured, is still not of the handsomest shape, and the toes are knobby. If we observe with earnest attention the face, the body, the hips, we shall, notwithstanding the beauties of these parts, be led by this more than by any other celebrated antique to the conjecture that it is a good imitation of a masterpiece not known to us, but yet celebrated in ancient times, especially since several other similar figures are found. — GERM. ED.

10. In regard to this passage Visconti remarks (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 60) that the colossal head of Adrian in the Borghese villa may indeed have larger dimensions than the head of him, also colossal, in the Pio-Clement museum, but that the latter is better executed and preserved.

There are three admirable bust-portraits of Adrian in the Capitoline museum. In the first, with alabaster drapery, he is somewhat more aged than we are accustomed usually to see him ; the drawing of the eyes is somewhat harder, and a few wrinkles are indicated about them. The nose, the chin, a portion of the under lip, and the whole of the top of the head, are restorations ; probably the breast also did not belong originally to the head. The second bust is better than the first ; a loftier sentiment, a nobler spirit, and a better style, predominate in it ; the workmanship also is superior to that of the preceding bust ; the glorious Medusa-head which ornaments the armed breast makes this admirable monument still more valuable. The nose is repaired ; also two locks of hair upon the forehead,

and the larger part of the ears; the chin, which was damaged on the right side, has been mended with stucco; no restorations are observable on the head of the Medusa, yet the nose, mouth, and chin have suffered somewhat. The third bust has remained entirely uninjured, with the exception of the tip of the nose, which is a restoration; and the hair and beard have been elaborated with exceeding diligence. Besides these best examples, the Capitoline museum can also show a face of Adrian executed in wax-colored alabaster, of which mention has been made above (Book VII. ch. 1, § 19). A fourth well-executed bust stands in the chamber of Egyptian monuments, and in the large hall there is found a heroic statue of him. — GERM. ED.

11. It has gone into the Pio-Clement museum. — GERM. ED.

12. The words "and are said to be of the earlier Cæsars" belong undoubtedly to the passage, the whole of which is omitted in the Vienna edition. — GERM. ED.

13. Buonarroti cites two of these medallions, hollowed out in the form of boxes (*Osserv. Istorici*, tav. 36, no. 4, 5), one of Commodus, and the other of Julia Augusta, wife of Septimius Severus. In the explanation (page 413), in which he mentions another such medal of Nero, and one of Commodus, he also offers the conjecture that they may have served especially for perfume boxes. — F.

14. *Excerpta e Dio Cassius*, lib. 69, cap. 4. Suid., vid. Ἀδριανός

Adrian, who as a critic seemingly played the parts both of Tiberius and Caligula, formed the most extraordinary opinions in spite of the cultivation which cannot be denied him. He had the greatest fondness for Antimachus, a poet who in his time was almost forgotten; he was so much pleased with the obscure and nearly unintelligible sentences of this writer, that he even attempted to compose a Greek poem in a similar manner and style. — GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER II.

1. Ἑθλα φωνῆς, the rewards of the voice. Galen., *De Puls. Differ. sub Init.*

This was done especially by Antoninus Pius (Jul. Capitol., *In Anton. Pio*, cap. 11). Marcus Aurelius also appointed at Athens, a city to which he paid especial honor, teachers in all branches of knowledge with a yearly salary (Dion. Cass., lib. 71, p. 814). Tatian (*Orat. ad Græc.*, cap. 32, p. 70) rejoices over the large yearly pay of the philosophers of his time, and thinks that the reason why they received so much money was that they might not wear their long beards in vain. — GERM. ED.

2. In the first edition (p. 412) there is an addition to this passage as follows: "But this statue of Thetis comes probably from a more distant age in art, as apparently do two nude statues with heads of Lucius Verus in the Mattei and Farnese villas; that in the latter villa is one of the most perfect male figures from antiquity." — GERM. ED.

3. Spanheim, *De Præst. et Usu Numism.*, Tom. II. *Dissertat.* 11, § 18, p. 289.

Similar coins in gold are among the finest and rarest (Vaillant, *Numism. Imp. Rom.*, Tom. II. pp. 166, 168). — F.

The coins cited by Spanheim are of gold, and Winckelmann seems to have written silver by a clerical error. Silver coins are indeed also found (Eckhel., *Catal. Faust. Sen.*, no. 148). — Z.

4. An admirably executed colossal head of Antoninus Pius, a portion of the Farnese bequest, is in the royal collection of antiques at Naples, and another, also colossal, in the Borghese palace at Rome. The Pio-Clement museum contains a beautifully wrought head of natural size, the bust of which corresponds, but did not originally belong to it (Tom. VI. tav. 48). Visconti (p. 63) mentions yet another head in the Chigi palace, which in regard to workmanship is said to be one of the most valuable.

Among the portraits of Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius, a head in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 49) of almost colossal size, to which a modern bust has been attached, deservedly holds the first rank; it was found in Adrian's villa. Of nearly equal value is also the bust-portrait of natural size in the Capitoline. The simply arranged hair, the softly handled flesh, and the successful manner in which goodness and kindness are expressed, produce a whole of highly attractive harmony. A part of the good effect of the work as a whole may indeed be ascribed to the fact that the head has been preserved entirely uninjured.

The most beautiful public monument of this age is the temple in the Via Sacra, *Campo Vaccino*, erected by the Senate to Antoninus and Faustina after their deification, as Nardini (*Roma Antica*, lib. 5, cap. 2, princ.) observes. The columns of *marmo cipollino* are the most beautiful in existence. The other monument is the pillar of red granite lying on the earth back of the Curia Innocenziana. (It had suffered by fire, and the pieces of it were used some years ago on other works. — GERM. ED.) The pedestal of the column, of white marble, was carried to the square of Monte Citorio, in the vicinity, and afterwards into the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. V. tav. 28-30). On the principal side of this pedestal is represented in relief the deification of Antoninus and Faustina. — F.

5. In the work, *Sculture della Villa Borghese della Pinciana*, Stanza 5, no. 20, 21, the portraits of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius are represented in outline. They belong to the most admirable monuments of art of the time of these Cæsars, and the two colossal heads are actually celebrated as great masterpieces; the flesh is softly and smoothly wrought, and finished in the tenderest and yet masterly manner. On the beard and hair the artist has expended an infinite amount of labor. Although both were probably executed by the same hand, and both are excellent, yet on strict comparison we shall acknowledge that the figure of Lucius Verus is the more successful, for the artist seems to have worked upon it with a sort of predilection. The other four portraits are busts of life-size, and, though not so imposing, still exhibit as great an outlay of industry and skill. All of these monuments are in admirable preservation; the only exception is the restoration of one half the nose on the bust-portrait of Marcus Aurelius.

A bust-portrait from the Albani villa which represents Lucius Verus as a youth (*Monum. Antig. du Musée Napol.*, Tom. III. pl. 54) may be considered as equal in artistic merit and excellent execution to the foregoing

monuments. Not less meritorious is a bust-portrait of M. Aurelius as a youth in the Capitoline museum. Half of the nose and the tip of the right ear are the sole restorations ; and the head has never been separated from the bust. A beautiful bust-portrait representing M. Aurelius in manhood, in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 50), is pronounced by Visconti a true model in portraits of this kind. The pleasing bust of the younger Faustina in the Capitoline is no great beauty, but exceedingly agreeable and life-like. The artist expended the utmost industry on the execution, inasmuch that he endeavored to express even the texture of the under garment ; the hair is handled with not less diligence. The tip of the nose alone is restored ; some insignificant injuries are also observable on the hair, the robe, and the tip of the ear ; the head has never been detached from the body. — GERM. ED.

6. It is in the Capitoline museum, and it is the largest of all the monuments in bronze that have been preserved. It has escaped almost uninjured all the misfortunes which befell Rome and her treasures of art ; and, however severely it may be criticised, it will always be a very valuable work of art. The statue however is from the age of the Antonines, and not free from the defects of taste of that day. The attitude of the emperor is not especially dignified, not indicative of a sovereign ; on the contrary, his seat on horseback is somewhat stiff and stooping, but his look is gracious, kind, and tranquil. The forms of the limbs seem to be well studied, yet they cannot be termed select or elegant. The outstretched arm may also be considered somewhat heavy in proportion to the other limbs ; the folds of the robe are neatly arranged, but they are small and crowded, and hence do not form any quiet masses. It seems to us, viewing it as a whole, that it cannot as a composition be classed among the great masterpieces. But the horse is an admirable success, showing very great spirit, life, and action, and seeming almost to move with his rider from the spot. — GERM. ED.

7. The Senate of Rome annually gives a bouquet to the chapter of the church of St. John of Lateran as a fealty in acknowledgment of the ancient right of this church to the statue of Marcus Aurelius. An office was created in connection with it when it was placed upon the Campidoglio ; the person in charge is called Keeper of the Horse, and he receives a monthly salary of ten dollars. Another office, more profitable but equally idle, and still more ancient, is the Reading of Titus Livy, which gives to the reader an annual income of three hundred dollars, paid from the tax on salt. Both of these offices are in the gift of the Pope, and have been granted to certain families of the highest nobility in Rome ; the latter office is held by the Conti family, even though no one of them should ever have seen a history of Livy. — W.

8. It has much similarity in regard to the treatment with the colossal heads of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Book XII. chap. 2, § 8), and if the assertion that the same master may have executed Commodus also should be found too bold, it is at least certain that the portrait of him is by the hand of an artist who was formed in the same school. We have nothing further to say in regard to the workmanship on the face and hair. The folds of the drapery are prettily disposed, though small and somewhat stiff, and executed with great carefulness. — GERM. ED.

9. The latter column, which is inferior in beauty to that of Traian previously mentioned, was, it is believed, erected by the Senate in honor of M. Aurelius. It has been engraved in copper by Sante Bartoli (tav. 15), with explanations by Bellori. On it is represented the miracle of the rain which the Danube legion, in the war against the Quadi, obtained from heaven, by dint of prayer, for the army of this emperor (Tertull., *Apolog.*, cap. 5. Scapul., cap. 4. Euseb., *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, lib. 5, cap. 5. Xiphilin., *In M. Anton.*, p. 275), and which was also the subject of a painting mentioned by Themistius (*Orat.* 15, *ad Theodos.*, p. 191). The emperor was represented with his hands raised in the position of a suppliant; some of his soldiers were catching the water in their helmets, and others were drinking. — F.

10. The head is truly ideal and beautiful, and the forms of the body and the limbs are powerful; yet it has seemed to certain connoisseurs that they were not sufficiently elegant in comparison with the head, and striking errors in drawing are censured in the child which the hero carries on his arm. The work is supposed to be from the hand of a great Greek master, but after a close examination we think the opinion not probable. We may form a safe conclusion as to the true age of the work directly from the hair, which is industriously treated, bored out, and hollowed beneath, in the manner usual perhaps on the monuments subsequent to the time of Adrian, and indirectly from the workmanship on the other parts, which is not opposed to such a conjecture.

Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. tav. 9, p. 15) has indeed not denied the probability of the assertion that it may be a Hercules with the young Ajax, but he has himself offered the conjecture that it may be a Hercules with his son Telephus, as nearly similar groups occur on a medallion of Midæum and on another of Tarsus, on which also a doe is seen at the feet of Hercules. — GERM. ED.

11. It formerly stood in the court of the Farnese palace, whence it was removed to Naples. It is a figure of almost colossal size, very well grouped with the boy which he carries upon his shoulders; the action is very animated, but the execution is not superior; it is probably a copy made in later times from some glorious antique original. — GERM. ED.

12. There must certainly still have been living at that time some artists of distinction, perchance those who had already become celebrated in the reigns of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, or at least meritorious pupils from the same school. We find the proofs of this belief in a bust-portrait of Septimius Severus among the Gabini antiquities (*Monum. Gabin.*, no. 37), in another in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 53), and that one of the three in the Capitoline museum which is set on a bust of the most beautiful yellow-colored alabaster. The face of this monument is generally treated in a very good manner; the eyes, it is true, are not elegant in shape, nor soft and flowing enough in outline; yet the character of the whole is harmonious, and the expression animated and spiritual. The hair seems not well joined to the forehead, an error which may indeed be objected also to many heads of M. Aurelius and still earlier works. On the left eyebrow a small injury is observable; both ears and some locks of hair are restorations. A colossal head of Julia, the wife of Septimius Severus, is in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 54), and is also one of the most admirable monuments of the art of this time. — GERM. ED.

13. Maffei, *Raccol. di Statue*, tav. 2.

It would be going too far to entertain so unfavorable an opinion of the artists in the reign of Septimius Severus. The artists who executed the marble heads just mentioned (Note 8), and the statue of Julia which was disinterred at Ben-Gazi in Africa (Book VIII. chap. 3, § 16), were certainly qualified for such work; and as we see skill, pains, and industry expended on those marble monuments, especially on the accessories, the hair, beard, and drapery, so also the accessories of the bronze figure mentioned here receive the larger share of the artist's care, for the coverings of the feet are richly ornamented, and the ornaments themselves are finished with the utmost nicety. — GERM. ED.

14. A great many copies of excellent ancient works seem to have been made in the time of Caracalla for the purpose of embellishing with them the Baths named after him (Spartian., *In Anton. Caracal.*, cap. 9). For there formerly stood in the court of the Farnese palace a moderate figure of Hercules, nearly resembling in attitude and size the celebrated work of Glycon, the Atreus mentioned above, another hero putting his foot on a helmet, a female figure with a garland of flowers about her head, and lastly, in the portico towards the Tiber, the afore-mentioned Urania (Book V. chap. 2, § 17). All these figures are colossal, and were, as it is said, found within the circuit of the Baths of Caracalla. The execution of these works, which are now in Naples, is ordinary; they show, it is true, mechanical dexterity, but none of the skill that is inspired by the feelings.

A statue of Alexander the Great among the Gabini antiquities is held by Visconti (*Iconographie*, Tom. II. p. 52) to be a copy made in Caracalla's time from the original of Lysippus. It is not indeed a superior work, but yet it is treated with more detail and with greater tenderness than the almost colossal figures just mentioned; it is on the other hand even less than the natural size. The bust-portraits of Caracalla, the celebrated one which went from the Farnese palace to Naples, a similar one in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 55), and a third with a bust of porphyry in the Capitoline museum, show beyond a doubt that at that time at least there was still living an artist very distinguished in the making of portraits. It may be said that he was a real wonder of his age, and through him art appeared for a moment to have bloomed anew. For these three portraits are better even in workmanship and style than those of Septimius Severus above mentioned, and in regard to the admirable presentation of character, as well as to the animated spiritual expression, are true masterpieces. Even in the hair and drapery we notice a praiseworthy manner. — GERM. ED.

15. Heliogabalus seems to have made even art tributary to the licentiousness of his pleasures, for he owned silver vases on which the most voluptuous figures and subjects were wrought in relief (Lamprid., *In Heliogab.*, cap. 19). He degraded art even further by wearing on his shoes gems which had been engraved by celebrated artists (*loc. cit.* cap. 23). — GERM. ED.

16. Lamprid., *In Heliogab.*, cap. 4.

Visconti thinks that he recognizes the likeness of Heliogabalus in a marble bust of the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 56, p. 20). Another bust of him is in the Capitoline, but the former more resembles

the heads of this emperor occurring on coins. A figure of Venus, which probably represents the mother of Heliogabalus, Julia Scæmia or Soæmis, was found at Palestrina and taken into the Pio-Clement museum (tav. 51, p. 99). — GERM. ED.

17. Lamprid., *In Alex. Sever.*, cap. 26.

Alexander Severus, an especial lover of the Greek language (*Ibid.*, cap. 30 and 34), a skilful draughtsman, a connoisseur in music, familiar with mathematics, and in every way a promoter of knowledge (*Ibid.*, cap. 35 and 44), gave also to artists employment and encouragement. He adorned Rome with a large number of splendid buildings (*Ibid.*, cap. 25 and 26), and erected many colossal statues in the city, as he sought artists everywhere; to the earlier deified emperors he also erected statues of them on foot and on horse, on the forum of Nerva; he had their deeds recorded on brazen columns, and he put the images of celebrated men and noble persons in both of the chapels in which he kept his Lares, or household gods (*Ibid.*, cap. 29–31). — GERM. ED.

18. Fea (Tom. II. p. 403) makes the remark that a beautiful bust-portrait in the Pio-Clement museum, found at Otricoli, is a likeness of Alexander Severus. But this portrait is no other than the one which Visconti has just named a Heliogabalus. An attempt was made by means of a restoration of the nose to make it resemble Alexander Severus. Fea speaks also of an admirable bust-portrait of this emperor with a robe, *vestito virile*, which was removed from Rome into the gallery at Florence, where there was already another bust of him in armor. The question is, Are these two monuments really authentic likenesses of Alexander Severus? Whether they are or not, they are at least works of this late age, and of an age when art was in its decline. As such, they may always be considered worthy of praise, for as a whole they are harmonious and spirited, although the drawing of the parts seems to be defective. The first bust-portrait with a mantle is in good preservation; of the other with armor, the tip of the nose, a portion of the upper lip, the chin, and both ears, have been repaired.

The Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VI. tav. 57, p. 71) has two bust-portraits of Julia Mammea. The bust in the Capitoline, to which without any reason the name of Manlia Scantilla has been given, must also be counted among her portraits. This monument is wrought with extraordinary labor; but the hair is stiff, the fleshy parts not defined, soft, and polished; the drapery is disposed in numerous small intricate folds. — GERM. ED.

19. The proofs in regard to the name given to this statue, of which the head is new, may be seen in Vignoli, *Dissert. de Anno 1, Imp. Sev. Alex. quem præfert cathedra marm.* St. Hippolyt. *Ep. in Bibl. Vatic.* 4 Roma, 1712. — W.

20. *Monum. Antig. du Musée Napol.*, Tom. III. pl. 75. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. III. p. 79) has suggested doubts in regard to the name applied to this statue. The arrangement of the hair is entirely different from the fashion prevailing at that time, and since the reign of Alexander Severus, which may be ascertained clearly enough from the coins of the time; and hence he conjectures that the statue might have been erected to an entirely different man from Pupienus, perhaps to a lieutenant in the provinces, who, either on account of his merit or from flattery, might have been represented under the form of a beneficent Genius. — GERM. ED.

21. Trebell. Pollion., *In Gallien.*, cap. 1. We may form an idea of the taste in art of Gallienus from the account given by Trebellius Pollio (cap. 18) of the colossal statue which this emperor wished to erect to himself on the summit of the Esquiline. It was intended to represent him as the Sun-god, but it was only begun; it remained unfinished because the whole enterprise appeared laughable and absurd to his successors, Claudius and Aurelian. — GERM. ED.

22. It is held by Visconti to be a head of Trebonianus Gallus, the successor of Trajan Decius (Book VIII. chap. 2, § 21, note). The Capitoline museum contains a marble bust-portrait of Gallienus which Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 68) acknowledges to be genuine. The eyes are badly drawn, and the artist, although knowing how to handle the marble with sufficient dexterity, seems to have been deficient in other requisite qualifications. — GERM. ED.

23. Trebellius Pollio (*Vita Titi*), who gives this account, says: *Cujus statuum in templo Veneris adhuc videmus Argolicam sed auratam*, — "Whose statue we see yet in the temple of Venus, Argolic but gilded." Baudelot (*L'utilité des Voyag.*, Tom. I. p. 123) has made an extensive inquiry as to the word *Argolic*, but I believe that the reading should be *Argillacea*, so that the statue would have been made of clay or terra cotta, and then gilded; and I have since learned that a German scholar who is an honor to his country (Triller, *Observ. Crit.*, lib. 4, cap. 6) is of the same opinion. — W.

Pacciaudi (*Monum. Peloponn.*, Tom. II. pp. 44) refutes Triller's suggestion. — F.

24. Even the workshops of sculptors have been found containing statues not yet completed, and lying near them the chips which were struck off during the work, and also chisels and other tools. In the year 1796 Mr. Hamilton caused excavations to be made not far from the so-called sepulchre of Nero, near the place where had been previously found the admirable colossal heads and bust-portraits of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, now in the Borghese collection. Besides several valuable fragments and some columns, among which were two of Oriental wax-colored alabaster, the largest yet found of this valuable stone, there were discovered walls painted with various colors, sometimes with a vermilion ground on which were painted white and gold volutes intermingled with green foliage, and sometimes with a light blue ground, which probably had golden ornaments. On other walls there were purple-red compartments surrounded by bands of different colors; at the same time there was dug up a small pot entirely full of the same dark purple color with which the compartments were painted, as though the artist had been driven from his work by the ashes that filled the building. — GERM. ED.

25. According to Fea's conjecture, this inscription may be read as follows: *Procurante Crescente Liberto*. But he says nothing about the omission of the letter "v" from the name *Minicivsi*; so that the inscription when restored would read: —

Sub cura Minicivsi  
procurante Crescente liberto, Numero 1.

"To the care of Minicius from his agent, the freedman Crescens No. 1" (probably of a consignment of blocks of marble). — Ta.

## CHAPTER III.

1. It may pass for a great masterpiece of its time. It is true that the forms of the limbs are heavy, even somewhat clumsy, but the attitude of the figure is simple and natural, and deserves to be heartily praised. The left hand and right arm seem to be modern; the nose and chin are much injured; the hair is pretty well done, is smooth, and without any free large locks; consequently there is no variety in it. The crown of oak-leaves which ornaments the head is hollowed out by boring a number of holes around and beneath the leaves, — a censurable manner which may be seen on many monuments of the later age. — GERM. ED.

2. The statues are said to have been found in the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal, and as they are youthful figures, and the workmanship on them really indicates a late date, they have been held to be portraits of the sons of Constantine. The art and style of these monuments are very similar in quality to those of the foregoing statue.

The rilievi on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which were not pilfered from monuments of Trajan, but are actually new works, are far inferior to the statues just mentioned, and are barbarously ungainly and misshapen. Engravings of them may be found in Bartoli (*Admir. Ant. Rom.* tab. 10). — GERM. ED.

3. Of the remains which were seen in the subterranean vaults of the Rospigliosi palace, where the Baths of Constantine were, and of the pieces that were cut out when a new wing was added in the seventeenth century to the palace in which they are now preserved (Ficoroni, *Le Vestigie di Roma Ant.*, lib. 1, cap. 29, p. 128), fourteen are found copied by Cameron (*Description des Bains des Romains*, pl. 40-53), and colored engravings of twelve of them were published at Rome in 1780 by Marco Carloni. But in both instances the representations of these pictures are embellished, for the originals are neither so beautiful nor so well preserved. — F.

4. Spence, *Polymet. Dial.* 8, p. 105.

5. Burmanni, *Syllog. Epist.*, Tom. V. p. 193, Epist. 176.

According to the opinion of an acute diplomatist, this manuscript belongs to the sixth or seventh century. The Vatican manuscript of Terence with paintings relating to the comic drama of the ancients, and presumed to be copied from more ancient manuscripts, probably belongs to the sixth century. — GERM. ED.

6. There are probably two buildings confounded here with each other, — the church of St. Agnes, which was erected by Constantine at the request of St. Constantia (Ambros., *Oper.*, Tom. IV. Col. 598. Bollandist., *Die 21 Jan.*, Tom. II. p. 353, not. 16. Anastas., *In Vita St. Silvestri*, Tom. I. sect. 42, p. 46), and the neighboring building, in which she was baptized and also buried. This was likewise erected by Constantine, ornamented with mosaics, and consecrated to the service of a church in memory of his daughter, as some maintain, whose body he had deposited there in an urn of porphyry. However the marble inscription over the door of the edifice shows that it was dedicated to the uses of a church by Pope Alexander IV. in 1526 (Nardini, *Rom. Antic.*, lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 154). As Constantina, another daughter of Constantine, was buried there, Valesius

(Ammian. Marcell., lib. 21, princ.) might hence have named the building after her, and not after Constantia. — F.

7. The two candelabra which were in the mausoleum of St. Constantia outside the walls of Rome, together with two of the three which stood in the neighboring church of St. Agnes, have been placed in the Pio-Clement museum (Tom. VII. tav. 39, 40). The third still remains in the church. Like the others, it is ornamented on the three sides of its pedestal with Amorini, terminating in flowers and foliage; one of them holds in its hands doves, and a short crooked stick like the one the Muse Thalia usually carries; another holds fruits, and the third is occupied in tying a band about his forehead. The workmanship on these figures is of uncommon beauty, and the treatment of the foliage as well as of the figures is masterly in the highest degree. Two candelabra pedestals, ornamented in a similar manner, which also are admirably executed, may be found among the ancient monuments of the Borghese villa (Book IX. chap. 2, § 22, note). — GERM. ED.

8. According to Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VII. tav. 11, 12, p. 19), the urn is eleven Roman palms and three fingers long (12 ft. 2.43 in.) ; the height, the socle included, which is modern, is ten palms (7 ft. 3 in.). At first it stood in the centre of the church or mausoleum of St. Constantia, until Pope Alexander IV. removed it into the niche opposite the door, and put an altar in the place of it. Pope Julius II. intended to remove it to the Lateran, for the purpose of being deposited in it after his death. But he died before the removal was effected, and so the monument remained in its old place until Pius VI. incorporated it into the museum so richly endowed by him. — GERM. ED.

9. Now in the Pio-Clement museum (Book VII. chap. 1, § 25, note). — GERM. ED.

10. Spartian., *In Anton. Caracall.*, cap. 9.

Many beautiful statues, and especially those which embellished the Farnese palace, the so-called Flora, the two Hercules (Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie*, no. 23), the Farnese Bull so called, the pretended Commodus as a gladiator, and several others, were discovered during the excavations which were made in the time of Pope Paul III. in the Baths of Caracalla, in 1540 and subsequently. It is probable, as Haym believes (*Tesoro Britann.*, Tom. I. Atene. no. 37, p. 183), that the statue of Hercules was brought from Athens to Rome, and by order of Caracalla set up in his Baths; for prior to his reign this figure is found on the coins of Athens and other Greek cities, and subsequently on the coins of Caracalla, Gordianus Pius, Gallienus, and Maximianus, but no longer on Greek coins. Vasari in his *Life of Michael Angelo* (Tom. VI. p. 263) asserts that the group of the Farnese Bull was discovered in 1546. — F.

11. The splendid and richly endowed temple of the Sun which Aurelian erected in Rome is frequently mentioned by the historians of this time (Zosim., lib. 1, cap. 61. Vopisc., *In Aurel.*, cap. 5, 35, 39). Eutropius also and others mention it, but no one designates the exact site on which it stood.

The ruins mentioned belong however to a better age in art. They consist of the outermost lower end of a pediment, of a portion of the frieze and architrave belonging to the pediment, and of the leaves of capitals of Co-

rinthian pilasters. Not only are the architectonic proportions commendable, but the workmanship also on the ornaments deserves mention on account of the beauty of their execution. The artist, in order to render everything distinctly visible, to produce the due effect at a distance, and to impart force and life to the shadows, has with much judgment brought all the foliage well forward, hollowed beneath it, and even in many places broken through it; moreover he handled his tools with unusual boldness and certainty. — GERM. ED.

12. Architecture in particular found support and patronage at Constantinople even in those ages when the plastic arts had sunken into a state of barbarism, and almost entirely disappeared. We read in the histories of the Byzantine emperors of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries accounts of buildings of astonishing magnitude, splendor, and beauty. These qualities especially distinguished the palace of Justinian II. among the numerous edifices erected by him; the walls of it were overlaid with gilded bronze and with marble slabs, and the entire floor was of marble. He however was surpassed by one of his successors, Theophilus. This emperor built the celebrated Bucoleon, in which stood a bronze lion seizing a cow, the summer-palace, Bruos, the palace named the Pearl, the Pentapurgion, the Karian palace, and the Triconchus. To the last building adjoined the colonnade of the Sigma, and an acoustic structure was contiguous to the latter. At the Triconchus and Sigma, Theophilus constructed a fountain, the basin of which was set in silver. Below it was an eminence on which seats could be placed for his courtiers, and to which there led up a flight of steps of white marble from Proconnesus. The fountain was supported by two slender columns, on which stood two bronze lions, from whose mouths water flowed, for the purpose of diffusing coolness over the open ground in front of the Sigma (Fr. Schlosser, *Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, Seit. 102, no. 500-502). — GERM. ED.

13. In general the heathen religion remained undisturbed until the latter years of Constantine's life, when he took some cruel and violent measures against the pagans, — his agents breaking open their temples, carrying away from them everything of value, melting down works of valuable bronze, and breaking to pieces statues of marble (Euseb., *De Vita Constant.*, Vol. III. cap. 54). — GERM. ED.

14. The more ancient statues in the Hippodrome, of which sixty were specially celebrated, were carried from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine; the others were from Nicomedia, Athens, Cyzicum, Casarea, Tralles, Sardis, Sebastia, Satala, Antiochia in Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Attalia, Tyana, Iconium, Nicæa in Bithynia, from Sicily, in short from almost all parts of the kingdom (Anonym., lib. 3, princ. *In Banduri Imper. Oriental. sive Antiq. Constantinop.*, p. 41). — GERM. ED.

15. Fabretti, *Inscript.*, cap. 3, no. 292, p. 163; no. 518, p. 209.

Still more remarkable is the bad habit which began in the fourth century of adapting the inscriptions of the earlier emperors to their successors, even on public monuments, merely by a change of the names (Gothofred., *Epist. de Interdicta Christ. cum Gent. Communione, deque Pontificatu Maxim. inter Opera Jurid.*, Min. Coll. 576. Pagi ad Baron, Tom. III. Anno 312, no. 17, p. 520). To this fourth century applies in an especial degree the statement made by St. Jerome (*Comment. in Abucuc*, lib. 2,

cap. 3, *Oper.* Tom. VI. Col. 659), that whenever a tyrant was defeated or slain, the victor struck the heads from all the statues and portraits of him and substituted his own, all the other parts remaining untouched. — F.

16. Even during the reigns of the earlier emperors acts of violence had already been committed against works of art. Thus Maximinus (Capitolin., *In Maximin.*, cap. 19. Herodian., lib. 7, cap. 3, §§ 5, 6) plundered the temples, and ordered the votive gifts, the images of the deities, the statues erected in honor of heroes, etc., to be melted, and money made from the metal to pay the soldiers. But there still existed among the pagans so much love for art and its creations, that many, exasperated by this outrage of Maximinus, resisted his orders, and were prepared to die in presence of their altars and images sooner than see the sacred things of their native land destroyed. Yet after a brief interval belief in the ancient gods and heroes ceased, and with it departed also the religious feeling of the sanctity and inviolability of their images, and the old respect and careful sparing of works of art—in which moreover was recognized a valuable common property—were replaced by a disregard and ruthlessness which soon degenerated into the destructive violence of blind fanaticism. — GERM. ED.

17. More works of art have probably been destroyed by the fanaticism of Christians than by the ravages of the barbarians during their inroads into the Roman Empire. Upon this point the reader may compare Bægaus, *De Monumentorum Urbis Romæ Eversoribus*, a treatise which may also be found in the fourth volume of the *Thesauri Antiquitat. Romanar.*, by Grævius. Although Constantine in the latter years of his life had ceased to show towards Paganism the forbearance of the earlier part of his reign, and although his sons Constantius and Constans had forbidden by severe enactments (*Cod. Theodos.*, XVI. Tit. X. 2–6) the offering of sacrifices, still the destruction of ancient works of art by the Christians did not begin at Rome (Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 73) till the reign of Theodosius the Great, and thence it extended even to the provinces. The celebrated temple of Jupiter Serapis at Alexandria, with all the statues that embellished it, was utterly destroyed, razed to the ground under the fanatical Archbishop Theophilus (Ammian. Marcellin., lib. 22, cap. 16. Sozomen., lib. 7, cap. 15. Socrat., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, cap. 16. Eunap., *De Vita Philosoph. et Sophist. in Vita Aedesii*, p. 64). Martinus, bishop of Tours in Gallia, showed similar rage against statues and all images of deities (Sulpic. Sever., p. 458), and the like happened in other provinces. Theodosius, without expressly ordering the destruction of statues and works of art, did them harm principally by two decrees, issued in 391 and 392 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI. Tit. X. lib. 11 and 12), threatening punishment of all those who even in the remotest degree should participate in the heathen worship or even favor it. It must however never be forgotten in connection with these and similar accounts by Christian writers of acts of violence done to the pagans, that as a rule they do not exercise much discrimination, attributing to the actual emperor, with the view of commending and exalting him, all the horrors and outrages committed by private individuals. — F. & GERM. ED.

18. *Cod. Theodos.*, XVI. Tit. X. lib. 15.

The decree of the year 399, and also a later one (lib. 18), prohibited, it is true, the destruction of the public works of art, and ordered that the

temples should be preserved ; but these ordinances applied in part only to Africa and Spain ; and partly they were not issued until at Carthage and throughout Africa, in the very year 399, the temples were laid in ruins, and the statues destroyed (Augustin., *De Civitat. Dei*, lib. 18, *in fine*). Honorius also, by an ordinance of the year 408 (*Cod. Theodos.*, XVI. Tit. X. lib. 19), shows plainly how prejudiced and embittered his narrow mind was in regard to the images of the gods and statues, as he ordered the removal of the whole of them, without exception, not only from the temples, but also from the public places and buildings. — F. & GERM. ED.

19. In the year 395 Greece underwent its final devastation at the hands of Alaric, who in his frantic zeal as an Arian, destroyed all the temples which had hitherto been spared, and carried off everything valuable that was found in them. Zosimus (lib. 5, cap. 5, pp. 510, 511 ; cap. 6, pp. 512, 513) indeed pretends that Thebes, on account of its fortifications and the desire of Alaric to capture Athens, was spared from the general ravage ; he also relates that Alaric, at the sight of the great Minerva of bronze, and of the Achilles standing before the walls, was moved by milder feelings in regard to Athens, and left the city and all Attica uninjured. But this account is disputed by contemporary writers, who do not except any city, and mention Athens in particular by name (S. Hieronym., *Epist.*, 60, *Oper.*, Tom. I. Col. 343, no. 16. Claudian., *In Rufinum*, lib. 2, vers. 186–191. Eunap., *De Vit. Philos. et Soph. in Maximo*, p. 74 ; *in Prisco*, p. 94). It is probable however that the finest buildings of Athens were not destroyed by Alaric, but on the contrary were in a state of preservation even unto the middle of the following century with the paintings contained in them, as we may infer not without reason from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. 9, epist. 9), who lived subsequently to the first half of the fifth century. The magnificent ruins also in Athens which have been described by Le Roy, Stuart, and others, and which are still visible in part, permit the reasonable conjecture that many buildings continued uninjured either wholly or in part a long time posterior to King Alaric. — F.

20. At the first siege of Rome by Alaric, in 409, art suffered a grievous loss. The Romans had compromised with the barbarians for the sum of five thousand pounds in gold and thirty thousand pounds in silver. But they knew no means of procuring this sum ; finally the evil demon who rules human affairs, to use the language of Zosimus (lib. 5, cap. 41, p. 623–625), led them to the abyss of depravity, for, in order to procure the money which they needed, they robbed the statues of the gods which were overlaid with gold of their adornment, and melted other statues of gold or silver. Among them was also a celebrated statue of Boldness, Dea Virtus, after whose destruction, as Zosimus says, the last spark of courage and virtue was extinguished among the Romans. — GERM. ED.

21. Of the Capitoline Jupiter ; the temple of the Olympian had already been destroyed by Sylla. — GERM. ED.

22. Procop., *De Bello Goth.*, lib. 1, cap. 19, 22.

Not Roman, but Greek soldiers, who, under the command of Belisarius, were defending the Mole of Adrian, broke statues in pieces and threw the fragments down on the bands of Vitiges. — GERM. ED.

23. Belisarius deserves to be named with grateful regard in the history

of art, because his counsel dissuaded Totila, king of the Goths, who conquered Rome in 546, from utterly destroying the city, and levelling it with the ground. The letter written by Belisarius to Totila on this occasion is remarkably fine ; it may be found in Procopius (*De Bello Gothic.*, lib. 3, cap. 22). — GERM. ED.

24. Cic., *De Leg.*, lib. 2, cap. 16.

The author confounds here the priests or Galli of Cybele, who according to the Twelve Tables were recognized in the Roman territory, with the begging priests of Greece, who, on account of their mental degradation and their vices, were objects of great contempt. Wretchedly clothed they rode on asses about the country, and collected money at the doors of houses for their goddess. — GERM. ED.

25. It has gone into the Pio-Clement museum, and is explained by Visconti (Tom. I. tav. 40) as a Cybele. — F.

26. During the reign of Justinian a law was passed which shows at least that the arts of design were still held in some regard. The law decreed that whoever painted upon a tablet which did not belong to him might become the owner of it, on condition however of paying the price of the bit of board ; for it would have been ridiculous that a picture, painted by a great artist, Apelles or Parrhasius for example, should be valued at a less price than a cheap tablet (*Institut.*, lib. 2, Tit. I. *De Rerum. Divis.*, § 34. *Si quis in aliena Tabula pinxerit*). — F.

27. There still remained in the Pantheon the bronze with which the beams and ceiling of the porch were ornamented, probably indeed entirely covered. When it was removed in the time of Urban VIII., it was used in part for the large twisted pillars and other ornaments of the principal altar in St. Peter's church, and in part for casting cannon for the castle of St. Angelo ; it is said to have weighed four hundred and sixty thousand pounds, — probably Roman pounds of twelve ounces each (Ficoroni, *Le Vestigie di Roma Antica*, lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 132). At present nothing remains of the entire wealth of bronze ornaments by which the Pantheon was distinguished in ancient times, except a little about the large round opening in the centre of the ceiling through which the light falls into the temple. — GERM. ED.

28. Michaëlis Glycæ, *Annal.*, Part. III., princ., p. 205.

When the Latins captured the city of Constantinople, they carried off and destroyed the Ass and his Driver (Nicet. Chon., *Fragm.* in Fabric., *Bibliothec. Græc.*, Tom. VI. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 410). — GERM. ED.

29. Nicet. Choniât., in Fabric., *Bibliothec. Græc.*, Tom. VI. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 406.

The author in question says only that a colossal Juno of bronze, — not giving the name more definitely, — which stood on the forum of Constantine, was broken to pieces by the Christian barbarians and made into money. The statue of the Samian Juno had already been destroyed, as it has just been mentioned. Relative to the fate of works of art at Constantinople, let the reader consult Heyne's *Treatise De Interitu Operum tum Antiquæ tum Senioris Artis, quæ Constantinopoli fuisse memorantur, ejusque Causis ac Temporibus*, in *Commentat.* Gotting., Tom. XII. p. 273, and he will be satisfied that Winckelmann's conjecture as to the time when the works of art were destroyed is not founded on history, but that, how-

ever disastrous the year 1204 had been, the years 404, 465, 469, 476, 532, 740, and 861 had proved not less destructive of the treasures of art in Constantinople, and certainly brought ruin to the greater portion of them. — GERM. ED.

30. A very large number of statues, most of them of bronze, and many of them also on horseback, had been erected at Constantinople by the Greek emperors to themselves, their families, their generals, and their predecessors, as we learn from Banduri and other authors. The sole statue in bronze which has been preserved of those erected in Italy stands on the market-place of the city of Barletta in Apulia ; it is about twenty palms high. It passes for a Constantine, and I am of the same opinion after comparing a drawing of the statue, procured for me by President Mola of Bari, with the description given by Winckelmann. Baron Riedesel (*Reise*, Book II.) asserts that it is a Julius Cæsar, but he certainly had at the time no remembrance of the features either of him or of Constantine, and overlooked the costume, which belongs to that of the later emperors. — F.

See engraving in Fea's Translation, Tom. II. tav. 11.

## EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

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THE PAGINATION REFERS TO VOLUME II.

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FRONTISPIECE. Barberini Muse. See page 140.

Plate I. Page 13. The upper part of an almost colossal Urania, which formerly stood under the vestibule of the Farnese palace, and is probably now in Naples. It has a grand, worthy character, and may be regarded as an imitation of an ancient noble work of art executed perhaps during the reign of Caracalla; for it can hardly be doubted that this statue, as well as others of similar size and workmanship which formerly ornamented the Farnese palace, was drawn from the ruins of the Baths of the emperor named. In note 18 particular mention is made of her on account of the broad girdle.

Plate II. Page 13. The upper portion of a figure of Melpomene, wrought in high-relief on the celebrated sepulchral urn with the nine Muses, in the Capitoline museum. Note 19 refers to this figure.

Plate III. Page 13. A female draped statue which formerly stood on the outside of the palace at the Medici villa in Rome, and is now to be found in Florence. The workmanship is meritorious, yet not enough so to distinguish it; Winckelmann cites it (Book VI. ch. 1, § 23) merely on account of the girdle lying about the hips.

Plate IV. A. Page 15. This is a sketch of the upper part of the figure of Euterpe, taken from a sarcophagus set in a wall, at the Borghese villa, over which the aqueduct passes. It is worthy of note in regard to costume on account of the long narrow sleeves, of the short little mantle thrown over the shoulders, and of the broad girdle ornamented with embroidery. Note 20 mentions it especially for the girdle.

Plate IV. B. Page 15. A figure of Æsculapius, as represented in an admirable high-relief on the façade of the palace in the Borghese villa, representing him and Hygiea. The figure is introduced to show the square shape of the mantle.

Plate V. Page 16. Statue of Isis in the Pamfili villa at Rome, with an incongruous modern head. This figure is intended to show how the mantle is tied on the breast. (See Book VI. ch. 1, § 31.)

Plate VI. A. Page 22. Bacchante, taken from a large marble cup in the Albani villa. The text (Book VI. ch. 2, § 3) mentions this figure in reference to the cloth or sort of hood with which the head is covered.

Plate VI. B. Page 22. A mask from a bas-relief in the Albani palace; it has a similar hood to the Bacchante. (See Book VI. ch. 2, § 3.)

Plate VI. C. Page 23. The shod foot of Niobe, in the Florentine collection of antiques.

Plate VI. D. Page 24. Legs of a young Ulysses, covered with hunting-buskins. They are copied from a painting on a vase, of which drawings were made for W. Tischbein's edition of Homer.

Plate VII. A. Page 23. The upper part of the figure of an Amazon whose hat has fallen from her head upon her back. It is taken from Millin's *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, Tom. I. pl. 61.

Plate VII. B. Page 32. Hands of the two celebrated half-figures of marble, which are usually named Cato and Portia. These are remarkable on account of the finger-rings. The hand with two rings belongs to the woman. This admirably executed monument is now in the Pio-Clement museum.

Plate VIII. A. Page 32. The bust of a female statue, no longer in Rome, remarkable for nothing but the necklace. This monument is mentioned in note 17, Book VI. ch. 2.

Plate VIII. B. Page 46. The shod foot of a celebrated statue representing Jason, but named Cincinnatus, which was removed from the Neroni villa at Rome to Versailles, and finally into the museum at Paris. (See Book VI. ch. 3, § 23.)

Plate IX. A. Page 38. A is a male bust, probably representing one of the ancient philosophers, in the court-yard of the Santa Croce palace at Rome. It is not badly executed, but really is remarkable only on account of the little mantle thrown over the shoulders. In Plate IV. Letter A, may be seen a Muse wearing a similar mantle over her shoulders.

Plate IX. B. Page 47. Stump of the statue of a warrior whose armor is made of metal bands, in the garden of the Strozzi villa, which is situated in the circuit of the ancient Baths of Diocletian at Rome.

Plate X. A, B, C. Page 43. Three figures with hats. A is copied from the Mercury on a bas-relief in the Albani villa, which, according to Zoëga (*Bassi Rilievi Antichi di Roma*, tav. 42), is intended to represent Orpheus, Eurydice, and Mercury.

B is copied from an ancient vase.

(W. Tischbein's *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases*, Tom. IV. No. 15.)

C is a bearded man, holding a large stone over his enemy lying on the earth. His head is covered by a hat, round in front and behind, but cut to a point on the sides. This figure also is taken from a vase. (Millin, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, Tom. I. pl. 61.)

Plate XI. Page 101. This engraving is intended to give the reader some idea of the figures and the grouping in the picture of *Jupiter and Ganymedes*, of which mention is made in note 22, Book VII. ch. 3.

Plate XII. A, B. Page 48. Two shields. They appear to be lined on the inside, and are both taken from painted antique vases. A is held by a young warrior, who is following another, and threatening him with a spear. B belongs to a figure of the followers of Menelaus in pursuit of Helen. (W. Tischbein's *Engravings from Ancient Vases*, Tom. IV. No. 20.)

*Homer, with Drawings from the Antique*, by W. Tischbein, Menelaus, taf. 5.)

Plate XII. C, D. Page 118. C, one of the most ancient known coins of Athens. The original is in the cabinet of coins of the Duke of Gotha. D is a coin of a similar kind in the cabinet of coins of the Emperor of France. (Mionet's *Coin-pastes*, No. 604.) (Book VIII. ch. 1, not. 2.)

Plate XIII. Page 121. A figure of Pallas. (See Book VIII. ch. 1, § 13.)

Plate XIV. Page 122. The representation of a Faun, after the celebrated bas-relief of ancient Greek style, distinguished by the name of the artist, Callimachus, in the Capitoline museum. This figure is quoted in the text, Book VIII. ch. 1, § 14, and not. 6.

Plate XV. Page 130. Torso of a Minerva much larger than life, which is probably still in the Medici villa at Rome. (See not. 1, Book VIII. ch. 2, for further remarks on this valuable monument.)

Plate XVI. Page 130. Head, neck, and beginning of the chest of the statue of a young athlete in the Capitoline museum. (See not. 1, Book VIII. ch. 2.)

Plate XVII. Page 140. Muse in the Papal Garden on the Quirinal.

#### FRONTISPIECE. Dying Gladiator.

1. The colossal figure on Monte Cavallo, ascribed to Phidias. As the critical remarks do not relate at all to the horse, I have taken the liberty of omitting the outline of it in this engraving. — Tr.

This monument is fully discussed in Note 18, Book IX. chap. 2, § 20.

2. Diadumenus. An outline from an ancient marble statue which very probably is a copy of the Diadumenus of Polyclethus, so celebrated in antiquity.

3. Amazon of Polyclethus. Several ancient statues in this attitude are still extant, and for good reasons are held to be copies of the Amazon of Polyclethus, in reference to which the reader is referred to page 478 of the first volume, and to Book VIII. chap. 2, note 3, of the second.

4. Bacchante. A figure wrought in relief in marble, formerly in the Borghese villa, of which we must believe that it is a copy of the Bacchante of Scopas, a work highly esteemed in ancient times. It has been explained more fully in Note 26, Book IX. chap. 2.

5. Wounded Amazon. B. Torso of a wounded Amazon in the museum at Paris. It shows more distinctly the position of the head and the adjustment of the hair and robe.

Figure A is taken from the *Sculture del Museo Capitolino*, da Ferd. Mori.

6. The Discobulus of Myron, throwing a quoit. Notes 39 and 42 (Book IX. chap. 2) give further information in regard to it.

7. The Discobulus in repose is said, and not without probability believed, to present a celebrated work by Naucydes, the pupil of Polyclethus. Note 6, Book IX. chap. 3, gives a further account of it, as also of some repetitions still extant.

8. Ganymedes carried off by the eagle. This is a marble group in the

Pio-Clement museum, and very probably an antique copy of the bronze original of Leochares, celebrated among the ancients. See Note 8, Book IX. chap. 3.

9. Periboëtus, *The Celebrated*. This is the figure of a youthful Faun standing in repose and leaning against the trunk of a tree. It is one of the masterpieces of Praxiteles ; many copies of it are still remaining. See Note 11, Book IX. chap. 3.

10. A youthful Apollo watching a lizard, and hence named Sauroctonus, *The Lizard-Killer*. This figure is considered one of the principal works of Praxiteles.

11. Symplegma, or the marble group of the two wrestlers at Florence. It might perchance be the actual original of the Symplegma of Kephissodorus, or Kephissodotus, a son of Praxiteles, of which Pliny makes mention with great praise. Note 31, chap. 2, and note 17, chap. 3, Book IX., speak of this monument in detail.

12. Cupid bending his bow. One of the extant ancient monuments of which repetitions frequently occur. The original, long since lost, might have been of bronze, and a work of Lysippus. See Note 3, Book X. chap. 1.

13. Diminished copy of a vase-picture published by W. Tischbein in a *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases*, Vol. IV., which corresponds with the account given by Pliny of a work by Aristides still existing in Rome in his day. Note 16, Vol. IV. Book X. chap. 1, relates to it.

14. The likeness of Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, as Winckelmann maintains. It is a carnelian, cut in intaglio by Agathangelus.

The text speaks of this gem, Book VII. chap. 1, § 39 ; Book XI. chap. 1, § 22.

15. Diomedes with the Palladium. A carnelian cut in intaglio by Dioscorides. See Note 11, Book XI. chap. 11.

16. A head engraved in high relief by Erophilus, son of Dioscorides. It is intended to represent Augustus, as we conjecture. The present drawing is only slightly larger than the gem itself. This gem is injured by a crack which runs diagonally across the forehead and through the ear.

THE END.















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